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THE NEW PACIFIC

HVBERT HOWE BANCROFT



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THE NEW PACIFIC

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great, aspen of epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as *Europe* breeds in her decay,
Nor such as she had when *fresh* and young,
When *the day* did animate her clay,
When *the day* did be sung.

Westward the *sun* takes its way,
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day,
Time's noblest offspring is its last.

—BERKELEY

NEW YORK
THE BANCROFT COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1900

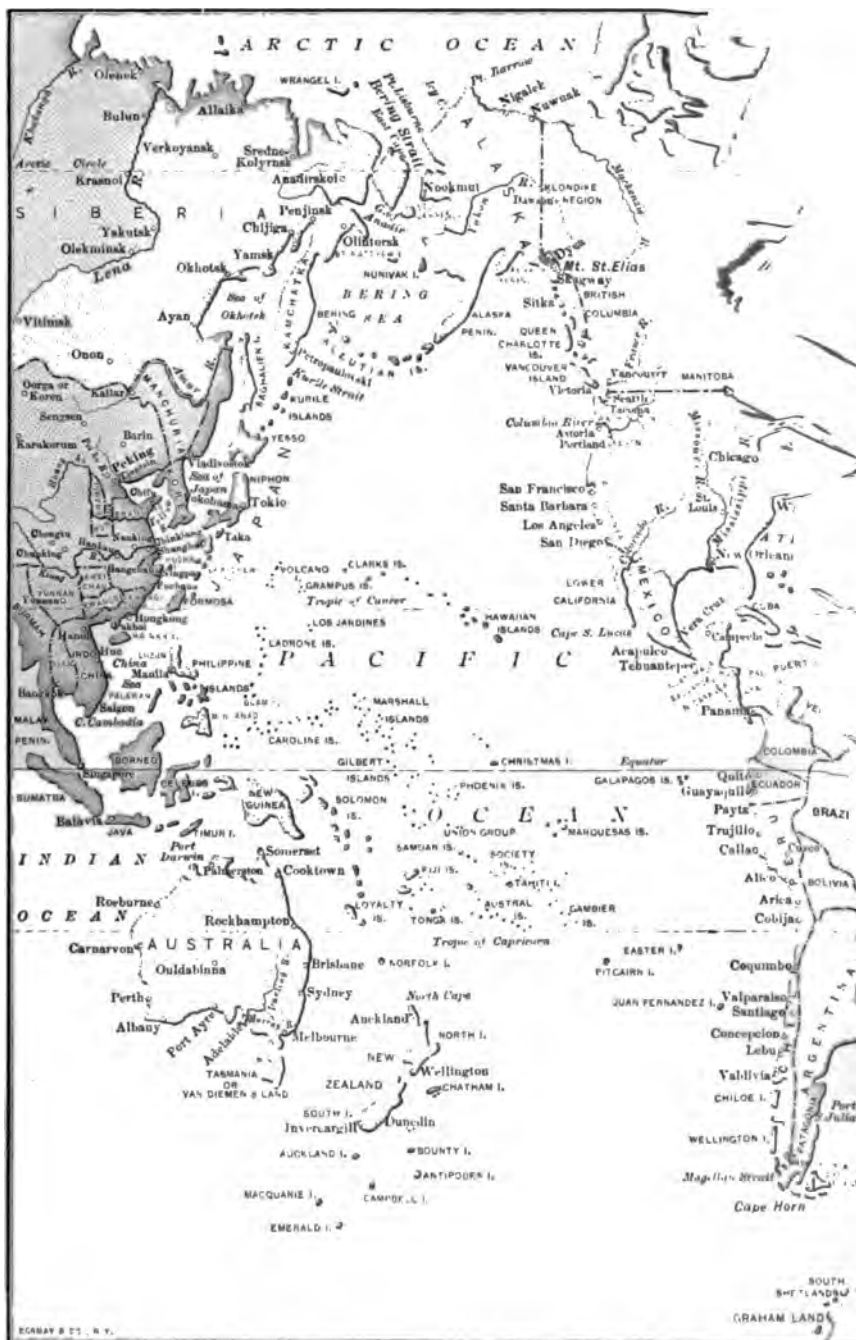


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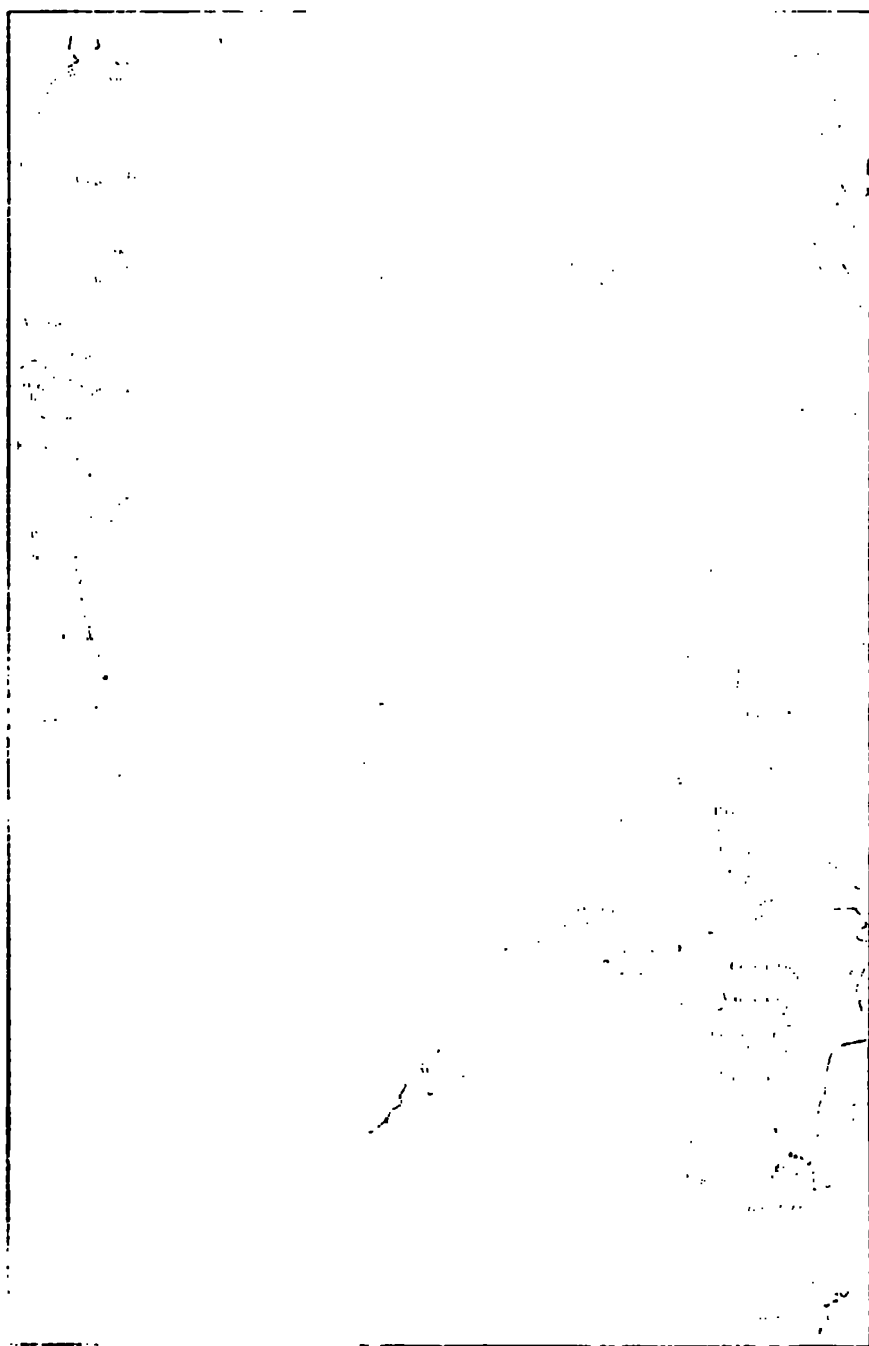
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BY HOWE LANGFORD

Time's a thief, and Time's a foe,
And Time's a cruel, cruel foe,
For Time's a thief, and Time's a foe,
And Time's a cruel, cruel foe.
Time's a thief, and Time's a foe,
And Time's a cruel, cruel foe,
For Time's a thief, and Time's a foe,
And Time's a cruel, cruel foe.
Time's a thief, and Time's a foe,
And Time's a cruel, cruel foe,
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And Time's a cruel, cruel foe.

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NEW YORK
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1900



THE NEW PACIFIC

BY

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT

There shall be sung another golden age,
The rise of empire and of arts,
The good and great inspiring epic rage,
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay:—
Such as she had when fresh and young,
When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
By future poet shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is its last.

—BERKELEY.

NEW YORK
THE BANCROFT COMPANY, PUBLISHERS
1900

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR

SERIES OF WEST AMERICAN
HISTORIES.

THE BOOK OF THE FAIR.

THE BOOK OF WEALTH.

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THE NEW PACIFIC

THE NEW PACIFIC

CHAPTER I

NOW AND THEN

A DOZEN lines of steamships, or thereabout, now cross the Pacific between America and Asia, where for two and a half centuries a single galleon made its slow and clumsy way forth and back from Acapulco to Manila once a year. Ships comprising scores of lines ply along shore, unite the islands and mainland, or sail direct for foreign ports. Thus Hawaii and California are linked; Australia with Asia and America and all the larger islands; North America with South America, Africa, and Europe; Japan and China with Southern Asia, the Philippines, Australia, India, and Europe; Alaska and Pacific ports, Mexico and Pacific ports, Central and South America, while the shores, islands, and rivers of Asia swarm with foreign vessels where half a century ago a timid commerce found for the most part sealed ports.

Sixty years ago vessels trading into the Pacific rounded Cape Horn or Good Hope, and creeping along the coasts of America or Asia called at the various points for traffic and made their exchanges, returning after an absence of one or two years. Now, all the important ports have their fast-running steamships, sailing on stated days, direct to or connecting with the chief cities of the world. At such places as Vladivostok, Yokohama, Tientsin, Shanghai, and Hongkong twenty-five or fifty steamers of the Pacific Mail, The Canada Pacific, the Northern Pacific, the Oriental and California, the Oriental and Peninsula, the Transsiberian, and the Nipon Yusen Kaisha, or Japan Mail Steamship company, may any day be seen at anchor, or arriving and departing, the last named company alone, the largest but one in the world, operating hundreds of vessels, including eighty-three steamers, and

entering every commercial port of Japan, China, Korea, and Siberia, with lines to Calcutta, the Philippines, Australia, the Hawaiian islands, and America. Then, besides the swarms of native junks and river steamboats and fleets of sail, are thousands of foreign sailing vessels which likewise cross and recross from every point to every point, or pass along the shore, carrying the surplus products of one land to another to the benefit of all, and nearly all first appearing within the last half century.

Back of this was the time when small craft of forty and sixty tons—seldom larger than three or four hundred tons—sailed this sea on voyages of circumnavigation and discovery, sometimes of piracy or of pure adventure, sometimes of all together, now stealing stealthily along the shore with bloody-handed cutthroat crew rifling towns and burning ships, or striking out boldly into the unknown with a recklessness unsurpassed by the mariners of any age or nation. To-day, the iron-bound battleship ploughs her majestic course with ponderous implements of destruction so nicely poised as to make the leviathan arbiter of human destinies alike on sea and land; one or more of these modern monsters being served on their way and at their destination by coal ships, supply ships, refrigerator ships, and distilling and repair vessels, so that every comfort and every advantage may be at hand for those who go forth to death or domination. With the application to navigation of electrical, or some yet to be discovered power, the voyage across the Pacific will occupy no more time than is now required in crossing the Atlantic.

Thirty years ago Japan's foreign trade was next to nothing; it is now \$200,000,000 a year, more than half of which has sprung up within the last decade. An increase of China's trade at that rate would bring the amount to \$2,000,000,000 in fifteen years. Aroused from the dead past to life and self-consciousness, Japan is just now filled with a further sense of her capabilities from her success in the late war with her neighbor. Since her emergence from barbaric isolation, she has come to the front as a maritime power, meeting America more than half way in transpacific intercourse.

In their steamship service the Japanese have an advantage over their competitors in the small wages paid to seamen and the large subsidies received from their government. As long

as this state of things continues, and until our government sees fit to place our commerce on an equality with that of other nations, or until our merchants or ship-owners can devise some means to obviate the difficulty, we must expect to see our products transported across the Pacific to a great extent in foreign bottoms. Should the Chinese ever come forward as a maritime nation, which they are as able to do as were the Japanese, then indeed will Asiatic craft swarm upon the sea like bees in a field of flowers.

The Canada Pacific railway has its own steamship service from Vancouver to Asia and Australia. The Northern Pacific railway and the Oregon railway and Navigation companies both have connections with Asiatic lines from Seattle and Portland. From San Francisco the Occidental and Oriental Steamship company carry freight and passengers to Honolulu, Yokohama, Hongkong, Kobe, Nagasaki, and Shanghai, while the California and Oriental Steamship company from San Diego to Hawaii, China, and Japan facilitates the commerce of the southern United States with Asia. The Pacific Mail Steamship company offers service between San Francisco and Manila, and the Polynesian Steamship company has been organized by New York and Philadelphia capitalists for the establishing of a line to Manila, stopping at Honolulu, the Ladrões, and the Carolines. The spots of ground on which now stand Vancouver, western terminus of the Canadian Pacific railway and port for the Canadian transpacific steamers, and Vladivostok, Russia's Pacific metropolis and transsiberian railway terminus, at once the Petersburg, Gibraltar, and Odessa of the Far East, were forty years ago little better than primeval wilderness. From Tacoma, the Northern Pacific Steamship company has good service to Japan and China, one steamer sailing every fortnight. The Oceanic Steamship company has lines from San Francisco to Honolulu, Samoa, Fiji, Tahiti, New Zealand, and Australia. The Seattle-Honolulu Steamship company, and the British American line from Seattle to Honolulu and Hilo were organized and put in operation soon after annexation. South America, the South sea, Australia, and the far southeast all have ample steam and sail navigation facilities. Further than this, new transpacific lines are constantly springing up, and new vessels being added to the old lines.

Among the islands of Puget sound, and thence north along the broken shore and south to Mexico; on the lakes and streams, from the Auguschuki river of the north southward to the Fraser, the Columbia, the Sacramento, and the Colorado, where seventy years ago not a craft of any kind was seen save tule rafts and Indian canoes, are now hundreds of sail boats and steam boats, flitting hither and thither, from point to point, through all the intricate way of strait, bay, and island channels. So late as 1894 the ships of the Pacific states for the previous decade increased 499 in number and 121,690 in tonnage, while those of the Atlantic and gulf states decreased 710 in number and 135,000 in tonnage.

For numberless ages the frozen Yukon has held its slow course for 2,000 miles and more, uncovering its waters to the wild-fowl from the south for three months in the year, unruffled by any craft save the kyaks of the Eskimos. Now there are towns on its banks, and hundreds of boats, large and small, on its surface, and thousands of gold-seekers going up and down its course, their number increasing, and the region never again to lapse into its former frozen silence. It was only ten years ago when transportation throughout all Alaska was mainly by light boats of the natives in summer, and by sledges and snow-shoes in winter. The presence of gold to any great extent was not known. Now there are some forty lines of steamers and steamboats to and on the one great river of the north alone, with railways and telegraphs, and millions of money output from the mines.

Thus on the water, ships; on the land roads and railroads in place of trackless forests or Indian trails.

First, for railways, the American transcontinental lines, the Central and Southern Pacific; the Great Northern, the Northern and Canada Pacific, and the Santa Fé; the railroads of Mexico and Central America; the transalpine and littoral railways of South America, and the various lines of Australia and the Asiatic southeast. These with the short lines round the Pacific count up a hundred or more. In the new Northwest of farthest America, until lately deemed uninhabitable for civilization, a dozen railways are either finished or in course of construction, as those of the Pacific and Arctic railway and Navigation company; the British Columbia and Yukon railway; the roads from Skagway to Fort Selkirk, from

North Vancouver to the Lake Atlin gold fields, via Bridge river and Lillooet; from Robson to Midway, a branch of the Columbia and Western, while the Anglo-Alaskan Syndicate, limited, has organized the Northern Bay and Yukon railway and Navigation company for the construction of a railroad from the Unalaklik river to the Yukon, at the mouth of the Koltag, connecting with the company's steamboats.

In the far southeast, in China and in Japan, railway construction is active. The Brice syndicate has in hand a line carrying with it political significance, from Hankau, near the Russian sphere of influence, through the rich section which enjoys the English sphere of influence, to Canton, on the border of the French sphere of influence. Then there are the Tientsin and Peking railway, whose locomotives were built in Philadelphia; the Wusung and Shanghai, the first railway opened in China; the Tientsin-Chinkiang-Hangchau line, and the connection of Burmah with southwestern China; the Mandalay-Kunlon ferry line; the overland railway from Burmah; and the Pakhoi-Nanning line under consideration.

The Siberian railway has cost the Russian government thus far about \$200,000,000. Trains run over the completed part; and if the rolling stock and sleeping and dining cars are not of the best, a chapel-car attached to every train, to many persons more than compensates. It was greatly to her satisfaction that Russia obtained the extension of the Siberian railway into Manchuria, thus giving her a still stronger hold on China.

Three months were formerly occupied in a journey across Siberia; by the Siberian railway, when completed, one can go from Paris to Japan, including the sea voyage from Vladivostok to Nagasaki, in fifteen days. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* says: "Within three years a man will be able to get into the train at Ostend and travel straight through to Port Arthur. In five years a person will be able to travel in a railroad carriage from the Cape to Alexandria. There is yet a third great world line from Constantinople via Palestine, Persia, India, and Burmah to Hongkong. The importance of these three great lines of communication cannot be sufficiently dwelt upon; it can certainly not be exaggerated."

Telegraphs attend the pathways of commerce, both on land and water. There are many transcontinental and coast lines, and two or three transpacific cable lines in contemplation,

one the British Pacific cable, connecting British Columbia with Australia and New Zealand, all confined to British territory, with intermediate stations on British islands, one being a small British isle near Hawaii, the cost, apportioned by Great Britain, falling five-ninths on Canada, and one-ninth each on New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, and New Zealand; or, as has been also suggested, eight-eighteenhs to be paid by the Australian colonies, and five-eighteenhs each by Great Britain and Canada. Another, the lines of the Pacific Cable company, with whose officers the Hawaiian government signed a contract before annexation, to extend for twenty years, to lay a cable between the United States and Hawaii, and thence to China, Japan, and the Philippines. The cost of these cables is estimated at \$10,000,000 each. Twelve lines cross the Atlantic. There are about 200,000 miles of underwater cables in operation at present. The connection is complete the world over except across the Pacific, and this defect will soon be remedied.

Also, ere long to be consummated, is the waterway from ocean to ocean, so earnestly sought as a passage leading to famed Cathay by European navigators four hundred years ago, and since. Many problems have arisen concerning this commercial necessity, and the solution comes at least by digging rather than by discovery. Work is in progress on two interoceanic ship canals, the search for Anian or other strait through the continent having long since ceased.

A hundred years ago Europe was occupied with affairs at home rather than with those abroad. Governments were largely absorbed in thrones and successions, in dynasties and military despotisms tending toward the strengthening or weakening of empires, and the enlarging or diminishing of domains. Now the rivalry between the powers, as in the days of discovery, is rather for territorial aggrandizement, the acquisition of square miles in Africa, or Asia, or among the islands of the sea.

A hundred years ago Spain was a great power, and the United States but a small one; now matters are reversed, fate is inexorable, and the strong shall continue to grow stronger these many centuries, while the weak grows weaker until nothing is left. And yet, by orders of the United States in 1798, the Napoleonic wars aiding by their influence, the

Spanish flag went down at Natchez, and the stars and stripes went up. It was also in 1798 that the title of the United States to the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the great lakes to Florida, was confirmed. Yet the people, 5,000,000 souls, were still hemmed in, with England on the north and Spain on the south and west.

Twenty-five years ago little was thought of tropical lands for European colonization; since which time 5,000,000 square miles of subtropical zones have been seized by the European powers for purposes of colonization and control, each nation meanwhile deeming it unsafe not to provide for increase of numbers further than is convenient within present European limits. Though coming unawares, the late acquisitions of the United States in the West Indies and the Pacific are simply on a line with the world's policy of territorial expansion. The acquisition of tropical lands by the United States is a matter of deepest importance, as regards not only the present but the near and distant future.

A hundred years ago English-speaking peoples in North America had scarcely penetrated westward from the Mississippi river and Hudson bay; now they overspread the greater part of the continent, and dominate the Pacific as the Atlantic was never dominated by any of the powers, American or European.

Sixty years ago the territories of the United States on the Pacific comprised a narrow strip extending from the mountains to the sea, and inhabited by wild beasts and wild men, the title to which was hotly disputed by England. Now they are little less than 8,000 square miles in extent, an area tributary to the Pacific greater than that of France, Germany, Italy, and Spain combined. With only six per cent of the population, they represent ten per cent of the wealth of the nation, while the three maritime states, California, Oregon, and Washington, contain fifty-seven per cent of the wealth of the Pacific states. Yet with all this, the total imports and exports of the Pacific states are but 5.69 per cent of the foreign trade of the United States.

Fifty years ago a large part of these lands was still unreclaimed from savagism. The inhabitants were but partially clothed, dwelling in huts, and eating roots, fish, and game. They have passed away for the most part, vanished, and in

their place are cities and towns, gardens and plantations, a thousand industries and ten thousand happy homes where dwell virtue and culture. For the ships that come and go precious freight is provided, as the lands make liberal returns and furnish food for distant millions.

Forty years ago the natives of California and the Northwest coast trapped salmon at the waterfalls, chiefly for their own food. Now, canneries on the Yukon, the Auguschuki, Chignik bay, the Fraser, the Columbia, and other streams have their own fleets of sailing vessels and steamers to carry their product to market by the hundred thousand cases.

Sixty years ago the presence of gold and silver north of the present boundary line of Mexico and west of the Mississippi river was scarcely known; since which time some \$6,000,000,000 in metals have been given by this region to the world, an amount equivalent to twice the cost of the civil war, and twice the property value of Manhattan island.

So I might continue to bring forward examples of recent origin and phenomenal development in the industries attending human progress in the countries around the Pacific.

The far west facing the far east, with the ocean between, have lain hitherto at the back door of both Europe and America. Now by magic strides the antipodal No-man's-land is coming to the front to claim a proper share in the world's doings. Whatever tends to increase the wealth and importance of any of these countries helps all the others. The development of the interior adds to the commerce of the sea, while the sea finds markets for the products of the land.

Said William H. Seward in 1852, before there was a railway or telegraph on any Pacific seaboard, or a line of steamships across the ocean, or any regular commerce with the Orient, while Alaska was yet an unknown frozen land, and Japan and China, save a few ports forced open to commerce, sealed to entrance and wrapped in barbaric conceit, and Australia was still the land of the black bushmen: "Henceforth European commerce, European politics, European thought, and European activity, although actually gaining force; and European connections, although actually becoming more intimate, will nevertheless relatively sink in importance; while the Pacific ocean, its shores, its islands and the vast region

beyond will become the chief theatre of events in the world's great hereafter."

Oriental life is found on the American side, as American life is found on the Asiatic side. And this intermingling of men and their necessities will increase, and cause industry and intellectual activity to increase until the whole world-encompassing arena shall bloom anew and bring forth fruit a hundred fold. Within the influence of this ocean, exchange of products will be established with millions of people, which will keep in active operation all those who can produce from the soil, from mines, or from the mills. With this world-wide and universal development of industries will arise an increased demand for skilled labor. Many young men we have educated and are educating in the arts of industry and peace, as well as in the arts of war, and there will be full occupation for all. Already the American mechanic has established a reputation in all lands, and the technical and industrial institutions of learning and practice, with the great manufactories in almost every branch of industry in every state of the union, are even now well able to supply the world with teachers.

The oriental demand for American mining machinery, electrical inventions and appliances, steel rails, agricultural implements, and a thousand other articles will be great and ever increasing. The Asiatic will also want from us meats and fruits, dried canned or in refrigerators; also live stock, horses cattle and sheep; all raw materials for the manufacture of paper and textile fabrics, at which they are expert. And as with Asia, so with South America and Australia.

For the rice which has so long been staple food, China and Japan are substituting flour from the Pacific and Rocky mountain states, of which they consumed 650,000 barrels in 1897, and will consume ere long 5,000,000 barrels a year. Thus is furnished for all time a steady market of easy access for all the wheat product that can be grown in these parts. And as with wheat so with other grains; yet if the land is largely occupied in growing one product, other products must diminish accordingly.

Nearly one-half the human race live in countries bordering on the Pacific ocean; the numbers will soon be more than half. What does that mean for the United States? One-half of the inhabitants of the earth within quick and easy reach from our

western coast. Cheap, safe, comfortable, and rapid ocean transit, as we have seen, may now be had from every part to every part of the Pacific, islands and mainland, and from the borders inland facilities are daily increasing. If Americans will rise to the situation, and put forth their intelligence, energy, and enterprise, they can feel assured of an industrial conquest such as has never before been seen. The commerce of the Pacific now amounts to \$5,000,000,000 per annum, and will be largely increased during the earlier part of the coming century. Who shall say what will be when the great works projected and to be projected are completed; when the number of lines of swift steamers which cross and recross between all the principal ports of Asia, Australia, and America, are doubled, and doubled again, with yet many other lines to Europe and to India; when islands and continents are everywhere connected by telegraphic cable; when the transasiatic railway to Vladivostok and Talienwan, the transandean railway, and the many projected lines of North America, northward to Alaska and southward from California to Chili, are finished, and when the Nicaragua and Panamá canals are completed?

All the great industrial evolution on the Pacific, the ship passage through the continent, the new expansion experience of the United States, the acquisition of midocean and Orient domains, and the enlargement of American ideas and personalities, all come as the largest and weakest of the world's empires is undergoing changes, the final outcome of which no one can foretell. Some say, and some hope, that China will crumble, and the Chinese become obliterated; but it is not so easy, even if it were desirable, to subordinate to foreign ideas or wipe from the earth 400,000,000 of people tough enough to make their way and hold their own in any of the oriental, American, or European communities, as has been amply shown. It is a different element from that of the tropical islander, or the American aboriginal, with which those who dismember China will have to deal. In taking the celestial empire the European had better look to it that he himself is not taken in the end.

It appears to some extent evident that China is slowly awakening from her long lethargic sleep, that the hard shell of exclusiveness which without a parallel in history has existed

these several thousand years is beginning to break, and that the vivifying influence of progress is now rapidly invading the land. First along the seaboard, and gradually toward the interior, outside intelligence is creeping in. The old fanatical cry of "foreign devil" is less frequently heard, and in place thereof are friendly talks of mills and machinery; of steamboats and railroads; of cotton, kerosene, and beer.

There are a hundred mills now in Shanghai alone using foreign machinery—cotton mills, paper mills, iron manufactories, and as many more in other places; in 1890 there was but one such establishment in all China. Many as there are of steamers and steam launches on the rivers, there are scores of navigable streams that have none. There are now telegraph lines to distant provinces; in 1890 there was not one; thousands of miles more of them are to be put up. Here is America's opportunity; American steamboats for the rivers, American machinery for the mills and mines, and a network of American railways to overspread the land. "It is not merely China, Russian Siberia, Japan, Korea, Siam, Formosa, the Philippines, Java, Borneo, great and small," a government official remarked, "that constitute a vast field which has been termed the Pacific opportunity. All eastern Asia to-day is trembling with the oncoming tread of progress, and when once these uncounted hosts realize that old conditions of sloth and inaction must yield to the invasion of new ideas, then the movement all along the line will astonish the world."

Japan is forging ahead under her new garb of western civilization. Siberia is being reclaimed from the frozen ocean to become a thoroughfare of industry and commerce, with the powerful influence of the tsar extending from the Baltic to the Pacific. Australia is a marvel of commercial development. The interests of Asia and Europe as well as those of America are destined hereafter to centre more largely in the Pacific. Says Colquhoun in his *China in Transformation*, "It is evident that the Pacific slope, though at present playing but a small part, is more closely concerned in the ultimate development of China than any other section of the states. The Pacific states are possessed of enormous natural resources; their manufactures, while still of minor importance, have quadrupled in twenty years, and will in the course of time

find the most advantageous market in the Far East." And of Asiatic commerce, Martin, in his *Cycle of Cathay*, remarks: "With the growing wealth of our Pacific coast, its future expansion challenges fancy to assign a limit."

Thus we may see, and shall see clearer as we proceed, that the light of discovery and progress now shines upon vast areas hitherto involved in the mysterious unknown; that the refined and sensitive of the earth are no longer tolerant of the presence of savages occupying lands suitable for cultivation, for on every side we see gardens of industry, cultivated lands, beautiful cities, and broad commonwealths filling the places so lately occupied by the unwashed and the unlearned; we see the whilom too exclusive Asiatics now swarming abroad to the annoyance of higher wage-workers everywhere; we see that China no longer sanctions open piracy and that Japan does not now kill shipwrecked mariners; that independent republican governments now occupy the soil formerly ruled by Spanish despotism; that the islanders no longer eat missionaries; that the sailing of ships across the ocean is not now restricted to one, or—by the grace of some Philip or Ferdinand—two a year; all around this vast amphitheatre European despotism has been banished, the people for the most part are sovereign, all perhaps save in China, where this same European despotism now proposes, by robbing them of their birth-right, to make them free; that even humanity—not human nature—itself has changed, the more highly cultivated of the human race having somewhat improved, superstitions having to some extent diminished, slavery being abolished, commerce liberated, colonial rule lightened; that christianity has discarded the use of the sword in proselyting, but not in punishing; that wealth, culture, mind, and manners have become predominant; and that underlying our development we are pleased to find a true altruistic spirit pervading not only private life but public affairs, until even our wars become characterized by kindness to the foe.

It is not so much a question of the will of the people as of the destiny of the people whether or not the United States, in the westward march of progress, will step forth into the sea, and, placing foot upon islands at convenient distances apart, cross to the shore of Asia. Surely it was a mistake on the part of the United States to permit expansion to present

dimensions if we are not prepared to go forward in the path of progress and perform our duty as one of the dominating influences of the world.

Almost all the choice places of the earth were long since appropriated by civilization, all the temperate climes are occupied, all the good lands of the continents and wide areas of bad lands, extending to the remotest north and the remotest south. And there are no more unclaimed islands to speak of, tropical or others; all are taken up. It is nothing less than a windfall then, miraculous some might call it, these three or four superb islands and archipelagos dropping unexpectedly into the lap of the United States all at one time.

We have no longer a virgin continent to develop; pioneer work in the United States is done, and now we must take a plunge into the sea. Here we find an area, an amphitheatre of water, upon and around which American enterprise and industry, great as it is and greatly to be increased, will find occupation for the full term of the twentieth century, and for many centuries thereafter. The Pacific, its shores and islands, must now take the place of the great west, its plains and mountains, as an outlet for pent-up industry. Here on this ocean all the world will meet, and on equal footing, Americans and Europeans, Asiatics and Africans, white, yellow, and black, looters and looted, the strongest and cunningest to carry off the spoils.

Nowhere is history so rapidly being made as in and around the Pacific ocean; nowhere is the evolution of events which stand for progress of more increasing interest and importance. It is now one of the world's highways of commerce, not a hazy dream or half-mythical tale, with its ancient mariner, and amazonian queen, and Crusoe island, and terrestrial paradise. The long since departed albatross has returned, to stir the winds of fresh benedictions, and now appears in the southern seas, where also are found in material form the fanciful creations of Defoe and Dante.

The year 1898 was one of bewildering changes for the United States. In that year the last of mediæval tyranny was driven from America. Our domain was extended east into the Atlantic and west into the Pacific, and across to Asia. The Pacific ocean, its waters, its islands, and its shores, as the world's theatre of commerce and industrial progression, at-

front; for the furtherance of which purpose the tsar solicits peace for a time.

In that year was seen united in stronger than fraternal bonds, in bonds of intellect and sympathy, in bonds of courage and admiration, in bonds of manhood and freedom, the entire English-speaking race, hitherto estranged, a century and more ago, by incompetent and impolitic rulers, a further division later arising involving the integrity of the American republic. For never before was there a war which was more entirely a war of the commonwealth than was our late conflict with Spain, where the people were united almost as one man on an issue foreign to their domestic peace or public rights, and which had never before been brought up for solution by any age or nation. Yet the entire American people felt that the cause was one with their integrity and manhood. It was in no sense a sectional or party issue, like the Mexican war; nor was it a political or social revolution; nor a conflict for supremacy or territory; it was not a religious war, nor a war for anything which had ever been fought for before. And never before was there a war so insignificant in itself which originated and decided so many momentous issues. Except for one or two brilliant naval exploits, filling us with surprise at our own strength and the enemy's weakness, there was little fighting worthy of the name of war; nothing which in our late civil strife would have been regarded as more than a brush, claiming passing notice. Never was there a battle begun in this war but that the issue was pretty well assured beforehand. Bravery there was present in plenty on both sides, men going like heroes to their death, but for the most part the greatest courage called out was the courage of inaction, in a hot climate and in the presence of disease. The colonial rupture which culminated in the declaration of 1776 was healed in 1898, when the Anglo-Saxon race the world over again became one, not politically one, but one in the higher duties and doctrines of man, one for liberty and the right, one for equity and humanity. And that sad break in the republic which led to civil war, the most lamentable of all wars; that, too, was healed in 1898, when the nation became united as never before, north and south, east and west, united heart and hand under one banner, in one cause, a cause the highest and holiest, humanity and the rights of man. Never before since the separate col-

onies of Great Britain indulged in their jealousies and contentions have the American states been so completely one and indivisible. North and south united in a common cause for the deliverance of the oppressed at their door, and their hearts warmed toward one another. Old England looked on approvingly, and the breasts of Englishmen the world over swelled with pride because of the people, one with themselves, who had thus taught mankind the sublimity of war. And I think we would not be wrong to say more, in the belief that time will justify the opinion, that the supreme fact not only of the year but of the century was the rise of the English-speaking race to a potential equality with all the other races of Europe combined.

In that year began a fresh struggle for life among the nations. The equilibrium of power reached at Waterloo was disturbed by fresh rivalries culminating in the Franco-German war of 1870. Then attention was turned from fighting over little strips of Europe, to the seizure and partition of distant continents. New maxims gradually found place in social ethics, and as time passed by principles were openly avowed in international affairs which though hitherto acted upon were seldom plainly stated. It was only in 1898 that Americans at least were bold enough to say that it was not only the right but the duty of the stronger to take charge of the weaker, even to the extermination of races and the appropriation of lands. Such was the result of the rise in that year of a military and naval power which had hitherto held itself somewhat aloof from the world's broader affairs while attending to affairs of its own, but which was now and forever after to be recognized as one of the dominating influences of the political world.

The year of Ninety-eight saw for the first time applied the truly altruistic spirit to international affairs. Even if it be true that within the universe there is no absolute unselfishness, men are learning, rulers and diplomats are learning, that there are grades of political brutality the grosser forms of which were better abolished. Certain illusions have been dissipated, as the traditional friendship of France and Russia, and the intelligence and honesty of the German press and people. The poison of international jealousy and the hollowness of international good-will, save that which is based on self-interest, have been brought home to us, and the fact that nations, like corporations, can be more base than individuals, and that the

loudly vaunted national honor is too often a veil to cover iniquity. Yet the Monroe doctrine has been confirmed, and the last vestige of mediæval monarchy driven from American shores.

In this year of Ninety-eight the centre of the United States was moved from Kansas to California. A new west is thus spread out before us, a west of water starting out from the west of land. The old middle west is now east—east of the geographical centre. The Pacific west is now neither east nor west, and in our farthest west we come against the old-time farthest east. And to present successes and future possibilities, San Francisco Bay bows in benediction, with broad anchorage to welcome commerce, and the Golden Gate an ever open door to all the world.

The year of Ninety-eight marks a new era in the industrialism of the Pacific. Sea power becomes as never before a factor in progress and international affairs. Henceforth more wealth will be made upon the sea, and the wars of the nations will be fought out to a great extent upon the water. Nor is our new national strength upon the ocean beneficial for self-assertion in political and naval matters alone, nor yet altogether for industrial aggrandizement; there are the intermingling of peoples and the interchange of ideas as well as of commodities, all of which will exercise their influence in future developments. This great ocean is now for the first time taking its proper place among other oceans, its commonwealths among other commonwealths, its commerce among the other commerce of the world. And as this ocean is the largest, its borders more extended and containing more natural wealth, its islands more numerous and more opulent than those of any other sea or section, its ultimate destiny and development will be correspondingly great. And this new birth comes at a most propitious time. America is ripe for it; the world is ripe. The day of great things is past. There are no more great things; behold all things have become mediocre or small! No more great seas or lands; no more great enterprises, no more great fortunes or great men. So that when it comes to the political and industrial subjugation of this sea, achievements which would have been regarded at one time as stupendous or impossible will not seem now extraordinary or of uncommon occurrence.

It was a prosperous year industrially, giving the largest cotton crop, the largest export of breadstuffs; the largest export of manufactured goods; the largest aggregate export of produce and merchandise; the largest export of wheat except that of 1891; the highest price for wheat except in 1888; the largest production of iron, coal, copper, and gold; the largest production of silver except that of 1892; the largest gold holdings; the largest per capita circulation of money; largest aggregate bank clearings; largest aggregate railroad earnings; largest aggregate sale of bonds; largest aggregate sale of stocks on New York stock exchange except in 1892; the smallest number of failures and the smallest aggregate liabilities since 1892. All this refers alone to the United States. Before these facts Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, with the cost of the war with Spain, assume small proportions. It was the beginning of a period of prosperity which would have come to the United States irrespective of the stimuli of war and territorial enlargement. Following the American civil war was a decade of business activity, culminating in the crash of 1873. Twenty-five years of commercial quiet followed. Then came the war with Spain, the cost of which was comparatively small, and the returns, moral and physical, large, with great industrial possibilities. The country was ripe for good fortune. Prosperity as I have said would have come at this juncture without war or aggrandizement. Products had been large and prices high. Farm indebtedness was reduced, while agricultural wealth increased. Commerce and manufactures were active. Exports exceeded imports, and money was abundant. And during the time of preparation and conflict, war troubled no one; the pursuits of peace were followed as in the days of peace. American capital came into notice, threatening the supremacy of the London money market. Although in no haste to become money-lenders for Europe, the rumor that Russia attempted to float a loan in this country had its significance. We were surely in no need of foreign capital to develop our resources or arm our soldiers. The United States is the world's creditor, and New York, if not absolutely so to-day, is destined soon to be the world's financial centre. Yet with all of our increase of domain during this year there was no cause for alarm, even on the part of those who hold expansion as suicide. There have been years in which the borders of

the United States were more greatly enlarged than in the year 1898—instance the Louisiana purchase of 1,171,931 square miles in 1803; the acquisitions of Florida in 1819, of Texas in 1815, of the California country in 1848, and of Alaska in 1867, nearly 3,000,000 square miles being thus added to the area of the republic since the ratification of the constitution by the original thirteen states. The territorial acquisitions of 1898 are after all but about one twentieth of those made during the last century. In the year 1798 the area of the United States was 827,000 square miles, and contained a population of 5,000,000. In 1898, including the acquisition of that year, a population of 85,000,000 occupied an area of 3,800,000 square miles.

Hence it was clearly evident on the day of the great appearing, the day of Dewey at Manila, and the day of Sampson and Schley at Santiago, that there had come to us a new America and a new Pacific. How dim and distant, on that day, in the minds even of intelligent Americans were Hongkong and the Philippines, the South sea and the antipodal Far East! Now there is scarcely a school girl who cannot tell all about Guam, Luzon, and the Ladrões, besides a score of other places whose names had little meaning in the average mind the year before the year of Ninety-eight. It quickly became evident, I say, that the United States, and all the countries bordering on the Pacific, were entering upon an epoch of wonderful development, a development which in time will give to these shores a Carthage, a Venice, a Brussels, and even a New York London and Paris. With our territorial possessions, and the intelligence, energy, and wealth of our people, uniting for purposes of mutual advantage with the thousands of new enterprises which the new conditions are destined to engender in the neighboring nations, what can we not do?

With the year of Ninety-eight begins a new age of human emancipation, an emancipation touching more closely the inherent rights of man if possible than the abolition of human slavery—denying the right of self-injury as injury to another, denying the right to block the way of progress and maintain an international nuisance, noxious to refinement, and demoralizing to neighboring nations. Man is born into slavery, yet fated to be free. Slave at first to his superstitions, to frowning nature, to threatening deities, to cruel despots; at length as he

emerges from the opaque ignorance of savagism, he finds ever fresh means of self-enslavement. Notwithstanding all which, man is fated to be free; and it is past the possibility of things for one people on this earth forever to hold another people in restraint, or to impose their laws or tenets upon them. As the American revolution signified to the world democracy and the death of kings, so the American war with Spain signified to the world a higher humanity, a holier integrity, and the liberty to do right. If the American revolution brought to mankind a new lesson in self-government, out of the Spanish war was evolved new international ethics, never before applied in peace or war. The plea of the first murderer before his maker, "Am I my brother's keeper?" is now answered, thundered forth from a thousand guns, "Thou art." In the war of the revolution the American people fought against kingcraft and for the right to govern themselves. They won. They established that right for all time, both for themselves and for any others who choose to avail themselves of it and maintain it. In the civil war the issue was freedom or slavery, freedom won; union or disintegration, union won. In the war with Spain the American people fought for the right to aid the weak against the oppressor. Again they won, and established also that right. Nor were the United States alone in this work of regeneration; General Kitchener in the eastern Soudan brought blessings to millions of the human race in delivering them from the hands of those who would destroy them.

The year of Ninety-eight brought to a close four hundred years of European oppression in America, never again for one hour to be revived. What wrongs the people of the New World, natives and others, have been called upon to suffer during that time at the hand of Christian Europe! Infamies there were, done in the names of the saints, that made the angels weep. Hundreds of native nations, savage and civilized, swept from the earth by oppression and slaughter, with all the imposition, cruelty, and slavery since inflicted. All this is now over; but throughout the ages history will continue to throw a sinister light upon this epoch.

Not only has a new power arisen in this year of Ninety-eight, but a peace-maker; not as Russia proposes peace, by convention with the powers for partial disarmament for the

present, until by husbanding her resources for a time, she will be able if she pleases to conquer the world, but by the introduction and exercise of moral with physical force which shall tend more and more to make war appear what it is, beastly and diabolical. No doubt the tsar desires peace, and most wisely; it was noticed, however, that never were his preparations for war more active than while his disarmament proposal was undergoing consideration, which would argue that he had but little confidence either in his proposal or in his neighbors.

It was a bad year for royalty, for as never before the fiat of man was sent forth round this earth that never again should man be oppressed by man. There had arisen a divinity of manhood superior to the divinity of kings. Before any should rule he must learn to obey. It was practically agreed in this year of Ninety-eight that tyranny and human oppression should be banished from the earth. The strong should no longer be left alone to wreak their iniquitous will upon the weak. Spain's bigotry has long been paramount, but Spanish cruelty in unoffending lands has ceased. Once mistress of the world, of a world far larger than the world of Egypt Greece or Rome, she is no longer mistress even of her poor self. Russia is strong, but the Russian serf is free, and the Russian tsar is afraid. Turkey, that once great empire which threatened Europe, though slow in dying, is doomed; this year of Ninety-eight marks the end of her rule in the island of Crete. England's royalty is a social rather than a political function, and the genius of her administration is to preserve the proper equilibrium between peace and the dignity of the nation. By the doings of Ninety-eight the democracy of the revolution was more fully understood and emphasized; the rights of man uplifted superior to the rights of might; royalty receives another blow, while equity becomes the watchword. It may be somewhat with us as with our forefathers, who did not realize what the democracy was which they were raising, nor how effectually they were cutting off the heads of kings.

A new fiscal policy, based on internal rather than external revenue was this year put in operation in the United States. To meet imperial necessities, as the increase of army and navy, the construction of an interoceanic ship canal, commercial subsidies for carrying the flag around the world, no less than from

the loss of duties on tropical products coming in free from the newly acquired tropical lands, taxes on inheritances, on commercial and financial transactions, and the like, were advanced to the relief of duties on imported products and merchandise; and these burdens were borne gladly, so that this year may be called the year of happy taxation.

And let us hope that the year of Ninety-eight saw some advance toward the exercise of honesty in diplomacy. Spaniards seem to regard systematic lying as the first requisite of a statesman. Since the fifteenth century when was promulgated the doctrine that bad faith on the part of a government was praiseworthy, Spanish kings and their ministers have been the faithful disciples of Niccolo Machiavelli. And the diplomatic service of the rest of continental Europe is much upon the same plane. So that in this war, and the international intercourse connected therewith, the absence of sophistry and chicanery on the part of the United States was remarked.

It was a year of thought and enlightenment. Many problems, political financial and industrial, arose for solution, which the American mind had never before been called upon to consider. War is a great educator; it teaches geography and economics, international relations and government, as well as the industries and sciences. The year brought to us a better knowledge of ourselves, as well as of the world; a knowledge of the American people, of their true progressive instincts and purposes, of their ideals of liberty and humanity, of their high achievements and their higher destiny; that they have been thus far strengthened rather than enervated by the accumulations of wealth, and that their courage and patriotism have not suffered by a century of isolation and long periods of peace. These, with other meanings and messages which this year brings are received and spoken of, not in a spirit of pride and vainglory, but with that thankfulness and those feelings of encouragement which tend to yet higher efforts. And the deeper significance of the achievements of the year, a year of bewildering accomplishments bringing unfathomable possibilities, will be better seen and understood a century hence than now.

It was the pivotal point in the nation's progress. Issues not of our own seeking, or of our own inventing and which

we must either accept or reject were thrust upon us. A step forward, and we were at the front with increased strength and usefulness; refusal to move signified the narrow but perhaps for the present safer policy of selfishness, Asiatic exclusiveness, and in time retrogression.

Though ever growing in area as well as in strength, all territorial additions hitherto made, except Alaska, had been contiguous to the original or previously acquired domain; and this year for the first time the term Greater America has come into use as including out-lying parts and distant islands. But so much greater proportionately has been the enlargement of ideas than the enlargement of territory, that we still feel equal to our environment. For when we were small we thought ourselves great, but when we became great, we beheld others also great, which taught us moderation, and to be mindful of our own business. Therefore I say that even though there had been no enlargement of area, the year shows a marvellous enlargement of ideas and purposes. We do not need these tropical islands for numerical increase of population. We do not specially desire them for any purpose, except perhaps as naval bases and strategic points for the use of an army and navy commensurate with our new conditions and pretensions, and for increased strength and influence in the Pacific. They will never be occupied by white men as places of permanent settlement, as New England was settled, and for the planting there of the domestic life and social and political institutions of the United States; for if the attempt is made the white men will not long remain white, but become yellow as in India, and likewise jaundiced in morality and patriotism. Yet new and extended opportunities are here offered for enterprise. American engineers have fields of activity in the new requirements of these half savage lands, as the construction of canals and railroads, and the building of public works, while the possibilities for commerce and manufactures are limitless.

Rejecting the old-time tenets that wrongs not done to us are not wrongs, and that our neighbor's affairs are no concern of ours, here was a new departure in whatever makes for good to the human race, in the recognition of humanity and the rights of man as among the cardinal virtues of a nation. Without attempting to regenerate the world or fight the battles of all nations, that which is nearest us, and in the line of duty,

should command our aid and sympathy. And even under the exigencies of war we may use sincerity in diplomacy, humanness in battle, and moderation in victory. To the Latin race, and to all Europe, a lesson was given that needs not soon to be repeated, a lesson in international ethics demonstrating that barbarism and tyranny by one people over another, be the color or condition of either what they may, will no longer pass by unheeded. To new lands this year were first given opportunities for a higher culture, and a life further removed from cruelty and injustice.

Above all, the year of Ninety-eight assures us that keeping pace with our material and intellectual advancement has been an altruistic development of which neither ourselves nor the world were fully aware. As we are more wealthy than we knew, so we find ourselves more proficient in humane thoughts and generous deeds than we realized. We have proved when put to the test that we have less than was formerly thought necessary of enmity in war and of subterfuge in diplomacy. And if we sometimes pat ourselves on the back for being so good, let it be understood that it is done not in a spirit of false pride and self-sufficiency, but that in acknowledging the good we may go on and do better.

In Europe, throughout this year parliamentary struggles were conspicuous. To screen her military, France did not hesitate to resort to crime to cover crime. The Spanish cortes was submissive in the hands of the queen and cabinet. The Austrian and Hungarian parliaments were in a somewhat fermented state, while that of Italy was kept quiet by an autocratic cabinet. There were the reconquest of the Soudan, the liberation of Crete, the assassination of the empress Elizabeth, and the deaths of Gladstone and Bismarck, the emperor William assuming as far as he was able the role of the latter upon his death. The tsar's disarmament proposal would have carried more weight had he begun the measure at home, as before intimated. The plan, however, displays astuteness, for if Russia might now for a time be permitted to develop her resources in peace, she need ask little from the rest of the world thereafter. The Siberian railway and the transcaspiian railway, the latter with its two branches to the Afghan and Chinese borders, were rapidly advancing toward completion, while river transportation was improved, and educational and industrial

development appeared on every side. Except for England, the influence of Russia in the political affairs of Turkey, Persia, Korea, and China would be well nigh supreme. The government of Great Britain was still concerned over the state of affairs in South Africa, no less than over what appeared an undue influence of the continental powers at Peking, threatening dismemberment. A great work was at the same time being accomplished in opening the Nile, and in bringing Khartoum and the Soudan within the sphere of European influence. Thus with a policy changed from one of selfishness and restrictions, England has come to the front as the world's civilizer, now not disdaining the coöperation of the United States.

The evil eye of Europe has been fastened on China during the year Ninety-eight,—the eyes of the nations on China and on each other, watching and waiting, ready upon any shadow of excuse, as a stolen boat or a murdered missionary, to pounce upon the prey, each taking care meanwhile that the others get no more than their share. Already have gone the Coast Province and most of Manchuria, Formosa, and the suzerainty of Korea, quickly followed by Port Arthur and Wei-hai-wei, while France now wants Yunnan and extension from Shanghai, and as much more as she can get. For three months the king asserted his authority, and issued edicts which gave hopes of political reform, but, suppressed by the empress dowager, his efforts failed. Japan continued her course of progression with an eye on Korea, narrowly watched by the Russians, who propose to dismember China at their convenience and for their own benefit.

Among the important events in the Far East during 1898 were the lease of Kiao Chau to the German government; the destruction of Amboyna, in the Moluccas, by an earthquake; the Chinese indemnity paid for killing German missionaries; the announced retention by Japan of Wei-hai-wei, of which Great Britain obtains leave from the Chinese government and takes possession; negotiation of Chinese loan of \$80,000,000 by European financiers; the lease of Port Arthur and territory to Russia by China, and the protest by the British ambassador; the burning of the American mission at Tongchow by a Chinese mob; the independence of Korea pledged by Russia and Japan; the gathering of a Russian fleet at Port Arthur and British ships at Wei-hai-wei prepared for battle; the authori-

zation by the French government of a loan of 270,000,000 francs for building railways in Tonking and Anam; the imperial edict at Peking, and abduction of the emperor; and the fire at Hankau, on the Yangtse, which laid in ashes a mile square of the city, attended with great loss of life. The British consul at Tientsin was notified that the shore frontage recently opened at Port Ching-wan-tao was reserved for a Chinese mining company, whereat the British legation protested.

As to the condition of China, whether living or dying, doctors disagree. Old in her civilization, such as it is, during the past three thousand years there has been but little change. Never having risen high, she cannot greatly decline. If age tends to respectability China is first among nations. Like the aged and respectable elsewhere, she clings to her old customs. She is not only of greater age, but greater in numbers than any other people. The trouble is that in this instance numbers do not add strength, but rather weakness; else Chinamen would visit Australia and America without an invitation. The powers say, "There is too much of her; let us make her less. There is not enough of us; let us make ourselves more. So we both will be benefited, and God shall have the glory." Upon a new hypothesis the nations of the earth become divided into two parts, those which are living and those which are dying. The question of survival becomes paramount among all kingdoms and commonwealths, which are to live and which are to die and be devoured by the others. To live there must be food and light and air, which imply land, which in turn implies war, conquest, subjugation, extermination. Africa in parts is badly decayed, notably the Mohammedan parts; elsewhere the naked savages, never having been born or baptized into civilization, cannot be placed in the category of dying nations; but are only fit for extermination—or American citizenship. But when all is said we may safely conclude that the year marks a change for the better in the affairs of China, more especially in the voluntary opening to the world the interior by decree of the emperor, and the granting of important concessions to foreigners.

In the year Ninety-eight began that fusion of West and East which united forever the ends of the earth, with the Pacific as the central scene of coming development, a fusion no less of culture than of commerce, with the world-balancing

potentialities transferred from the eastern to the western hemisphere.

At a time when the nation was not overburdened with great men, either in congress or out of congress, the year of Ninety-eight developed the fact that the United States government had at the helm a man to be trusted. There was patriotism in the war, and also politics; the patriots were among the people and the politicians were in Washington. The former considered the interests of the country before their own; the latter served themselves first and their country afterward. Doubtless in all his conduct President McKinley had in view his own reelection; it is the fault of a republican form of government that patriots have ever to consider place. Yet the policy of the president seemed for the most part to promote the honor and welfare of the nation. He seemed actuated throughout by a desire to do the will of the people whom he represented, rather than indulge in the exercise of his individual opinion. And so far as human intelligence and human foresight could discern he pursued a wise and humane policy, which found response in the hearts of true Americans, and raised the nation in honor and dignity in the eyes of the world. That he labored under the incubus of American politics, and was not altogether free from the charge of favoritism, demonstrates all the more clearly the quality of statesmanship called in force by the emergency. The highest tribute that words can pay him is that in his conduct of the war he proved himself an able and an honest man.

In the civil war President McKinley had played his part, but his experience as a soldier had not been conspicuous. In military matters however he exercised the same practical common sense which he displayed in other affairs. Now he was commander-in-chief of the army and navy, not in name only but in reality. Upon his own judgment in a great measure he directed fleets and formulated general plans for army movements. The order to Dewey to capture the Manila squadron was written and sent by the president against the advice of his cabinet. The fate of nations was thus determined by the stroke of his pen. He forbade a summer campaign to Havana with its needless sacrifice of life, but he humanely pressed to an issue affairs at Santiago which ended the war. Proposals

of peace the president always gladly welcomed, but he made it plain that the legitimate results of the war must accrue to his government. He would be fair and moderate in his demands, but inflexible in their fulfilment. His financial policy was no less marked than his success in military and naval affairs. When those of the preceding administration who had approved of a brokerage of \$9,000,000 for securing a government loan of \$62,000,000 at four per cent opposed the fiscal measures of the president, he passed by the intermediaries and offered direct to the people a loan of \$200,000,000 at three per cent, which was instantly taken six and a half times over.

In every great event of the administration, in every great event of the war, the president rose to meet the emergency with coolness and sagacity. He would not be hurried into impolitic measures. Naturally conservative, he cautiously felt his way both in going to war and in the subsequent settlement. Before declaring war, he must know that the people wanted war, and that there was no other way out of the difficulty. He restrained congress, whose members were not always cool, dignified, and consistent, from taking the final step as long as possible; but war once declared, he prosecuted it with vigor. The war over, not knowing what the nation and the world would adjudge a fair settlement, he waited for a consensus of opinion. Instead of stating plainly in the protocol, as many thought he should have done, and so perhaps have brought upon himself and the nation the charge of unfair demands, and an inordinate grasping for spoils, he wisely left the questions of the Philippines to be settled later, when the people of the United States and fair-minded men abroad should under calm consideration have reached reasonable conclusions.

At the Omaha exposition, on the 12th of October, President McKinley said: "In fighting for humanity's sake we have been signally blessed. We did not seek war. To avoid it, if this could be done in justice and honor to the rights of our neighbors and ourselves, was our constant prayer. The war was not more invited by us than were the questions which are laid at our door by its results. Now as then we will do our duty. The problems will not be solved in a day. Patience will be required, patience combined with sincerity of purpose and unshaken resolution to do right, seeking only the highest

good of the nation and recognizing no other obligation, pursuing no other path, but that of duty. Right action follows every right purpose. We may not at all times be able to divine the future, the way may not always seem clear, but if our aims are high and unselfish, somehow and in some way the right end will be reached. The genius of the nation, its freedom, its humanity, its courage, its justice, favored by divine providence, will make it equal to every task and the master of every emergency."

Abroad he won the highest respect. Said Prince Bismarck, "McKinley has shown superior statesmanship by calming public sentiment. The exaltation of the American mind concerning Cuba is not quite understood in Europe. The Spanish point of view is mediæval. Spain's atrocities in Cuba, her misgovernment at home, and her treatment of captives in Montjuich fortress are fresh in our recollection. Spain is on the verge of bankruptcy. She cannot rely on any support, except possibly from France or Italy. We Germans sympathize with the grievances of the Cuban insurgents."

And thus the London *Times* of August 15th. "If foreign observers might presume to have an opinion upon his conduct, it would probably be that President McKinley has kept his finger constantly upon the national pulse, and has known how to stimulate and direct national thought without too markedly outrunning its movement. Everything has been done in the open, every move has been discussed as a possibility all over the United States before the government was irrevocably committed one way or the other, and the result of that cautious, tentative policy is that where he stands at this moment the president has the whole American people behind his back. We do not know that there can be any higher statesmanship for a president governing under the constitution of the United States. It is noteworthy that while the Spaniards, who are usually regarded as chivalrous, romantic, and mediæval, have turned first to the financial aspect of the situation, the Americans, who are usually supposed to be intensely patriotic, have as yet hardly given a thought to the financial or economic side of the question. What occupies the American people at this moment is not the cost of the war, the value of their acquisitions, or the balance of profit and loss account, but the

moral result of the struggle and the nature of the ideas which it stimulates."

The London *Spectator* gives a eulogy of the "splendid and unexpected manner in which Mr. McKinley has risen to the requirements of a high and difficult position. The president has developed latent talents showing him the possessor of many of Lincoln's great qualities. It would be remarkable if for the second time in a generation the American system of really an elective monarchy proves itself a strong system for dealing with a dangerous crisis. Europe may have been hasty in rejecting the very idea of an elective monarchy as fatal alike to stability and strength."

The war with Spain was not of the president's seeking. From a long line of predecessors he received the unsavory legacy of the Cuban question. The issue was forced upon him; it was his opportunity as well as his obligation, and he met the issues with the courage of his convictions. In diplomacy, he was direct, sincere, and wise, and whether from foresight or good fortune he was remarkably successful. He did not enter office in 1896 at the end of a brilliant career, but as an efficient and successful American statesman; and when as time passed and grave issues had to be met his versatility of talents was a surprise. When the nation trembled with passion, his wise words and good politics brought it to reason. And this was the more conspicuous because he had not always about him the best of advisers; among his ministers were those who did not hesitate to place in positions of high trust incompetent favorites instead of reliable officers of tried ability. As with Lincoln in the civil war, while arming for the conflict McKinley's best efforts were called forth to avert dissension at home and prevent interference from abroad. Any imprudence might lead to general conflict with the powers of Europe resulting in humiliation and disaster. Nothing would be lost but everything gained by moderation. One serious mistake would result in greater harm than many delays. Give the people time to consider what they want. Give Europe time to become convinced of our inflexibility of purpose and purity of intentions, and that it is principle, not passion, that governs us. Give Spain time to realize the dire retribution which awaits her if she persists in her course of evil doing. James

K. Polk did not hesitate to force upon the country an unjust war with Mexico for more slave territory. But McKinley paused before the terrible arbitrament of war, as Washington paused on the brink of independence, and as Lincoln paused before committing himself to the civil conflict as well as in the emancipation measure. And William McKinley, like Washington and Lincoln, will always be remembered by a grateful country as one of its few great presidents.

CHAPTER III

EUROPEAN BARBARISM IN AMERICA

EUROPE of the fifteenth century was barbaric; or, if civilized, it was a civilization as different from the culture and refinement of to-day as the civilization of the Roman differed from the barbarism of the German.

When Spain went forth to conquer the New World four hundred years ago, she was much the same as other nations of christendom in civility and humanity, much the same in cruelty and barbarity. In wealth and power she was equal to any, if not indeed superior to all. Later, some of them changed for the better, dropping the worst of their mediæval manners, and emerging from under the denser clouds of ignorance and superstition. But while other nations advanced, Spain remained stationary, and in some respects retrograded, still guided by the old spirit which drove out Mohammedans, killed Jews, and proselyted at the point of the sword. Hence we can understand how it was that Weyler's methods in Cuba were so like those of Cortés in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru.

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the church, which was subordinate to the sovereigns, the pope being nominally master. What the pope gave to Spain on behalf of his maker was not to the Spanish people, but to the Spanish sovereigns. Governors, magistrates, and all other officials, civil and ecclesiastical, were created and deposed at pleasure by the king. To the colonist belonged no rights or privileges apart from the crown. Municipalities might elect their own officials, but subject always to the approval of the crown. There was significance in the fact that the king of Spain had himself called also king of the Indies, indicating thereby that his transatlantic possessions were provinces, and integral parts of the crown domain, rather than colonies in the ordinary sense, with some sort of individuality and independence. The *cédulas reales*, by which the royal pleasure was expressed, formed in reality the first legislative code of the kingdom of the Indies, embodied in the *Recopilacion de las Indias*, back of which was that of Castile, and *Las Siete Partidas*, or the common law of Spain. After the establishment of the Council of the Indies, legislative power vested in that body under the king, and executive power in the captains-general and viceroys under the king.

Finance, also, was based upon the theory that the king was owner of the land. Some of the natives paid a capitation tax; some a *primicias*, or first fruits tax; others gave in the aggregate eighteen months' service in the mines at various times between the ages of eighteen and fifty years. The church took a tenth of the proceeds of agriculture, and after this tax on the raw material, the prepared article, as indigo, sugar, and cochineal, paid another tax. Then there were the customs duties on articles of commerce, the *alcabala*, or vendor's duty, and from the product of the mines the king's fifth and other royalties. Tobacco salt and cards were crown monopolies. Many of the offices of the colonies were sold by auction to the highest bidder, the purchaser's profit to be ground out of the colonists. After manufactures had been driven from the Peninsula, goods from abroad must be entered at Cádiz and pay a heavy duty; on leaving Spain another duty; still another on entering Mexico or Peru; after that bribes, commissions, notary fees, and the seller's profit made the price to the purchaser in the New World three or five times the original cost.

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And so it was from first to last, the colonists of Spain were subject alone to the kings of Spain. All colonial possessions were dependencies of the crown; all laws and regulations were made and administered by the crown, by or through the minions or ministers of the crown. These possessions were held by the Spanish sovereigns purely for profit. Of the natives, both body and soul, merchandise was made, the former being of the treasures of this world, and the latter of the world to come. Obedience was the first duty of the subject, obedience first as to what he should do, and then as to what he should believe.

Yet it is true, as I have said, that the rulers of Spain have always been more humane than their agents in the treatment of the Indians, more just in the treatment of colonists. At a distance from the king his representatives were supreme, the colonists being subject to the ignorance, fanaticism, or caprice of the viceroy, governor, or general. It was no easy matter for royalty, always arbitrary and given to espionage, to find willing and faithful instruments to do its bidding beyond the reach of the strong arm and discerning eye. Petty rulers did much as they pleased, concocting new villainies to cover old ones, and trusting to their cunning or good fortune to carry them through at the judgment day. Hence, in the main they exercised their own pleasure, and indulged in the sweets of despotic power, whether it had been delegated to them or not. And throughout the entire viceregal period, these imitations of royalty, in common with almost all New World officials, were Spaniards born in Spain, beside whom, as is well known, Spaniards born in America were inferior beings, politically and socially. If, then, such have been the modes of thought and conduct for centuries among themselves, what could be expected in their intercourse with weak and defenseless colonists whom they regarded as little better than brutes?

The better class of the inhabitants of Cuba are mostly of Spanish origin, with intermixtures of Indian and negro; some of them are of pure European blood. There were before the American war with Spain two political parties, Spaniards and Cubans loyal to Spain, and Cubans mulattoes and negroes of the insurgent class. Spanish military rulers in Cuba seemed to have but little respect for their own government, and as in the olden time they did much as they pleased. They mani-

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That the machinery set in motion by the ministers of Charles V should have continued running for more than three hundred years, shows either that it was well adapted for the purpose or that the wear upon it was light. That Spain's rule has continued so long shows that there was present a vital force, the force which underlies tyranny and bigotry, the force of ignorance and fear; that she lost her rule shows that ignorance and fear are losing their hold on humanity, and that the destinies of nations are no longer subject to civil and religious coercion.

Since 1823, when a large part of Spanish America threw off the yoke of Spain, and when certain Cubans in Mexico had appealed in vain to the embryo republic to lend 1,500 men with Santa Anna as leader to help them likewise achieve independence, and Bolivar had nearly gone to their assistance, the island had been an object of peculiar consideration to the people of the United States. Not that its possession was in any wise coveted; there were lands enough contiguous lacking inhabitants, and untried issues at home sufficient to give full occupation to the active American mind. But industrially and politically Cuba was full of interest. Her position and products, no less than the people and their government, could not fail to command the attention of so near and observant a neighbor.

And for the most part until a recent period the relations between the United States and Spain have been friendly. The eighteenth century conflicts of England France and Spain, transferred across the Atlantic, and resulting in the expulsion of the French from North America, and the acquisition by the United States of Florida, the north shore of the Mexican gulf, the Mississippi valley, and the great Northwest, were well-nigh forgotten, and little attention was paid to the prediction that under some pretext the island would eventually be taken from Spain. Filibustering was always promptly suppressed, and talk of acquisition or annexation frowned upon; and while it was understood that the United States did not want Cuba, it was equally well understood that the American government would never permit any other power, particularly

any European power except Spain, to own or control the island. Jefferson in 1795, Clay in 1825, Van Buren in 1840, and Fish in 1871, all declared that the United States had no designs on the political condition, or on the conquest of Cuba, and on an attempt from any source to wrest the territory from Spain, the United States would interfere to prevent it. On the other hand John Quincy Adams, President Monroe, and Daniel Webster were not averse to annexation under certain conditions, but always with the sanction of Spain, with which power it was desirable that friendly relations should continue. One cause of the hesitancy of the United States to meddle in Cuban affairs was the possible effect on the question of slavery. On this account alone many preferred having nothing to do with Cuba; because some desired the further acquisition of slave territory and influence, while others were strenuously opposed to the extension of the evil under the protection of the United States laws. Therefore so long as Cuba held Africans as slaves, it would have been difficult for her to have formed any close political alliance with the United States.

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Spain made the same mistake at this juncture that England had made with regard to her American colonies; she tightened her hold on them when she should have loosened it.

Instead of winning the good will of the colonists by kind and liberal measures, she was determined to rule by coercion. To prevent the loss of Cuba, as all the colonies of the mainland had been lost, extraordinary powers were given to the rulers, the exercise of which practically placed the island under military law, while representatives were excluded from the cortes.

Insurrections broke out from time to time, some of them dignified by the name of revolutions. There was one in 1829, another struggle in 1844, and others during the period from 1847 to 1868. In the year last named began what may be called the first general and united uprising of Cuba for independence. The revolution of 1868 was brought on by the insurgent leaders Cespedes, Marmol, and Garcia, and resulted in a ten years' war, which left the island in a deplorable condition. It was at a time when Spain was passing through new and strange experiences, as civil war, a Bourbon monarchy, provisional government, and then after kingdom and republic, back to the house of Bourbon again. It was a brutal contest, this between the colony and the mother country, in which dungeons were filled, students wantonly shot on mere suspicion of sympathy with rebels, while commerce was nearly exterminated and many industries totally destroyed. Among other episodes, brought to mind with some significance by the *Maine* infamy, was the capture at sea by a Spanish warship of the steamer *Virginus*, registered as an American vessel of war at New York, and which was taken to Cuba, and fifty of her officers and seamen shot. As it was shown that the Spanish government after making every effort were powerless to prevent the crime, and that the *Virginus* obtained her American register by fraud, on the payment of indemnity, the case was dismissed. This attempt at independence like all the rest failed, although the slaves were made free. Then tyranny fell back into the old groove.

Seventeen years of peace followed these ten years of war, when once more the burden laid on the colonists by their benignant mother, amid scores of broken promises, became too heavy to bear, and again they revolted. And now the rebel leaders were not only resolved never to treat with Spain for anything less than absolute freedom, but they were determined, each for himself, that none of the others should do so. Therefore when they feared that Domingo Mendez Capote, who had

good of the nation and recognizing no other obligation, pursuing no other path, but that of duty. Right action follows every right purpose. We may not at all times be able to divine the future, the way may not always seem clear, but if our aims are high and unselfish, somehow and in some way the right end will be reached. The genius of the nation, its freedom, its humanity, its courage, its justice, favored by divine providence, will make it equal to every task and the master of every emergency."

Abroad he won the highest respect. Said Prince Bismarck, "McKinley has shown superior statesmanship by calming public sentiment. The exaltation of the American mind concerning Cuba is not quite understood in Europe. The Spanish point of view is mediæval. Spain's atrocities in Cuba, her misgovernment at home, and her treatment of captives in Montjuich fortress are fresh in our recollection. Spain is on the verge of bankruptcy. She cannot rely on any support, except possibly from France or Italy. We Germans sympathize with the grievances of the Cuban insurgents."

And thus the *London Times* of August 15th. "If foreign observers might presume to have an opinion upon his conduct, it would probably be that President McKinley has kept his finger constantly upon the national pulse, and has known how to stimulate and direct national thought without too markedly outrunning its movement. Everything has been done in the open, every move has been discussed as a possibility all over the United States before the government was irrevocably committed one way or the other, and the result of that cautious, tentative policy is that where he stands at this moment the president has the whole American people behind his back. We do not know that there can be any higher statesmanship for a president governing under the constitution of the United States. It is noteworthy that while the Spaniards, who are usually regarded as chivalrous, romantic, and mediæval, have turned first to the financial aspect of the situation, the Americans, who are usually supposed to be intensely patriotic, have as yet hardly given a thought to the financial or economic side of the question. What occupies the American people at this moment is not the cost of the war, the value of their acquisitions, or the balance of profit and loss account, but the

moral result of the struggle and the nature of the ideas which it stimulates."

The London *Spectator* gives a eulogy of the "splendid and unexpected manner in which Mr. McKinley has risen to the requirements of a high and difficult position. The president has developed latent talents showing him the possessor of many of Lincoln's great qualities. It would be remarkable if for the second time in a generation the American system of really an elective monarchy proves itself a strong system for dealing with a dangerous crisis. Europe may have been hasty in rejecting the very idea of an elective monarchy as fatal alike to stability and strength."

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CHAPTER III

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Spain made the same mistake at this juncture that England had made with regard to her American colonies; she tightened her hold on them when she should have loosened it.

Instead of winning the good will of the colonists by kind and liberal measures, she was determined to rule by coercion. To prevent the loss of Cuba, as all the colonies of the mainland had been lost, extraordinary powers were given to the rulers, the exercise of which practically placed the island under military law, while representatives were excluded from the cortes.

Insurrections broke out from time to time, some of them dignified by the name of revolutions. There was one in 1829, another struggle in 1844, and others during the period from 1847 to 1868. In the year last named began what may be called the first general and united uprising of Cuba for independence. The revolution of 1868 was brought on by the insurgent leaders Cespedes, Marmol, and Garcia, and resulted in a ten years' war, which left the island in a deplorable condition. It was at a time when Spain was passing through new and strange experiences, as civil war, a Bourbon monarchy, provisional government, and then after kingdom and republic, back to the house of Bourbon again. It was a brutal contest, this between the colony and the mother country, in which dungeons were filled, students wantonly shot on mere suspicion of sympathy with rebels, while commerce was nearly exterminated and many industries totally destroyed. Among other episodes, brought to mind with some significance by the *Maine* infamy, was the capture at sea by a Spanish warship of the steamer *Virginus*, registered as an American vessel of war at New York, and which was taken to Cuba, and fifty of her officers and seamen shot. As it was shown that the Spanish government after making every effort were powerless to prevent the crime, and that the *Virginus* obtained her American register by fraud, on the payment of indemnity, the case was dismissed. This attempt at independence like all the rest failed, although the slaves were made free. Then tyranny fell back into the old groove.

Seventeen years of peace followed these ten years of war, when once more the burden laid on the colonists by their benignant mother, amid scores of broken promises, became too heavy to bear, and again they revolted. And now the rebel leaders were not only resolved never to treat with Spain for anything less than absolute freedom, but they were determined, each for himself, that none of the others should do so. Therefore when they feared that Domingo Mendez Capote, who had

been elected president of the Cuban republic in September, might be too easily influenced by the enemy, they put him aside in December, and elected in his place Bartolomé Masso, who had raised the first band of volunteers in the insurrection of 1868. Esperanza, in the Cubita hills, was now the rebel capital, and in January the town was captured by the Spaniards, and burned, the government and its archives, if any there were, vanishing. In February, 1895, Juan Gomez took the field near Matanzas, Bartolomé Masso at Manzanillo, and Jesus Rabi at Santiago, and Cuba's last rebellion from Spain was begun. There were then 18,000 Spanish troops in the island. Captain-general Emilio Calleja immediately cabled to Madrid for reinforcements, which came in form of 12,000 men under General Martinez Campos, who on landing accepted Calleja's resignation. José Martí assumed the leadership of the insurgent government, with Maximo Gomez commander-in-chief of the army of liberation. The junta thus organized by Martí were the friends of Cuba libre, called separatists, as distinguished from the home rulers, or autonomists. Soon 350 revolutionary clubs, with a membership of 50,000, gave the junta their moral and financial support. Some of them were true patriots. One of their number, Tomás Estrada Palma, suffered loss of fortune and seven years' imprisonment, when with a word, by renouncing his loyalty to Cuba, he might have been free and rich. Martí himself soon gave his life to the cause in attempting to break through the enemy's cordon which had been thrown round him.

Organizing a government with Salvador Cisneros Betancourt, marquis of Santa Lucia, as president from 1895 to 1897, Bartolomé Masso filling the office for the term following, the insurgents entered upon a guerilla warfare which ended only with the capitulation of Santiago in 1898. Gomez was a devoted commander, able and tenacious. His tactics were incessant attacks but no pitched battles. In the United States little attention was given to the outbreak at first, all Spanish America being usually in a chronic state of revolution; but it became manifest in time that this uprising was different from any which had preceded it, and different from the usual outbreak, being well planned and carried out with promptness and efficiency. Attempts were frequently made to convey arms and supplies to the insurgents from the United States, but

they were for the most part frustrated by the Washington government. The insurgents won a decisive victory at Bayamo, July 13, 1895, the most important battle of the war.

Campos failed in his efforts and resigned. He was succeeded by General Valeriano Weyler, the wickedest man in Spain, who had held office in the Philippines, there gaining wealth by extortions. A photograph taken on the day of his landing at Havana February 10, 1896, shows in his features a combination of cunning and cruelty difficult to surpass. He immediately issued a proclamation attaching the death penalty to fourteen mostly trivial offenses in the way of aiding the rebels. A savage warfare then set in with horrible atrocities on both sides. Both sides killed envoys from the enemy, tortured and murdered prisoners, and bound and imprisoned suspects. Spaniards, or those of Spanish blood never become so civilized that they will not under one pretense or another rob non-combatants and kill prisoners of war whenever they desire to do so. Even the patriot commander, Gomez, not to be outdone in barbarity by any barbarian from Spain, proclaimed November 6, 1895, "All plantations shall be totally destroyed, their sugarcane and outbuildings burned, and railroad connections destroyed. All laborers who shall aid the sugar factories shall be considered as traitors to their country. All who are caught in the act shall be shot." To these instructions Antonio Maceo added June 9, 1896, "Blow up trains and bridges with dynamite. Destroy all houses that may offer refuge or shelter to the Spanish troops, and all corn and tobacco found deposited in your territory." These orders were mild as compared with many. Such was the policy of the combatants on both sides throughout the war. As for barbarism, there was little to choose between them. And while all this was bad enough, it was more especially the outrages committed on non-combatants, innocent men women and children, that stirred the hearts of the American people to put forth a hand in their defense, rather than the brutal warfare waged on each other by these merciless men of Europe and America.

In a long and hotly contested conflict, extending from generation to generation, between two such peoples as those of Spain and Cuba, with wrong and oppression on one side and ignorance and brutality on the other, it was scarcely to be expected that the nicer distinctions of civilized warfare should

always obtain. Much might be excused, particularly when those with eyes did not care to see; and much was excused. But there is a point passing which humanity revolts. There is a point in a career of infamy and atrocity beyond which the bystander is not expected to remain indifferent and inactive, putting away his responsibility under the plea that it is outside of his line of duty.

Terrible as was the situation in Cuba, it was not easy to formulate a plan for a solution of the difficulty. During two administrations the authorities in Washington refrained from interfering. Then tenderly congress touched the subject in a report of the senate foreign affairs committee of January 29, 1896, conveying a resolution instructing the president to "use in a friendly spirit the good offices of this government to the end that Spain shall be requested to accord to the armies with which it is engaged in war the rights of belligerents." After a month's debate congress went so far as to declare "that the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the president to the Spanish government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba."

Weyler never took the field in person, but remained in Havana concocting schemes and levying blackmail. One of his plans, which would have done honor to Mephistopheles, was to strip the country of its population and destroy all property throughout the rural districts, farm houses, produce, growing crops, stock, and manufactures, the haciendas of the rich and the huts of the poor, and concentrate these pacificos, or peaceable people, in the towns, so that the rebels would find nothing on which to subsist throughout the land. To this end an edict was issued on the 21st of October, to which the queen regent affixed her signature, not realizing probably that she was thus consigning hundreds of innocent victims to homeless wandering, lingering disease, starvation, and death. As she is a woman, and the mother of a boy, let us hope for the sake of humanity that she did not know the horrible cruelties and injustice she was inflicting on so many other women, and so many other boys, as greatly loved and as free from any guilt as was her own.

In a report to congress Secretary-of-state Olney said: "It is officially reported that there are in one provincial city alone some four thousand necessitous refugees from the surrounding

country to whom the municipal authorities can afford little or no relief." The people thus herded in the suburbs of the cities were without food and houseless. Their homes had been destroyed, their country laid waste, and without the succor which alas! few of them received, they must die.

An appeal was made by the United States secretary of state, on the day before Christmas, for aid for the suffering in Cuba. A central Cuban relief committee was organized with an office in New York, where contributions of moneys and supplies were sent. Liberal donations followed, which were distributed by the Red Cross society. Before this quantities of provisions sent from the United States to the starving Cubans were seized and devoured by the Spanish soldiers, whose situation, ill fed, ill clothed, and ill paid as they were, was in some respects scarcely less pitiable than that of the Cubans. Relief supplies sent by charitable persons to the reconcentrados in the interior were in like manner used by the Spanish officers to feed themselves and their men.

The Cubans under arms numbered not more than 35,000 at any time, while the Spaniards increased their forces to 150,000 men. At the same time the fact became clear that as the large mass could never come within reach of the small one to crush it, Spain would never be able to put down this rebellion. And while Spain adopted a starvation policy with regard to the people, the rebels retaliated by burning the sugar mills which gave revenue to the Spanish government, thereby cutting off resources and adding to the Spanish debt. Thus business was destroyed, and among others American citizens resident in Cuba suffered severely. During Cleveland's administration several Americans had been imprisoned in Cuba, but on the peremptory demand of McKinley on his entering office they were released. Upon assuming the presidency, Mr. McKinley continued the cautious policy of his predecessor Grover Cleveland. But a report of Consul-general Lee, May 17, 1897, of increasing distress, and stating further that among the destitute were 600 or 800 American citizens, stirred the president to call an extra session of congress and ask for \$50,000 for the relief of the suffering in Cuba, which request was granted. Stewart L. Woodford was sent as minister to Spain, a man well fitted to bring about a peaceable solution of the impending difficulties if possible to do so.

The president's instructions to Minister Woodford were that he should impress upon the Spanish government the sincere wish of the United States to lend its aid toward the ending of the war in Cuba by reaching a peaceful and lasting result. He should say further that at this juncture his government was constrained seriously to inquire if the time was not ripe when Spain of her own volition, moved by her own interests and every sentiment of humanity, should not put a stop to this destructive war and make proposals of settlement honorable to herself and just to her Cuban colony.

Commenting upon these and like dignified, just, and charitable sentiments, Enrique Dupuy de Lome, Spanish minister at Washington, writes to his friend José Canalejas of President McKinley: "Besides the natural and inevitable coarseness with which he repeats all that the press and public opinion of Spain had said of Weyler, it shows once more what McKinley is, weak and catering to the rabble, and besides a low politician." With which brave and gentlemanly words de Lome resigned his position and departed from the country.

Upon the assassination of the Spanish premier, Canovas del Castillo, on the 8th of August, Praxedes Mateo Sagasta, came into power. He was born in 1827, educated as an engineer, entered the cortes in 1854, and was for twenty years leader of the liberal party. Measures were at once taken to forestall the demands which the sagacious minister foresaw were about to be made by the United States on behalf of humanity and civilization. A new constitution was announced giving Cuba autonomy. Weyler was recalled and to fill his place was sent Ramon Blanco, who revoked the reconcentration order, and opened prison doors. The world smiled benignantly on Spain's new policy. All evils were to be abolished by a new autonomist constitution; but when in November the text was cabled to Washington, it was found to be ineffectual. It was promulgated as a royal decree instead of emanating from the cortes, whose approval was essential to its validity. Or, if approved, it still left autocratic power with Spain, giving the colonists little if any more liberty than they had before. A governor-general, appointed by the crown, was to summon, adjourn, or dissolve the parliament, and hold a veto over all legislation. He was commander-in-chief of the military forces, and held at his disposal all public patronage. These and other like provi-

sions, hedged about by plausible restrictions, while pretending much really gave nothing. Yet on the 1st of January, Captain-general Blanco formally inducted into office a new ministry, under this constitution, in which were five Cubans, with Galvez as president.

The island was now supposed to be pacified, and a programme of conciliation was sent to the insurgents for their acceptance, saying that their military officers should be recognized, that Cuba should pay \$100,000,000 out of the \$600,000,000 indebtedness due for both wars, also \$2,000,000 a year for the crown list, and so on. But the insurgents would not accept it. Even if made valid by the cortes, and the stipulations were fair, covering all that the astute statesmen pretended, what guarantee had Cuba that the promises would be kept? How many like promises had been made to the colonies and broken? How many had been made and not broken? And so the war with its usual outrages continued. A Spanish lieutenant-colonel of engineers, Joaquin Ruiz, sent by Blanco to the camp of the insurgent brigadier, Nestor Aranguren, to win him if possible to autonomy, was seized and shot. A month later the death of Ruiz was avenged by the killing of Aranguren, 1,500 Spanish soldiers being sent into the hills for that purpose.

A party of Spaniards in Cuba were as much opposed to the new constitution as the rebels themselves, and there were riots in Havana between autonomists constitutionalists and soldiers, which however noisy resulted in no great danger.

The ostensible change of Weyler's policy by Blanco in the reconcentration of non-combatants, proclaimed November 10th, brought little change, the report being that "there is no general or marked improvement among the class of reconcentrados as a whole, and the frightful rate of mortality continues." On this same 10th of November Blanco telegraphs the Spanish minister at Washington that "everything that is humanely possible is being done"; yet two months later Blanco might read at breakfast in an Havana journal. *La Discussion*, printed under his very eyes, and speaking of the state of things as they existed in the capital city of Havana: "Four hundred and thirty wretched beings are quartered in an unhealthy place entirely without ventilation, huddled together, each bed made to accommodate several persons, there

being but 121 beds for 500 sick inmates. The medicines found in the building consisted of one bottle of cod-liver oil, one demijohn of wine, and a few bottles of other preparations. All the food on hand was reduced to three pounds of bacon, twelve pounds of rice, eighteen cans of condensed milk, half a bag of sugar, and some garlic. Only one physician and a few students were in attendance, and they strolled along the corridors where children, women, and men were suffering. The lack of food and clothing occasioned horrible scenes. At one corner a mother held in her arms the body of her dying child, crying for help, which was not given, while three other children watched in horror the agony of their dying sister. In another corner a group of five naked children were huddled together trying to keep warm. They were orphans, with no one to care for them. Many more horrible scenes cannot be described." On the 6th of April 200 concentrados were massacred after leaving Havana subsequent to Blanco's recall of the concentration order.

In his message of December President McKinley reviewed the situation, and said that some action would have to be taken in Cuban affairs. Either we must tacitly assent to these atrocities by inaction, or we must interfere and put a stop to them. "The cruel policy of concentration," he goes on to say, "was initiated February 16, 1896. The productive districts controlled by the Spanish armies were depopulated. The agricultural inhabitants were herded in and about the garrison towns, their lands laid waste and their dwellings destroyed. This policy the late cabinet of Spain justified as a necessary measure of war, and as a means of cutting off supplies from the insurgents. It has utterly failed as a war measure. It was not civilized warfare. It was extermination." It was clearly evident that this state of things could not long continue. Spain's misrule in Cuba was a blot upon civilization, and affairs were getting worse rather than better. Spanish policy was little likely to change, if left for its improvement to Spaniards.

Early in 1898 reliable reports were received from consuls of the United States in Cuba of yet more abominable atrocities. From Havana: "The reconcentrado order of General Weyler transformed 400,000 self-supporting people, principally women and children, into a multitude; their homes were

burned, their fields destroyed, and their live stock driven away or killed. I estimate that probably 200,000 of the rural population of the provinces of Pinar del Rio, Habana, Matanzas, and Santa Clara have died of starvation." From Sagua la Grande: "There are here 25,000 starving families." From Matanzas: "I found a family of seventeen in an old limekiln, all dead but three." From another witness: "In this district are 90,000 people in a starving condition." From Santa Clara: "Number of deaths in one year 6,981 out of a population of 14,000."

Desirous of satisfying himself by personal observation, Senator Proctor, of Vermont, among others, went to Cuba in February, and on his return stirred the hearts of the American people by his speech in congress. Senator Gallinger reported at the capitol a visit to Cuba in March. No picture can be overdrawn, he said, of the "utter wretchedness, destitution, and hellishness in that country. At Havana and Matanzas the condition of affairs is simply indescribable. The reconcentrados are wedged into all available places in those cities, and are perishing by the thousand for want of the commonest necessities of life. The best information obtainable leads to the conclusion that there have been beyond a doubt 400,000 deaths as a result of Spain's brutal policy, and the tragedy goes on from day to day."

Standing on the floor of congress Senator Thurston said: "I shall refer to these horrible things no further. They are there. God pity me, I have seen them! They will remain in my mind forever. And this is almost the twentieth century. Christ died nineteen hundred years ago, and Spain is a Christian nation; she has set up more crosses in more lands, beneath more skies, and under them has butchered more people in the name of Christ than all the nations on earth combined." It has been estimated by the Spaniards themselves that since the beginning of this war in 1895 sixty per cent of the light-colored Cubans, and fifteen per cent of the blacks have died, and this aside from the loss of Spanish troops, amounting to 125,000 men. This would be a total loss, based upon Cuban estimates of population, of 640,000 persons.

During the scores of years the native Cubans had been fighting for freedom from Spain, they had been driven from the cities by Spanish soldiers, and now held larger sections of the

country through which it was more difficult than ever for foreign troops to make their way. Under such leaders as Calixto Garcia, general commanding the Cuban forces at the time of the United States invasion, they had unsuccessfully fought for liberty and human rights. And the people of the United States had long regarded with horror the treatment of the Cubans by Spain, and questions of interference, annexation, or purchase had often arisen. But during these many years of continued cruelty and injustice, the impression to some extent in certain quarters was abroad that it was the acquisition of territory rather than principles of humanity which led to the protests made from time to time against Spanish colonial policy as exercised in the islands of America. Gradually, however, by special investigations made by congress, the truth was reached, and the outrages were found to be worse than had been represented. To every appeal, whether in form of request or demand, Spain now returned a peremptory negative. Congress became impatient. The people demanded more energetic measures. The president was heartily with congress and the people, but he deemed it the duty of the executive first to exhaust every effort for accomplishing the right by peaceable measures, before plunging the nation into the heavy cost and physical horrors of war.

Meanwhile the patience of the nation became exhausted, as further damning evidence came pouring in, and the president was criticized by some for those very qualities which were a crowning merit. It was now fully settled that Cuba should be free, but the president still hoped that this might be accomplished without war. So he asked congress for delay. Congress became impatient, and still the president requested more time. The people of the United States felt that it was impossible for them to stand idly by and witness the wrongs and cruelties inflicted in the name of colonization on an unoffending people by such chosen instruments of Spain as Campos, Weyler, and Blanco. The president was of the same opinion. Yet he felt it to be his duty to exhaust every possible means of peaceable solution of the question before resorting to a war which might be regretted afterward.

In Madrid the pressure upon the government for war was as great as in the United States, the people desiring the prestige of striking the first blow. Weyler was received into favor,

and his perspicacity in penetrating what he called the hollow designs of America was highly extolled. Weyler had with him the popular rabble and the political rabble, that is a low element among the people and his partisans in the cortes; but the Spanish government by no means desired war, or saw in it aught else but defeat. Intelligent Spaniards knew that they would have in their antagonist a young, wealthy, powerful, and intelligent nation of nearly eighty millions of people; they knew, or might have known, were self-knowledge possible for any of the Latin race, that they were old, worn-out, decrepit, poverty-stricken, ignorant, and fanatical. Why then did they not yield gracefully and at once, before coming to blows? For two reasons: first it was necessary to satisfy their riotous populace, who knew no better than to think that Spain could overcome all the armies of the earth, and who would fight their rulers if their rulers would not fight the Americans; and secondly, from the insane and essentially feudalistic idea that honor demanded that concession should first be beaten out of them before they granted it. Spanish honor is truly a rascally tyrant, requiring its votary to die in a bad cause rather than live in a righteous one, permitting him to perpetrate any atrocity, to indulge in lies and treachery, or any iniquity in the name of war or chivalry, rather than to do the right thing because it is right.

Owing to this unsettled state of affairs, in which American sympathies were enlisted and American interests involved, it was deemed advisable by the United States authorities to dispatch a war vessel to Havana, on a friendly visit. The Spanish government was at the same time invited to return the courtesy, and the Spanish battleship *Vizcaya* was sent to New York.

On the morning of the 25th of January, 1898, the battleship *Maine*, white as a winged messenger of peace, and flying the stars and stripes of the American republic, approached the harbor of Havana, exchanged salutes with the Spanish batteries, and entering came to anchor. Three quiet weeks passed by, when shortly before ten o'clock on the night of the 15th of February, a fearful explosion occurred, and the entire forward part of the vessel was blown to destruction. Two hundred and sixty-six men, including two officers, were killed, or so wounded and mutilated that they soon died. The ship and its belongings were valued in money at five million dollars.

A wave of horror swept over the land, and indignation was expressed in every part of the world. Captain Sigsbee, of the ill-fated vessel, telegraphs, "Public opinion should be suspended until further proof." Nevertheless he says later, "My first order on reaching the deck was to post sentries about the ship. I knew that the *Maine* had been blown up, and believed that she had been blown up from the outside. Therefore I ordered a measure which was intended to guard against attack. There was the sound of many voices from the shore suggestive of cheers."

Congress receives the news in ominous silence, not a word being officially spoken on the floor of either house. President McKinley and Secretary-of-the-navy Long express belief that it was the result of accident. Three days later, after due examination, evidence of external explosion is found in the wreck, and Senator Mason asks congress for an investigation. Spanish officials at Havana contend that the explosion was internal, and the result of accident; the congressional board of inquiry pronounce it to have been outside the ship, from the firing of a mine,—a floating torpedo, experts said.

The announced purpose of this ship to these waters was a friendly naval visit, and the diabolical disaster was not permitted immediately to influence war measures. It was difficult at first for men to believe that within the pale of christianity there were human beings of so fiendish a nature as intentionally to commit so infamous an act. It was difficult at first to believe that Spain did it; then it became difficult not so to believe.

The facts were these. Between Spain and the United States relations were strained. On the seaboard side the harbor was strongly fortified, evidently against the United States. The presence of an American warship in these waters was unwelcome; the request had been made that she should not be sent. On entering the port she was taken by a Spanish pilot to a particular mooring buoy, one out of the ordinary course and not in general use. There she was destroyed and sunk by an explosion from the outside. An explosive capable of destroying a large battleship is not an article of commerce to be purchased anywhere by anyone, but is made by or for some government, and at no small labor and cost. It is needless to say that the mechanism which wrought this disaster was placed at the buoy

government; but on the 7th of April, fearing for his safety, he was ordered home, the archives of the American consulate to be turned over to the British consul. The same day, on behalf of the European powers, a joint communication was presented to President McKinley by the diplomatic representatives of France, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, Russia, and Italy expressing a hope that affairs between Spain and the United States might be amicably adjusted. The president replied that he hoped it might be so.

On the 11th of April the president laid before congress a brief history of a half-century of Cuban insurrections. He spoke of the losses to American interests, the barbarous methods which had shocked the sensibilities and offended the humane sympathies of the American people, and of the efforts made by the United States to mediate between Spain and her revolted colonies, all of which were spurned by the Spanish government. "The war continued unabated," the president goes on to say. "The resistance of the insurgents was in no wise diminished. The efforts of Spain were increased, both by the dispatch of fresh levies to Cuba and by the addition to the horrors of the strife of a new aid in human phase happily unprecedented in the modern history of civilized Christian peoples. The policy of devastation and concentration inaugurated by the captain-general's bando of October 21, 1896, in the province of Pinar del Rio, was thence extended to embrace all of the island to which the power of Spanish arms was able to reach by occupation or by military operations. The peasantry, including all dwelling in the open agricultural interior, were driven into the garrison towns of isolated places held by the troops. The raising and movement of provisions of all kinds were interdicted. The fields were laid waste, dwellings unroofed and fired, mills destroyed, and in short everything that could desolate the land and render it unfit for human habitation or support was commanded by one or the other of the contesting parties, and executed by all the powers at their disposal. Long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smolder with varying seasons, but it has not been and it is plain that it cannot be extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced

pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop."

Thereupon the president asked power from congress to put an end to the conflict, and secure a stable government for the island, using for the purpose the military and naval forces of the United States according to necessity. The request was granted.

One of three lines of action the president believed the United States government should take, recognition of the insurgents as belligerents, recognition of the independence of Cuba, or intervention on behalf of civilization and humanity. One answer sufficed to dismiss the first two propositions, namely, that Cuba was unfit for self-government, not possessing the essential attributes of statehood, without which neither belligerency nor independence were admissible.

Congress passed resolutions declaring Cuba to be free; disclaiming any intention to exercise sovereignty in the island except for its pacification; demanding the retirement of Spain, and directing the president to enforce these measures with the entire land and naval forces of the republic. The ultimatum, that Spain must immediately relinquish authority and withdraw her force from Cuba, was cabled to the American minister at Madrid on the 20th of April, and diplomatic relations were severed.

"We may be very sure that the island will not be pacified until ready for annexation," was Spain's sapient and perhaps unusually truthful reply.

On receiving notification from the state department of the action of the president, and of the ultimatum sent to Minister Woodford at Madrid, the Spanish minister, Polo y Bernabe, who had succeeded de Lome at Washington, requested his passport, and took train for Canada on the evening of the 20th. Before Woodford was able to present the ultimatum on the morning of the 21st, he received a note from the Spanish minister for foreign affairs terminating diplomatic relations,—so eager were the Spaniards to be accredited with striking the first blow.

Spain's declaration of war came in form of the dismissal of Minister Woodford, severing diplomatic relations. Accord-

ing to the federal constitution, the sole power in the United States to declare war rests in congress; in Great Britain and most other monarchical governments it is the exclusive prerogative of the crown. It is the province of the president of the United States to recommend or discourage a declaration of war, but it is a question for congress to determine. Hence on the 25th the president asked congress to give legality to the acts of the government by declaring war to have existed on and after the 21st; which was done, the state department notifying the foreign powers, most of which promptly proclaimed neutrality.

CHAPTER IV

NEW NAVAL TACTICS

"CAPTURE or destroy the Spanish fleet," said the president.

"I will wipe it from the ocean," the commodore replied.

With these words was initiated a new era in the world's development, involving a course of events, broad in influence as the earth, and as far reaching as time.

The place was Mirs bay, near Hongkong, and the day the 26th of April, 1898.

War for the deliverance of Cuba had been declared, but the world was scarcely looking for the first demonstration to appear on the coast of Asia. Commodore George Dewey, however, in command of the United States squadron at Hongkong, had been momentarily expecting some such word from the president ever since the breaking off of diplomatic relations on the 21st of April, though war was not declared until the 25th. The squadron had withdrawn from Hongkong at the request of the governor general.

Dewey was ready. He had been in command of the Asiatic squadron since January, had thought matters well over, and his plans were fully matured. A coat of war paint had been given the ships, and the white squadron had changed in color to a dark drab. A cargo of coal which had lately arrived in the British steamer *Nanshan* from Cardiff, had been bought, with the ship that carried it, care having been taken to make this purchase before the commencement of hostilities and the declaration of England's neutrality should prevent it. The steamer *Zafiro*, of the Manila and Hongkong line, was also purchased, and the spare ammunition placed on board of her, the crews of both vessels being reshipped under the United States flag.

The American fleet consisted of nine ships, four protected cruisers of the second class, gunboats, one revenue cutter, and

two transports, the *Olympia*, flagship, Captain Charles V. Gridley; the *Boston*, Captain F. Wildes; *Raleigh*, Captain J. B. Coghlan; *Baltimore*, Captain N. M. Dyer; *Concord*, Commander A. S. Walker; *Petrel*, Commander E. P. Wood; the revenue cutter *McCulloch*, and the two transports. In Manila harbor was the Spanish fleet of sixteen vessels, Admiral Montojo, comprising seven wood and iron cruisers, five gunboats, two torpedo boats, and two transports. The cruisers were *La Reina Cristina*, flagship, *Castilla*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, and *Velasco*. The Americans had the better ships and guns; the Spaniards had more ships, a protecting port, and shore batteries. There was not an armored vessel in either squadron.

It was destined now that the first step in the war for the deliverance of Cuba should be the hostile meeting of these two armaments. Success or defeat on either side would mean much. To the Americans, thousands of miles from supplies or succor, failure signified death,—death to the men who fought and death to the hopes of the republic. The Spaniards, however, were in a good harbor, under the guns of their own fortifications, and an army at hand on shore. The two fleets were not unevenly matched; were guns and gunners equal in efficiency and skill the advantage would be on the side of the Spaniards.

President McKinley's telegram was brought to Commodore Dewey from Hongkong by the cutter. The news spread among officers and seamen, and a wild cheer went up from those waters as the commodore's signal appeared, calling his captains to the flagship to receive their instructions. On the day following the fleet steamed away for the Philippines, 628 miles distant.

Not knowing of a certainty just where the enemy might be found, on approaching the Philippines Dewey called at Bolinao bay, and again at Subig bay, the latter thirty miles from Manila; but the Spanish warships were not there. Copies of a Spanish newspaper were obtained by several of the officers, in which was a characteristic communication, dated the 23d of April, by the commander-in-chief at Manila, General Augustin, full of bombast and braggadocio, and calling the Americans bad names, as infamous cowards who burned towns, pillaged churches, sacked nunneries, tortured prisoners,

and killed women and children. In this strain he continues: "The North American people, constituted of all the social excrescences, have exhausted our patience and provoked war with their perfidious machinations, with their acts of treachery, with their outrages against the law of nations and international conventions. The struggle will be short and decisive. The God of victories will give us one as brilliant as the justice of our cause demands. Spain, which counts upon the sympathies of all nations, will emerge triumphantly from this new test, humiliating and blasting the adventurers from those States which, without cohesion and without a history, offer to humanity only infamous traditions and the ungrateful spectacle of a legislature in which appear united insolence and defamation, cowardice and cynicism. A squadron manned by foreigners possessing neither instruction nor discipline, is preparing to come to this archipelago with the ruffianly intention of robbing us of all that means life, honor, and liberty. Filipinos, prepare for the struggle, and united under the glorious Spanish flag, which is ever covered with laurels, let us fight with the conviction that victory will crown our efforts, and to the challenge of our enemies let us oppose, with the decision of the Christian and the patriot, the cry of Viva España! Your General, Basilio Augustin Dávila." Hearing this paper read, and calling to mind the late Spanish outrage perpetrated at Havana, the zeal of the Americans was in no degree lessened thereby. "Keep cool and obey orders," said Dewey.

The fleet arrived off Manila Saturday evening, April 30th. The night came on hot and stifling. The guns were all loaded, and a supply of shot placed ready at hand. After a slight shower the moon shone soft and sepulchral through the haze, thus enabling the men to see without the search lights. Not one of the officers on any of those ships had ever been in this harbor before. In all their desperate undertaking, in all the emergencies and rapid movements of the coming fight, they must be directed only by charts. This is delicate work even in open day and with nothing to distract the attention; what was it then at night, and in the rage of battle when the morning came? High up by the standard compass with the commander was Lieutenant Calkins, who took the bearings of such landmarks as might be recognized on shore, while

another officer indicated the result on the chart; and this is all they had to guide them, or to warn them from places where lurked danger. Orders were signalled to slow down until the moon should set; all lights to be guarded, then slip noiselessly into the bay, and open the fight in the early morning. Such was the plan, and its execution was a marvel of strategy and good fortune.

The bay in form is oval; at the entrance is Corregidor island, and at the farther end the city of Manila, 26 miles from the entrance. The town of Cavite, where were the military post and marine arsenal, and under whose guns the Spanish fleet lay, is ten miles nearer. On the spit opposite Cavite was a large mortar battery. Manila bay was Spain's stronghold in the Orient, reported impregnable, the entrance well mined, and the borders bristling with Krupp guns. These, then, were the obstacles the Americans must expect to meet, the mines, the shore batteries, and the Spanish fleet under the protecting guns of Cavite.

Commodore Dewey did not know what was before him in Manila bay, but he knew himself and he knew his men. His orders were, "Capture or destroy the fleet"; the cost was not counted, and its consideration formed no part of his instructions. Every precaution should be taken, and after that if every ship were destroyed and every life lost, the fault would not be his. He was there to do his work, and it should be done whatever the result. Long ago he knew what he would do in such an emergency; long ago the battle of the fleets had been fought out in imagination, the issue was now to be determined.

Of the two channels for entrance, the commander chose the narrower one. The harbor was deep and broad, and he had little fear from mines at the entrance; passing that he must take the chances.

Steaming slowly past Corregidor island under cover of the darkness, with no lights visible except a stern light on each ship, all hands at quarters, every eye strained, and every ear on the alert to catch the slightest sound, the fleet entered the bay. Signal lights could be seen flaring up now and then from the surrounding hilltops, presently to die down into the opaque valleys.

All that Saturday night and until the dawn of Sunday

morning the Americans remained inactive, under the terrible strain of uncertainty, feeling their way in the darkness with steam enough on only for steerage way, liable at any moment to be blown to atoms by bomb or shell, and not knowing where the enemy lay, or what was before them. At twenty minutes past twelve a flash from the shore, followed by a dull report, and the swishing sound of a flying projectile, marked the first shot of this memorable encounter, the fire being drawn by a light from the furnace of the *McCulloch* as she passed by. It was answered by a four inch shell from the *Concord*. Two other shots from the fort, which flew wide of the mark, were answered by the *Raleigh* and *Boston*, and all was still again as the grim destroyers moved slowly forward to their work of death.

At length through the gray dawn were seen the islands and the shore, Manila the city, a few trading vessels not far distant, and Cavite the fortress, with its white houses and battlements; and there also off the starboard bow and outside of Point Cavite, lay the fleet of the Spanish admiral, Patricio Montojo y Parason whose boast had so lately been that "not one of the Yankees should escape alive." At the head of the column the *Olympia* steamed slowly forward, her battle flag floating at the mizzenmast, followed by the *Baltimore*, two ship's lengths astern, and then the others. The transports had been dropped some time before, and were stationed out in the bay. Taking in the whole with one comprehensive glance, the commodore quietly remarked upon the beauty of the scene, adding, "Those blue hills yonder remind me of Vermont."

It was now five o'clock, and the flagship signalled, "Prepare for action." Upon the instant the stars and stripes appeared at every masthead, and simultaneously from all those ships went up a mighty shout, which struck upon the ears of the bewildered Spaniards like an echo from the infernal world, "Remember the *Maine*!"

Suddenly the *Olympia* changed her course, the other ships following, and swinging round in a wide curve passed along the Manila water front, then curving round again struck a course parallel to the line of the Spanish fleet. One or two mines or torpedoes exploded, disturbing the water, but no attention was paid to them, nor to the shots from the forts,

nor even to those from Montojo's ships when first they opened fire. The swing of observation round the bay, though not made in a spirit of bravado, was not unlike the march of mailed knights round the amphitheatre in an old-time tournament, with a bow before the city which might be interpreted "Those about to conquer, salute you!"

The battle was not to be a conventional duel, a stand and fire engagement, but a naval evolution, fought on the wing, at least so far as the Americans were concerned, whose ships would pass in front of and along the line of the enemy, firing the guns on one side as they passed by, and then turn and fire from the other side, making the circuit in the form of a figure eight. The superiority of Dewey's tactics was instantly seen in his mode of attack, which was a storm, his line of battle a circle, the fire falling on the enemy as from a whirlwind. Meanwhile the shore batteries were rendered harmless, even had their gunners been competent, owing to the commodore's strategic position and movements. No time was lost in attempting to avoid unknown dangers; and when the time for action arrived, it was not the weakest but the strongest point that was sought for attack, and the blow was quick and decisive.

On came the battleships, Dewey with Lamberton and Reese, chief of staff and executive officer respectively, on the forward bridge of the *Olympia*, the men at their stations at the guns and in the magazines and shell rooms, while in the conning tower was Captain Gridley, alert and ready. The Spaniards now began their fire in earnest, and from ships and shore came a continuous shower of deadly missiles, that is deadly if properly directed, but in this instance falling harmless into the water.

"Hold fire until well in," signalled the commodore. Then presently came from the commander's lips the words, very quietly spoken yet felt in their effect round the world,

"You may begin firing, Gridley." And shortly afterward the signals for the other ships were given. "Open with all the guns." "Fire as convenient."

And from a quarter to six until quarter to eight the thundering of the Hotchkiss guns never for a moment ceased.

In the shell-rooms, twenty feet below the water line, where the temperature was 127°, were men selecting and passing up

the shells,—shrapnel armor-piercers and cannon,—incessantly called for, the eight-inch projectiles, weighing 250 pounds each, being somewhat heavy for rapid handling in the stifling heat. The first shot of the *Olympia* was aimed at the *Reina Cristina*. Calls from the range-finders through the sentries came to the gunners every two minutes, “gunboat, 1700 yards;” “cruiser, 3000 yards;” “torpedo boat, 920 yards.” While in answer to this last call the gunner of the *Olympia* was waiting for her to come flush with his quarters, an eight-inch shell from the turret blew the ill-fated craft entirely out of the water.

One after the other the battleships of the Americans passed before the enemy, pouring in a broadside; then circling round and passing back the starboard guns sent forth their deadly missiles. Five times the fleet thus made the circle. The first fire was concentrated on the *Reina Cristina*, as she came out from behind the pier, until she was bored full of holes by the tons of metal hurled into her from two eight-inch guns, seven five-inch, and ten six-pounders. The most destructive single shot of the battle was that which struck the stern of the Spanish flagship as she wheeled disabled from the fight, and which crashed its way through the length of the vessel to the boilers, where it exploded, filling the air with fragments of wood and steel and the mangled bodies of the seamen. Sixty men and officers were killed, and the vessel was so disabled that the gallant Spanish admiral was obliged to transfer his flag to the *Isla de Cuba*.

Meanwhile one of the Spanish torpedo boats started for the transports, and another for the *Olympia*; one was blown in pieces by the rapid-fire guns of the *Petrel*, and the other by the machine guns in the tops of the *Olympia*.

Coffee had been served to the men at daybreak; and as the strain was severe, and the commander considered the battle practically won, at a quarter to eight the signal was given for the fighting ships to rendezvous at the anchorage of the transports,—some said for breakfast, others that the commander was not satisfied with the work the gunners were doing, and desired to overhaul the ammunition and give fresh directions.

As the warships came together, and one captain after another made his report, all were amazed at the result. Not a ship had been disabled, and not a man killed. Some few had

been wounded, and there had been many narrow escapes. A shot had passed entirely through the *Baltimore*, but had struck no one. Another shot struck the deck of the *Olympia*, and yet another exploded just before reaching her bridge, where it would have struck. Many other dangerous shots were reported, but none causing serious damage. The Spanish guns were poor, and the gunnery still worse, most of the shots falling short or flying wide of the mark.

At a quarter before eleven the engagement was renewed, and an hour later the work of destruction was complete, and still without the loss of a single man. In this second part of the battle, essentially the same line of tactics was followed, though with some variations, but with the same satisfactory result. This time the *Baltimore* took the lead; and the orders were to clean up as they went along; that is, all were to concentrate their fire on each Spanish ship as they came to it, and complete its destruction before proceeding to the next. Thus the *coup de grace* was first given to *La Reina Cristina*, which soon blew up and sank. Attacked simultaneously by the *Baltimore*, *Raleigh*, and *Olympia*, the *Don Juan de Austria* received a shell in her magazine, which exploded, and the vessel sank.

The signal was then given "Destroy the fortifications," and the *Baltimore*, steaming to within 2500 yards of the forts, poured in broadsides with great precision and terrible effect. Lying close in shore was a Spanish cruiser. The *Concord*, soon joined by the *Olympia*, darted after her, and threw into her eight-inch shells until she took fire. The *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, lying inside the mole, kept up a continuous fire until an eight-inch shell struck her waterline amidships, and she went down stern first with colors flying. And so with the others; all were either burned or sunk, the Spaniards themselves setting on fire and scuttling several of their own ships. At length a white flag appeared fluttering over the arsenal, and instantly the signal was given, "Cease firing." The Spanish fleet was indeed swept from the sea. Dewey's boast was more than accomplished, for never had he said that all this should be done without loss of life or property. Never was there such a battle, and never will there be another like it. Montojo reported his loss at 381 killed and wounded.

The Spaniards fought with courage and devotion, but the

conditions which gave success to the Americans were not present with the Spaniards. Their ships were old, their guns were poor, and their men lacked the training and discipline which secure efficiency. In obedience to the commands of vain and selfish rulers, they did what they could; they went down to their death asking no quarter, every ship sinking with its flags flying. Without considering the loss of empire, the day's destruction represented, as was estimated, a loss to the Spaniards in monetary value of some \$6,000,000, though the original cost of ships and forts must have been twice that, while \$5,000 would repair the damage done to the American ships. But the property loss was the least loss to Spain, and its gain the least gain to the United States. The spoils of war were great for a single battle, but they were nothing as compared with the more distant results,—the Philippine and other islands, victory over Spain, imperialism and expansion, a new life and new policy for the people of the United States.

This signal victory, the greatest in some respects in ancient or modern warfare, was due primarily to the courage and efficiency of the United States navy. The gunnery was superb, the men having been thoroughly drilled in target practice and in ship routine. Though working together as one man, like a finely constructed machine, the men were not machines only, but each one was fired by intelligence and determination. The officers were the embodiment of cool courage and high practical efficiency. The commander-in-chief was worthy to direct such a force, possessing a full practical knowledge of everything pertaining to his profession, with a genius for naval tactics, and consummate skill in carrying out his well matured purpose. While to the officers and men was justly given the highest praise, it was to the one embodiment of all skill and efficiency that the great glory accrued, to him whose sagacity and daring imagination, subordinated to practical execution, achieved results unequalled in the annals of naval warfare. As with Nelson at Trafalgar, a great man had met a great event, and the result was a revelation. Both pass into history, the one as characteristically and intensely the American for the moment, the other as the supreme achievement not only of the war but of the age, and as one of the decisive battles of the world.

It is bewildering to contemplate the momentous issues depending on that two hours' fight. At no epoch of the history of the New World can a point of time be found upon which so much turned, and upon no man who has ever influenced our destinies has graver responsibility ever been laid or more nobly met than by George Dewey in this instance; for if defeated, Spain could have seized Hawaii, and have placed under tribute the entire Pacific coast. This accomplished, what might she not have done next?

But while giving full credit to the genius of the commander, and his new tactics, we must not forget that leadership though much is not everything. The Spanish commanders were brave and skilful, yet they lost. The American seamen were so trained, the range of guns so nicely calculated, and the ships so admirably manœuvred that the entire fleet under a master mind was as one perfect implement of destruction. Modern naval warfare is reduced mainly to strength of material and mathematics. Tactics are something, but not what they were, and sword-shaking and shouting do not count at all.

It was pathetic, all through the war, the writhing of the poor Spaniards under the heavy blows which fell on them so mercilessly, loudly lying to keep their courage up, and always so grandiloquently declaiming about their honor, which required the sacrifice of so many of their men to keep alive. One would think so severe a blow as this they had just received would dampen their mendacity. But not so. From Manila to Hongkong, and thence to Madrid word was sent: "Great battle! heavy American loss; the enemy was constantly forced to manœuvre!"

Admiral Montojo was carried for safe keeping and recuperation to a convent in the town, as the Spaniards have a way of killing or mobbing their unsuccessful commanders. Indeed, in this case, it was at first reported that the brave admiral had been slain by his own people. A week later Montojo wrote General Lazaga, at Paris: "The first of May at five o'clock in the morning we saw the American squadron formed in line at a distance of three miles between Manila and Cavite. I opened fire, which soon extended all along the front of battle, the enemy directing most of his blows against my flagship. The melinite projectiles having set on fire the cruisers *Christina*

and *Castilla*, I transported myself with my staff to the *Cuba*. What more need I say? We beat a retreat on Bacoor, where we continued the defense until I gave the order to sink our disabled ships. They disappeared in the waves, with our glorious flag nailed to their masts. The enemy immediately took possession of the arsenal of Cavite, which surrendered after having been evacuated by our soldiers, bearing their arms. Thus abandoned, Cavite was left to the horrors of pillage by the rebels in the presence of the Americans, whose indifference constituted approval. I betook myself to Manila by land, fatigued and slightly wounded in the leg, having been able to convince myself once more that the navy was neither understood nor appreciated. There in the capital the fear of a bombardment caused great panic, and everybody asked himself how, with four such miserable ships, we had been able to sustain the attack of eight first class ships, recently constructed and furnished with superior artillery. Four hundred of our marines were wounded by the fire of the enemy. Of that number one hundred and eighty, of whom the half are dead, were from my flagship. Poor Cadarso! Since the combat the Americans have declared that, their superiority having been admitted, they did not doubt that after having fired a few cannon shots for the honor of our banner we would raise the white flag. The heroism of my men, martyrs to their duty, who have so freely poured out their blood for their country, has struck them with admiration. Commodore Dewey has said to me through the English consul that he would esteem it as much an honor as a pleasure if he could one day shake me by the hand to felicitate me on my conduct. This proves that one more often finds justice in an enemy, superb and noble, than among one's own compatriots. By the mediation of the consul I have obtained leave from the commodore for the sick and wounded in the hospital of Canacao to leave for Manila, where they will be cared for and protected from the fury of the natives."

Spain was never a formidable sea power, and her naval officers though bombastic and brave were not skilled seamen. It is thought by good judges that had there been an exchange of fleets, victory would still have been with the Americans. As it stood, it was madness for Montojo to oppose the American squadron; he should have landed his men and destroyed

his vessels; after which he might as well have hanged himself, for had he not his countrymen would probably have hanged him, as one of the essentials in the vindication of Spanish honor.

If Admiral Montojo was surprised to see his fleet sink into oblivion, unable to hurt a hair of the enemy's head, what must have been the feelings of Don Basilio Augustin, who but one short week before had indulged in the characteristic philippic previously given. But in the mean time Augustin with his family had made ready to sail for Spain in the German cruiser *Kaiserin Augusta*, leaving the woe so soon to fall upon the place to the military governor, General Jaudenes. Was he the rat deserting the sinking ship, this brave Don Basilio Augustin y Dávila?

Shortly after the signal to cease firing had been given, the British consul visited the flagship, and by him Commodore Dewey sent word to the governor-general at Manila that the place was in a state of blockade, and that if the Spaniards fired on his ships he would destroy the forts. As the governor refused him the use of the cable to Hongkong, Dewey ordered it cut, which was accomplished at the moment the Spanish official was soberly informing his government at Madrid that the Spanish fleet was "disabled," and "the Americans have withdrawn to bury their dead!" Accordingly the following dispatches were sent by boat to Hongkong, and thence telegraphed to the president of the United States.

"Manila, May 1. Squadron arrived at Manila at daybreak this morning. Immediately engaged the enemy, and destroyed the following Spanish vessels: *Reina Christina*, *Castilla*, *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, *General Lezo*, *Marquis de Duero*, *Cano*, *Velasco*, *Isla de Mindanao*, a transport, and water battery at Cavite. The squadron is uninjured, and only a few men are slightly wounded. Only means of telegraphing is to American consul at Hongkong. I shall communicate with him. Dewey."

"Cavite, May 4. I have taken possession of naval station at Cavite, on Philippine islands. Have destroyed the fortifications at bay entrance, paroling the garrison. I control bay completely, and can take city at any time. The squadron is in excellent health and spirits. Spanish loss not fully known, but very heavy. One hundred and fifty killed, including cap-

tain of *Reina Christina*. I am assisting in protecting Spanish sick and wounded; two hundred and fifty sick and wounded in hospital within our lines. Much excitement at Manila. Will protect foreign residents. Dewey."

In due time the answer came, that for the glorious service to his country, the president appointed Commodore Dewey acting rear admiral; and the thanks of congress, in the name of the American people, were voted to him, his officers, and men.

On Monday morning a company of marines were landed to take possession of the forts. They were met by a procession of priests and nuns who begged the American officer in charge not to kill the wounded in the hospitals, as they had been assured by the governor-general that such was the custom of the Americans. The mendicant friars were indeed mendicant now. They were soon to learn, however, a new lesson in charity and good will to men, these poor half-heathen souls, when under the broad principles of humane warfare, instead of killing their sick and wounded prisoners, the Americans sent succor, not only to them, but ministered in every way to all the suffering people who had so lately been in arms against them. Continuing their march, the marines drove the Spanish forces out of Cavite, occupied the navy yard, and held or destroyed all the batteries. The following day some guns were raised and the bay swept of torpedoes; later the dry dock underwent repairs. Cavite was held by Dewey, but he did not take possession of Manila, lest he should bring anarchy upon the city and uselessly involve himself with Spaniards and insurgents. He preferred to wait until a governor-general with land forces should be sent from the east. The *Isla de Cuba* and the *Isla de Luzon* were afterward raised and sent to Hongkong, where they were docked, put in order, and added to the United States navy.

The Americans held possession of the Philippine end of the cable for more than two months, although unable to secure the terminus of the line at Manila, and owing to the strict construction of the rules of neutrality, they were unable to obtain any response to their signals from the Hongkong terminal. Communication with the world was kept up, however, by means of dispatch boats to Hongkong.

At the time of or soon after the great naval battle, and

subsequently until the 27th of September, when the last of them took their departure, there were present French and German warships, for purposes of observation as they said, ostensibly to protect the interests of a few merchants, but in reality to take advantage of any opportunity which might offer to get possession of some part of the Philippines, to pick up any crumb of the islands which might be let fall by any one, if nothing more than land enough for a coaling station. Among these the German officers, and Admiral von Diederichs in particular, seemed to take pleasure in petty annoyances and discourteous performances, more especially as regarded the regulations of the blockade. It was forbidden that boats should go about after dark; a hail must be properly and satisfactorily answered, and supplies should not be surreptitiously landed. These and other rules were disregarded, to the great annoyance of Admiral Dewey, who was a strict disciplinarian.

"One would think Germany the blockading power here," said Dewey to von Diederichs one day.

"I violate no neutrality," von Diederichs replied, "and I deny your right of search."

"I claim no right of search," retorted Dewey, "but right of call, which if you disobey again I will fire on you."

"Why that means war," replied the German admiral.

"Yes," said Dewey, "that means war; so if you want war you know how to get it."

Isla Grande, at the mouth of Subig bay, was occupied by Spaniards, whom the Filipinos prepared to attack. Near by lay the German cruiser *Irene*, whose commander prevented the insurgents from taking the island, from motives of humanity, he said, and because he feared a massacre. So suddenly had the cause of humanity entered the war policy of the Germans! Admiral Dewey promptly dispatched thither the *Raleigh*, and the *Irene* hastily withdrew; the Spaniards surrendered, and were handed over to the insurgents for safe keeping, with instructions that they should not be ill-treated. The lesson thus taught, that the Americans would themselves attend to their affairs, in the Far East as elsewhere, Germany did not fail to take home for careful consideration. Later, this same captain of the *Irene* volunteered the information to the Spaniards that the United States would never annex the Philippines so long as William II lived.

On the 15th of May, Dewey reports that he is maintaining a strict blockade, that the insurgents seem to be hemming in the city by land, that he can take Manila at any moment, and that British, French, Japanese, and German vessels are present in Manila bay "observing." The Germans officially denied any intention of meddling, or that the government was in any way unfriendly. With regard to Admiral von Diederichs, it was want of tact and ignorance of international naval usage in delicate emergencies, they said, that made the trouble. "The German empire", an official of the government remarked at a later date, "being a neutral power, is not in a position to take charge of functions which could easily be construed as partiality for Spain. All we endeavor to obtain in the Philippines is protection and unrestricted movement of our commerce. Since we see that both are secured under the United States flag, we feel confident that there will never arise a situation which could cause us to deviate from the strict neutral attitude observed by us up to this day."

Under the tyrannous inflictions of Spain, the natives of the Philippines have been since the coming of Magellan much of the time in a state of chronic unrest. The intervals of peace, if any such there were, were rather cessations from war than periods of friendship. There never was friendship. The term *Filipinos* is broadly applied to the native inhabitants of all the islands; in its specific sense it refers to the Spanish native half-caste, more particularly the Tagals of Luzon. At the time of Dewey's arrival, the islanders were in revolt, the immediate cause being the seizure and execution of José Rizal by the Spaniards for having denounced the ill treatment of the natives by the friars. A Filipina Republic had been proclaimed in October 1896, of which Andres Bonifacio was president. He died within a year, and was succeeded by Emilio Aguinaldo, who entered into a compact with Primo de Rivera, the Spanish captain-general, for the purpose of ending the insurrection, stipulating the disbanding or banishment of the religious orders; Philippine representation in the cortes; the same administration of justice for the native as for the Spaniard; unity of laws between the Philippines and Spain; the natives to share in the chief offices of the Philippine civil administration; the rearrangement of the property of the friars and of the taxes in favor of the natives; recognition of the individual rights

of the natives, with liberty of public meeting and the press; and a general amnesty. Aguinaldo was to receive 400,000 pesetas, and expatriate himself for three years. This agreement, called the Pact of Biaonabato, was signed at that town on the 14th of December 1897. It was broken by Rivera, and repudiated by Sagasta. Hostilities were resumed. When the coming of the American fleet was announced, General Augustin, notwithstanding the contempt in which he professed to hold Americans, promised the insurgents that if they would join the Spaniards against the United States that the Pact of Biaonabato should be carried out. It was then too late.

Upon the execution of Rizal, his young widow took the field as a Joan of Arc, and Blanco, then governor-general of the Philippines, was unable to restore harmony. The brothers Rojas, whose father was a Chinaman and their mother a native, supplied this rebellion with money, which they had inherited. It is said that they bribed Blanco and Rivera, and that Blanco bribed Aguinaldo, who after taking the money turned traitor to his purchaser. All this it is by no means difficult to believe.

The insurgent leader was not without much native ability and some noble qualities, or qualities which would have been noble had they been supported by other good qualities. He was of Spanish and Malay mixture, with Tagal-Chinese indications. When very young he was the house-boy of a Jesuit priest at Cavite, who gave him some education there and elsewhere. With the outbreak of the insurrection of 1896 he at once assumed distinction, being first called colonel and then general. He possessed a clear but undisciplined mind; he was filled with patriotism, but he lacked principle. He was a born leader of men, had hosts of friends, and exercised a magnetic influence over those about him; but he would ruthlessly slay anyone who stood in the way of his ambition. Dearly as he loved his country, he loved himself more; he was ever ready to die for liberty, but his idea of liberty was the unrestricted license of a robber band of which he was chief, and holding despotic power of life or death over his fellows. He proved himself in many cases an ingrate, a trickster, and a traitor. He might be called great after a fashion, but he was as thoroughly base and contemptible as was possible even for his mixed blood to make a man. In appearance he was small, of the Japanese type, and had the look of a student, or artisan,

with his black bristly pompadour, his cold, impassive face, his slow and deliberate speech and action. He was unruffled by victory or defeat. Low-voiced, soft, and caressing, he was cruel and vindictive. At first he fought with his men in the field; later his head became too precious, the Spaniards offering \$25,000 for it, and assassination too frequent; he felt safer surrounded by trusty followers at Malolos, or in his native town of Cavite. At home he wore a white linen suit and velvet alippers. When he entered public life he was little more than a boy, and had much to learn. He was a kind of Malayan Napoleon, with native cunning and an adaptiveness approaching genius. His friends used to point to his poverty as proof of his honesty, until they learned of large deposits to his credit in the bank at Hongkong, the proceeds of treachery.

Of a truth Aguinaldo had now no right to appear before officers of the United States as leader and representative of the insurgents, and they very properly refused all intercourse with him. He had sold his country—if indeed the country was his to sell—to the Spaniards; because they failed to pay him made him none the less renegade. The Americans were not at the Philippines to fight the natives, or to fight for them or against them, or by invitation of their chief. They were there to destroy Spanish power in the archipelago. The natives were assured of good treatment if they behaved properly; they were guaranteed the same general rights and liberties as those enjoyed by citizens of the United States. It must be understood also that Aguinaldo and his congress were not fairly representative of the Filipino people, nor did his ambitions and revenges meet the approbation of the better class of islanders.

The first step of the Washington government in pursuance of events following Dewey's victory was to reinforce the Asiatic squadron, and send troops to the Philippines to occupy Manila. A new military department of the Pacific was created on the 16th of May, and General Wesley Merritt assigned to the command. Already orders had been issued that troops raised west of the Missouri river should proceed to San Francisco and be embarked for Manila. These troops were sent forward at intervals under various officers, chief among whom were generals Green, MacArthur, Anderson, Otis, and Lawton. In this service sailed early in June from Honolulu for Manila the

Charleston, late from San Francisco, and the *City of Peking*, with the army transports *Australia* and *City of Sidney*. For the further reinforcement of the Asiatic squadron, the *Monterey*, with the collier *Brutus* sailed from San Diego June 11th, and the *Monadnock*, with the collier *Nero*, on the 25th.

About the 10th of July Aguinaldo sent his secretary, Legarda, to the Spanish governor-general of Manila with the plausible proposal that he should surrender the city to the insurgents, who would otherwise storm it with great slaughter, attended by the inevitable atrocities, while the Americans bombarded from their ships; and that there should be a reconciliation between the Spaniards and the Filipinos, who thereupon conjointly under a republican flag would request the Americans to retire; either that or an appeal to the powers to recognize their independence. To this modest request the governor-general replied that he must fight, however hopeless the Spanish cause. The Spaniards at this juncture were certainly in no enviable position, with the Americans on one side and the insurgents on the other. With no abatement the fighting between these hereditary foes, the Spaniards and islanders, continued. At Zapote a whole regiment of islanders revolted early in June. There 3,000 mixed Spanish troops under General Nonent coming southward from Batacan, thirty miles north of Manila, found the railway blocked, and themselves caught in ambush by the insurgents; after three days of hard fighting, resulting in heavy loss, including the death of the commander, the native portion of the troops went over in a body to the insurgents, while the 500 Spaniards remaining were taken prisoners. On the 22nd of July Aguinaldo declared himself dictator of the Philippine islands.

General Merritt arrived at Cavite on the 25th of July, and began preparations for the reduction of Manila. An advance was made toward Malate. Upon the approach of General Green's command to the Spanish line on the 31st, the enemy made a series of night attacks, resulting in loss on both sides. The arrival of General MacArthur's brigade gave the Americans 8,500 men, when it was determined that final action should be taken. On the 7th of August a joint letter from Admiral Dewey and General Merritt was sent to the captain-general of the Spanish forces in the city of Manila, notifying him to remove non-combatants within forty-eight hours. The re-

ply came that there were no places of refuge for the sick, nor for the women and children. On the 9th a formal joint demand for the surrender of the city was sent in, based upon considerations of humanity and the hopelessness of the Spanish cause. The answer was that the council of defence could not grant the demand, but that if time were allowed him the captain-general would consult his government by way of Hongkong. This proposal was declined, as leading to unnecessary delay, and keeping our men in the trenches exposed to hardships and fever.

To bombard a city filled with women and children, with many sick in the hospitals and much neutral property, was if possible to be avoided. It was therefore determined, instead of firing on the city, to bring the guns of the fleet to bear upon the Spanish line of intrenchments. The Spaniards gave way, and the Americans rushed forward, captured the city, and hoisted the American flag, which was saluted by the way. Taken prisoners were 11,000 Spaniards, with 20,000 Mauser rifles, 3,000 Remingtons, and 18 cannon. Officers were allowed to retain their side arms. All public property was surrendered. The public funds seized amounted to nearly \$900,000. General MacArthur was appointed provost marshal, General Green director of finances, and Colonel Whittier collector of customs. A cablegram was received on the 16th from the president directing the cessation of hostilities; whereupon the Spanish authorities objected to the delivery of the public funds, as the order was dated prior to the surrender, and the delivery was made under protest. The insurgent leader demanded admission into the city for his troops under arms, but peremptory orders had been received from Washington forbidding joint occupancy.

A proclamation was issued guaranteeing the rights of private property. "Then," said an eye-witness, "beer gardens resumed business, the shutters came down all along the escolta, the streets filled up with all varieties of conveyances, carriages, milords, rockaways, quileyes, carromatas, calosines, broughams, carts, and traps of all the kinds that English fancy makes; men sauntering and hurrying, messengers, soldiers sightseeing in squads, officers in all stages of uniform, some with swords and some without; naval officers, sailors of the German, French, and Japanese ships; soldiers on guard; guard reliefs

marching in compact bodies, belts full of cartridges and guns at right shoulder; bullock carts loaded down with army supplies, swarms of Chinese porters carrying enormous loads suspended from heavy bars balanced across their shoulders, Filipino men lugging bundles of green grass, the only sort of hay used here; men with crates of chickens on their heads, women with shallow baskets of fruit, bananas, green oranges, strange foul-smelling fruits that look like apples and peaches and are good to eat if you have such a cold that you can't distinguish unpleasant odors, soldiers and officers riding ponies, Spanish officers wearing their swords, men of the old civil guard in their blue and red uniforms, artillerymen, infantrymen, cavalrymen, and sailors, blind beggars led by little boys, women with arms full of babies begging, all in a jumble in the narrow, rough-paved street between the low stone buildings and the narrow-gauge, one-horse street cars struggling along through the mud, the driver playing tunes on a whistle that sounds like the toy-balloon affairs they sell for a cent in Broadway."

"It creates a healthy frame in the Filipino mind", writes a Manila soldier to the *New York Sun*, "to see the way in which the great strapping American soldiers keep coming in by the thousands or so from some incomprehensible place down beyond the Roca Grande. The men are bigger and hardier and stronger than any of these chaps have seen before. They come in bigger ships than the Filipino people know. They endure and accomplish in a way that surprises the poor devils, who are familiar only with Spanish incompetence and procrastination. And the result is salutary."

General Elwell S. Otis had been sent in July to take charge of the forces in Manila, so as to leave Merritt free to attend to the duties of governor-general; but the latter soon afterward left the islands and appeared before the peace commission at Paris, advocating the retention of the archipelago by the United States.

Following the surrender were many questions and complications to be settled, and measures to meet new conditions evolved. Not least among these was the pacification of the people whose deliverance had been achieved. They were like children; they wished to rule; the toy liberty they wanted in their hands, a plaything all their own. Aguinaldo, after the Americans had delivered him from the Spaniards, pondered

over the possibility of his own deliverance from the Americans.

Victory was costly. Nearly one half of the \$350,000 monthly expenses of the government in Manila at this time went to subsist the 11,000 prisoners. Yet on the whole the situation in Luzon improved; the influence of wealthy Filipinos, opposed to both Spain and independence, gaining the ascendancy for a time in revolutionary councils.

General Otis ordered the withdrawal of the insurgent troops from the suburbs of Manila. In command at Malate was General Pio del Pilar, who seemed less likely to obey the order than Aguinaldo. After this General Rios, the Spanish governor of the Visayas, central Philippines, reported the defeat of the insurgents at Antique, and their withdrawal to Bugasan, where they were again to be attacked. This General Pilar was chief among the rivals of Aguinaldo for the supremacy. He was summoned to Malolos soon after the insurgent headquarters had been established there, charged with disregarding Aguinaldo's authority and attempting to defy the Americans, but nothing serious came of it at this time. Natives of Spanish blood in authority have a way of rewarding a treacherous associate by giving him a good office at a distance, where he can do no further harm; this, or assassination.

The insurgents evacuated Manila on the 16th of September, and organized a legislative body at Malolos, thirty miles away, where they framed a plan of government. With pomp and circumstance, and surrounded by his generals and ministers, Aguinaldo delivered his address and set up his congress. He was thankful to the Americans, he said, for freeing his country from the Spaniards. He knew nothing of autonomy or protectorates, and understood only independence. The Filipinos needed no protection; they could take care of themselves. Their hearts were filled with gratitude to the Americans, but as their work was accomplished they were now expected to return to America. He was unwilling to believe that the Americans would demand a reward for an act of humanity. On another occasion his wish was for a republic under a limited American protectorate. The Filipinos would be satisfied, he said, to be treated by the United States in every respect as the Cubans were treated. It was said that the native congress of eighty members compared favorably in appearance with the

Siamese council or the Japanese parliament. On the 30th of September, the same day that President McKinley defined his policy in favor of holding the Philippine islands, Aguinaldo formally assumed the title of president of the Republica Filipina. Meanwhile, to counteract the threatened movement of the insurgents, Admiral Dewey tightened the blockade, and General Otis dispatched strong detachments of troops to occupy strategic positions in the suburbs.

Aguinaldo had cabled on the 19th to Washington as follows: "The Filipino government desires to inform the American government and people that the many rumors circulated regarding the strained relations between the Filipinos and Americans are base, malicious slanders of the enemy to both parties; are without any truth, and are circulated for the purpose of prejudicing the appeal of the Filipinos for their release from the oppression and cruelty of Spain. The relations of our people and yours have been and will continue to be of the most friendly nature, and we have withdrawn our forces from the suburbs of Manila as an additional evidence of our confidence in the great American republic." This message was noticed by the American government with satisfaction, not because of its sincerity or reliability, but as an indication that the insurgent leader could listen to reason, and at least make for the time a pretense of friendship. It was apparent that he had profited by the warnings of the American commanders, and had receded from the arrogant attitude assumed upon the American occupation of Manila. A similar appeal was directed to the foreign powers, with the request that the belligerency and independence of the islands be recognized.

About the same time, as emissary of the revolutionary government, went to Washington, Felipe Agoncillo, with a secretary and interpreter, and asked to see President McKinley. He desired for his people, he said, official representation before the Spanish-American commission at Paris, before that body should have reached a decision regarding the Philippines. The president expressed a willingness to hear what Agoncillo had to say, but declined to receive him in any official capacity. Nothing daunted, Agoncillo continued his way to Paris, but met with no better success there.

Thus eaten up with ambition and inordinate desire for domination, the insurgent chief had one plan to-day and

another to-morrow, yet holding himself at all times ready to take what he could get. He saw that it was impossible to advance himself without the assistance of the United States, the only power the islanders would accept or the world recognize. Return to Spanish rule was not to be thought of; unprotected independence was equally out of the question; a protectorate other than American was also impossible. Thus reasoning round the circle he held on for further developments. He was certainly not over modest in his pretensions and demands. With the arrogance of ignorance and the chronic ungratefulness of barbaric natures, he besought the Americans first to rid the islands of the Spaniards, and then to rid them of themselves. Give him the country free, and he would show the world how to dictate to these hybrid hordes for their true and ultimate good.

Reports came to Manila in November that the natives of the Vizcaya islands had established a republic independent of that of Luzon, and in opposition to Aguinaldo. The leaders of the insurgents sought recognition on every side, but from the first President McKinley had warned his officers against such recognition. From Bakor, on the south shore of the bay, between Manila and Cavite, Aguinaldo moved his headquarters to Malolos, which gave him strategic advantages.

The islanders themselves do not care for self-government. They do not like the Spanish for their grinding impositions. They would not like French rule, for the monks would then remain, and essentially the same state of things continue. They want no nearer relations with the Japanese or Chinese than they have now. They would be satisfied with a protectorate by the United States or Great Britain. Their leaders profess love and admiration for the United States, that is provided the United States will fight for them their battles and leave them to do their own will afterward.

Thus matters continued. While the United States soldiers held Manila, the insurgents held the provinces. Their forces comprised some 15,000 men with arms, and a navy of two or three steam vessels, which with most of their guns they obtained by battle and treason from the Spaniards. Before the surrender of Manila the insurgent army was supported mainly by public subscriptions. Upon the organization of

the Filipino congress at Malolos, and the withdrawal of Aguinaldo's troupes from Manila, a land tax was attempted, which however the people refused to pay. They had been told, they said, that revolution would do away with all taxation; they now preferred an American protectorate. The insurgent government had its men and its steamers; but unarmed and without money an army and navy could not long be maintained. It was soon evident that affairs were becoming serious. Though unlearned in Machiavelism, Aguinaldo developed crafty powers of diplomacy which would have done him honor in any court in Europe. While professing unbounded admiration and friendship for the Americans, and gratitude for the deliverance of the islands from Spain, he was determined to rule. It was not a change of masters he wanted, but to be master himself.

The Filipinos have no conception of government other than that based upon the corruption and tyranny of the Spanish system; and what a republic would be under those conditions, and while at the same time every native is by nature a rebel, having for so many generations lived in a chronic rebellion, one may imagine. Hence no one was surprised when Aguinaldo finally came out and openly declared that if the United States undertook to set up rule in those islands he would kill their soldiers as fast as they landed.

In answer to the demand of General Otis, in November, that the friars and civilians held in captivity throughout the provinces be given their liberty, the insurgent leader replied that the civilians had enlisted as volunteers, and were therefore legitimate prisoners of war. As to the friars, he said that they were prohibited by the pope from accepting parochial appointments; that they were only permitted to follow monastic lives, and that the parishes were entrusted to members of the independent monastic orders. But, he added, the Philippine clericals have deliberately and systematically deceived the pope, pretending that the country was barbarous, unfit for the regular ministers, and that it was necessary that the monastic orders should administer the parishes. Therefore he considered it necessary to detain the friars until the pope should be undeceived.

A demand was made in December for the release of all Spanish prisoners, in return for which imprisoned insurgents

would be liberated. The island chief found more pleasure, however, in punishing his enemies than in pleasing his friends.

A proclamation by the president of the United States was cabled in December, to the Filipinos, granting them home rule under the authority and direction of the United States government. They should have a fair judiciary, and freedom of speech and of the press. The proclamation explained that military occupation was not for purposes of coercion but of protection. Further, the insurgents must disarm, and peace be established, or they must take the consequences of disobedience. Certain of the more intelligent natives listened to the president's words, and would gladly have accepted the terms offered; but upon the ears of Aguinaldo's minions they fell as upon the ears of mules, that is to say upon the few who heard them. The Filipino constitution was adopted by the insurgent congress at Malolos on the 21st, Aguinaldo and his cabinet having previously given it their sanction. The insurgent leader then asked that absolute power be conferred upon the president with the right to declare war without consulting congress. This, then, was Aguinaldo's idea of independence, namely, the power to act independently. Nevertheless, the power was given him, and soon would come the opportunity. While the Paris peace commission was in session, he anxiously awaited the results. Nothing would satisfy him but absolute rule. "We have fought always for our independence," he said, "and we will always fight for it until our last man is dead." He refused to release his prisoners, saying that the clergy "were the most active and revengeful in sacrificing the lives and honor of innocent natives." He would let them go, however, for a consideration, say \$1,500,000. He would not permit from any one even the suggestion of anything short of absolute independence, with himself as president.

Wealthy Filipinos visited Washington in November, and begged the president to have the islands annexed to the United States. "The better class of our people," they said, "are heartily in favor of annexation. We are tired of Spanish rule, and have from time to time fought for our independence from Spain, but have been sold out by those who were recognized as our leaders, but to whom Spanish gold was more

tempting than the liberty of their countrymen. We now see that we are to be freed from Spain, and we desire the establishment of a government which will be stable and insure protection to the lives, liberty, and property of the people. Such a government we do not believe can be established independently; certainly not by the insurgent or revolutionary party which recognizes Aguinaldo as its president. Aguinaldo is, however, right with regard to the friars. They have ruled and ruined the people and the country. They have taken many millions yearly from the people for which there has been absolutely no return. Many of these millions have been appropriated to their own use, while a large portion of the wealth they have wrung from the poorer classes has been sent out of the country."

War clouds hung threateningly over the islands at the opening of the new year. In January, 1899, Aguinaldo withdrew into the interior to strengthen his positions, and warn his followers against any attempts of the United States to induce them to lay down their arms. President McKinley notified the islanders by proclamation, that by the Paris treaty the islands were ceded to the United States, and that by the rights of sovereignty thus acquired a military government would be immediately established over the entire archipelago, not in the spirit of conquerors, but as friends to protect the people in their personal and religious rights. Early in February Agoncillo secretly took his departure from Washington, fearing arrest as a spy, and presently appeared at Montreal.

Waiting to make sure that the archipelago would not be returned to Spain, and having exhausted every means to induce the United States to take away their armies and hand the islands over to the natives, Aguinaldo determined to fight. He would try the American armies in open battle; failing in that he would resort to the brush, from which it would be difficult to dislodge him.

Overtures were made at the same time to his old enemies the Spaniards for assistance against the Americans. For the recognition of his republic by the Spanish government he would release his Spanish prisoners. At the same time he informed the United States government that unless recognition came immediately, Agoncillo would be recalled, as if indeed he were a recognized plenipotentiary, "thus removing", as

he said, "an important medium for arriving at a peaceful understanding."

The feelings of distrust on one side and hatred on the other broke into open hostilities when on the evening of the 4th of February an American sentry near Santa Mesa fired on certain Filipinos who were crossing the line, after repeated warnings, evidently for the purpose of drawing fire which should serve as a signal of attack. For the sentry's gun was instantly answered by a fusillade all along the Filipino line on the north side of the Pasig river. The Americans returned the fire, and the war was begun. Firing ceased at midnight, and was resumed at four o'clock. The *Charleston* and *Concord*, sent by Dewey, poured a deadly fire into the rebel batteries at Caloocan, while the monitor *Monadnock*, off Malate, shelled the enemy's left flank, and other vessels the right flank. The natives fought well and suffered severely; among those conspicuous for their bravery were the Ygorote savages, 700 of whom, armed with bows and arrows, offered their naked bodies to the heavy artillery fire. Strange spectacle! these Asiatics blindly fighting against their own liberty for the thralldom of a despot. By this battle the Filipinos were driven ten miles back from Manila, with the loss of 4,000 killed, wounded, and captured. American casualties 250. Aguinaldo declared that the Americans began the war.

After the fighting before Manila, the insurgents fell back and concentrated their forces at Malabon and Caloocan. At the latter point 20,000 natives were massed, when on the 10th the place was taken by the Americans, after three hours hard fighting, the *Concord* and *Monadnock* assisting as before. The insurgents suffered severely; American loss light. Next day Dewey's ships shelled Malabon, and the insurgents were again driven back, but were active in the jungles for several days. At the village of Jaro, 1,000 islanders were dispersed by the Americans. On the nights of the 21st and 22d, 1,000 insurgents intrenched themselves in the environs of Manila behind the American lines; they were routed with loss of 500 killed and wounded and 200 taken prisoners. The following night an attempt to burn Manila was made by the insurgents; the city was fired in several places, causing much damage. Overtures were made by Aguinaldo for terms of peace, to which Otis replied that unconditional surrender alone would be ac-

cepted, and for any settlement Aguinaldo must appear in person.

Spanish commissioners were at the islands about the first of March to offer Aguinaldo \$2,000,000 for the release of the Spanish prisoners, for which he demanded \$7,000,000. Several thousand insurgents were on the 7th driven with great loss from San Juan del Monte, where they had taken position. Next, on the 13th, Guadalupe was captured, and then Malinta, and other towns; and thus the Filipinos were routed from one place after another as they retreated toward Pasig and Pateros, both of which towns were likewise soon taken by the Americans. It was expected that the insurgents would make a final stand at Malolos, but when the Americans arrived at the capital city of the insurgents on the 31st of March, after a hard fight on the way, behold no one was there!

Then all the way from Malolos to Manila the road was dotted with white flags, displayed by the thousands of Filipinos who had returned to their homes. General MacArthur was in command of the advance troops when Malolos was entered, and thence he made reconnaissances in search of the enemy. The insurgent general, second in command to Aguinaldo, of whom the dictator was jealous, it is said was shot in the back and killed while in battle. To one who causes much butchery, murder becomes easy. Aguinaldo went into hiding; disaffection was in his camp, and it was declared that henceforth a guerrilla warfare would be maintained, but no more pitched battles. "I can keep this up for forty years against the whole United States," the chief declared.

The insurgent army was disintegrated, and Aguinaldo's influence in the Manila district for the time destroyed. The day after the battle the rebel chief applied for a cessation of hostilities and a conference, but General Otis made no reply. The fighting methods of the Americans were a revelation to Asiatics. The president cabled Otis to arrest, if possible, and hold prisoner Aguinaldo, and to conduct an aggressive campaign against the islanders. Crowds of Filipino women and children came in to Manila from the surrounding districts, and were given food and shelter.

In March the government announced its intention to develop the principles of republican rule in the people, such as to render the natives capable of administering their own af-

fairs under the control of the United States, whose protection would never be exercised in a despotic spirit. Having destroyed Spanish power in the archipelago, the United States would now establish peace and good government at whatsoever cost, and the Filipinos were called upon to lay down their arms. And again in April a proclamation was issued to the Filipinos by the United States government declaring its intention to be the fulfillment of the obligations assumed in accepting sovereignty over the islands, in promoting the well-being of the people, and their advancement to a proper position among the nations of the earth. The supremacy of the United States should be firmly maintained, and to the people should be granted liberty and self-government in the highest degree not conflicting therewith. Public works would be encouraged, commerce and manufactures protected, and an honest and economical administration of affairs, with religious freedom, would be guaranteed. The islanders should have a voice in the local government, and be eligible to official positions. A fair judiciary should be given them, and they should have freedom of speech and of the press. Our army is there to protect, and not to persecute them, the president reiterated. The insurgent leaders, however, preferred war to anything short of autonomy, and that the United States government was not prepared to grant; therefore they went to fighting again. In fact, war with them had become a pastime; they had enjoyed hostilities with Spain so long that without war life was scarcely worth living.

Continuing, then, I have to relate that the dictator in due time crept forth from his retirement and appeared to his people. Firing from the brush was kept up at intervals. The town of Santa Cruz was captured by General Lawton on the 11th of April. Indian tactics were employed this time by the Americans, the men in squads advancing from cover to cover until the enemy was dislodged. Besides the wounded, 93 uniformed dead were found lying in the field. American casualties, 10 wounded. While engaged in the rescue of Spanish prisoners at Baler, Lieutenant Gilmore and 14 men of the *Yorktown* were captured by the insurgents on the 31st. In like manner light skirmishing was kept up at intervals through the month, the principal fight being at Calumpit on the 26th with slight casualties on both sides. Fighting continued into May, Agui-

naldo applying for cessation of hostilities while he conferred with his congress, Otis replying that he recognized no Filipino congress, that no delay would be granted, and that the only terms available to the insurgents were unconditional surrender. At times during the summer the insurgents seemed to be gaining ground, and more troops were brought from the United States. And so the performance continued.

Next to Manila the most important place in the Philippines is Iloilo, on the island of Panay, and there the fighting between the insurgents and Spaniards continued for several months after the capture of Manila, and after peace had been declared. The inhabitants begged protection from the United States, and on the 24th of December, orders were telegraphed to General Otis from Washington, "Take immediate possession of Iloilo." An expedition under General Miller was sent thither, but previous to its arrival, the Spaniards surrendered to the insurgents and evacuated the place under circumstances exciting suspicions of foul play. Evidently the Spaniards would willingly cause all the trouble possible to the Americans in taking possession of the islands. The Spanish troops were conveyed by the steamer *Churuca* to Mindanao, and the insurgents had established a municipal government when the Americans arrived. The American troops remained on board the transports for several weeks, and on the 11th of February the town was taken from the insurgents after bombardment by the *Boston* and *Petrel*, sent by Admiral Dewey for that purpose. Besides taking Iloilo, orders were received to occupy Cebu, the third place of importance in the archipelago. Landing was made at Negros without opposition. The natives of Cebu and Negros had desired peace from the first, but their chiefs had forced them to fight.

The legal status of the Americans in the Philippines was determined by the Paris treaty, which transferred the allegiance of the inhabitants from Spain to the United States, and the people formerly in rebellion against Spain obviously became rebels to the American government. The United States forces at this time on the islands, both naval and military, were far stronger and more effective than any ever employed there by Spain, and the ultimate result was beyond question, though the natives could keep up their shooting from the bush probably as long as they might find it enjoy-

able. And when peace was made, it would be always an unstable article in that quarter, for with unscrupulous leaders, little reliance can ever be placed on the good faith of the natives. It is evident that there could be no self-government here, except of a low order, even if despots like Aguinaldo did not interfere. Naked savages enjoy independence and self-government; doubtless so would the Filipinos if left to themselves.

Admiral Dewey proved himself a man after the American heart, a character as rare as it is refreshing, a hero too great ever to become a politician. Asked if he would be president. "No," he replied, "My place is on the sea." For those words, for what he would do, and for what he has done, he will always remain the greatest of Americans, too great to crave rulership, too great to dim the lustre of his deeds with the dust of politics. A greater honor than to be made president or king is already his.

Meanwhile Admiral Dewey, the hero of the war and of the world, with the highest honors within the gift of the government conferred upon him, and the warm admiration of the people from Maine to California, remained quietly on board his fleet in Manila bay, lending his aid and influence in the directions needed. Ill health and long absence entitled him to home return and rest; but though urged by the president and others to visit the United States, and while securing the much needed respite, gratify his many admirers by his presence, he felt for the present that he was needed at his post. And there he remained until the beginning of summer, when he visited the United States, in the flag ship *Olympia*, making the voyage by the Suez canal. He was received by his countrymen with such honor as had never before been given to an American.

With one little incident of the time I close this chapter. At the time of the occurrence, Admiral Dewey was promptly notified that Camara with his fleet had entered the Suez canal, and might be expected in due time at Manila. On receiving the news Dewey went at once to Captain Seabury of the steamer *China*. The admiral went over the vessel, and examined it carefully, and seemed particularly impressed with the sharp steel bow.

"This is a fine ship you have here," said Dewey, "and I want to use her as a ram."

"She is indeed," Seabury replied, "and twice as fast as most vessels of Camara's fleet. I believe she could whip even the cruisers in a fair fight."

"I will get you made acting commodore, and see that you are well rewarded," Dewey went on. "We will place aboard some rapid-fire guns, and you can sail into the auxiliary vessels and ram them out of sight before they know what you are about. Will you do it?"

"I should like no better fun," said Seabury.

When word came that Camara had turned back, the two commanders were deeply disgusted.

CHAPTER V

WAR WITH SPAIN

THE war between the United States and Spain began on the 21st of April, 1898, and ended on the following 12th of August, thus continuing 114 days. Many were opposed to it from policy or principle. Some saw in it money loss; some profit. Some were against it because they were against every thing not sanctioned by precedent or tradition; and it was a new thing, this fighting for the sake of humanity. Said a Harvard professor, "It is unnecessary, therefore unjust, therefore criminal." Some maintained that the Cubans were not worth fighting for, that they were a low ignoble race, a hundred of them of less value than the life of one American, and would not know what to do with liberty if they had it.

These were answered that the quality of humanity is not confined to race or color, to those of high degree or low degree. Moreover, all men are fated to be free. It is the destiny of the human race to be each one his own master. The time has passed when one people may be held against their will in servitude to another people. No humane man pauses to consider the condition of the human being, or even one of the brute creation, before coming to its rescue from unjust treatment. We have too long tolerated at our door a mediæval nuisance. We do not go to war for the love of it, nor for money or territorial aggrandizement, nor for any advantage at present apparent that will accrue to the United States. This, as regards the island of Cuba; the question that reprisal in the Philippines should ever become necessary had not yet arisen.

But however varied the American mind as to the wisdom of the measure, war once declared, all agreed that it was the duty of every one to stand by his country, and to use his best endeavor to make the issue short and energetic. A prolonged

war would be no less cruel than costly. The insurgents were suffering from starvation; the Spanish soldiers were unpaid and poorly fed and clothed, while the Americans had far more to fear from tropical malaria during the coming summer than from the bullets of the enemy. Besides the largely increased cost in lives and money of a prolonged war, there was liability of complications with Europe; and it was best that the United States should lose no prestige at the outset as a fighting nation. Therefore, such being the unanimity and decision of the American people, in ten days after diplomatic relations ceased, Spain's Asiatic fleet was destroyed; sixty-four days thereafter Spain's American fleet was destroyed, and the task practically accomplished; and in less than a year twelve Spanish gunboats were placed among the fighting ships of the United States.

It was scarcely to be anticipated, as before remarked, that the first great battle for the liberation of Cuba should be fought on the other side of the world. Spain's dominions were not so extensive as they were in the time of Philip II, and the United States had surely no thought of the conquest of Asia. But so it came about, greatness and the Philippine archipelago being thus suddenly thrust upon the American people.

Moreover, this by-play of providence was not without significance. In this certain antipodal spot ruled Spain, and wherever Spain ruled appeared the slime of the serpent, barbarism, with all its attendant horrors of war cruelty and injustice. Here were similar wrongs to redress, a similar malign rule, and a similar brutal rebellion. Once abroad on his Rosinante, the valorous knight of La Mancha finds no lack of occupation. The Filipinos, they too desired deliverance from the barbarism of Spain; primarily, that they might indulge in their own barbarism.

Preparations for war were hastened, orders for all military and naval requirements were given, enlistments made, work at arsenals and navy yards continued day and night, and arms were conveyed to strategic points. The plan of the war department at first in the mobilization of the army was to concentrate the regular troops at New Orleans, Mobile, and Tampa, in readiness for the move on Cuba; but this plan was changed to a general rendezvous of all the forces at the

national park on the battlefield of Chickamauga. Naval forces were concentrated at various points along the American seaboard for the proposed attacks on Cuba and Porto Rico. To guard the coast between the Delaware and Bar Harbor, a patrol squadron under Commodore J. A. Howell was employed, consisting of the steamer *San Francisco*, flagship; the *Prairie*, *Dixie*, *Yankee*, and *Yosemite*.

In the harbors submarine mines were placed. Signal corps were organized, giving special attention to new telegraph lines and the electrical constructions of the fortifications. A cable ship was at hand, ready to destroy the enemy's lines while establishing lines of our own. The telegraph cables from Cuba were cut so as to completely isolate the island and render the blockade complete. Every available vessel suitable for the purpose in America and Europe was purchased or leased, though the continental powers used their influence to prevent the sale of ships to the United States; nevertheless enough were found for the purpose. The four passenger steamers of the American line, the finest of their kind afloat, the *St Paul*, *St Louis*, *New York*, and *Paris* were chartered by the government at a cost of \$9,000 a day each, the names of the *New York* and *Paris* being changed to *Harvard* and *Yale* respectively. By the purchase of small craft, including twenty-five private steam yachts, a flotilla of auxiliary cruisers was formed for despatch boats or other use. Then a transport fleet of fifty-seven vessels with hospital service was improvised for expeditions to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines; so that at the end of the war, apart from these chartered transports, the United States had a navy of over a hundred vessels.

Fifty million dollars were voted by congress for war expenses, and an emergency appropriation of some \$35,000,000 asked for by the war department passed the senate without debate. Throughout the war all the money required was promptly and cheerfully given by congress. Calls were issued by the president, first for 125,000 volunteers to serve for two years, and a month later for 75,000 more. A bill was also passed by congress for the increase of the regular army.

A popular three-per-cent loan of \$400,000,000 was authorized by congress in June, half of which was offered in amounts of not to exceed \$5,000 to one person, and preference to be given to subscriptions of \$20 to \$500. For the \$200,000,000

part of the loan there were 320,000 applicants, whose subscriptions aggregated \$1,365,000,000, or more than six and a half times the amount of the loan. This is the lowest rate of interest at which any nation ever borrowed money during war time. No commissions were paid. The bonds were issued at par, and before the end of the war they were in demand at 105.

On the 22nd of April the president issued a proclamation declaring a blockade of the north coast of Cuba, and the port of Cienfuegos, and all the ports between Cardenas and Bahia Honda on the south coast. No attack was ordered, it being sufficient at present to render Blanco's position in Cuba untenable until relieved by Spain, provided Spain could relieve him. The blockading fleet in charge of William T. Sampson, was divided into two commands, one under Sampson, who had been promoted from the captaincy of the *Iowa* to succeed Rear-admiral Sicard, relieved on account of ill health, and the other under Commodore Winfield Scott Schley, held as a flying squadron in reserve at Newport News to act as circumstances should direct. Sailing from Key West Admiral Sampson directed his course to Havana, and blockading operations were instituted. Instructions were given the blockading fleet to avoid risking unnecessarily the safety of the ships; but when off Matanzas, on the 27th, Admiral Sampson observed that the garrison was constructing new shore batteries, he regarded it a good opportunity to give his gunners a little target practice. Bringing his flagship, the *New York*, the cruiser *Cincinnati*, and the monitor *Puritan* within from two to four miles range, he opened fire, discharging 300 shots in twenty minutes, demolishing the earthworks at Punta Gorda and the forts at Quintas de Recreo. Not one of the 100 and more shots fired by the enemy reached the American vessels. American marksmanship proved good, a final 12-inch shell from the *Puritan* striking the very centre of the earthworks, and reducing them to their original level. Other bombardments of coast defenses followed, but without serious injury to the enemy. In like manner the *New York* silenced the batteries at Cabanas, 35 miles west of Havana, on the 29th.

In Cardenas harbor, May 11th, the *Winslow*, *Hudson*, and *Wilmington*, torpedo, revenue, and gun-boat respectively, met with the fire from a masked battery, resulting in the loss of five Americans killed and several wounded. While cruising

in search of Cervera's fleet from Cape Verde, Sampson came on the 12th to the harbor of San Juan, on the island of Porto Rico. On the following day his ships fired upon the forts, after which he sailed away in the direction of Key West. On the 30th, Schley bombarded the forts at the entrance to the harbor of Santiago de Cuba.

The last Cuban cable was cut on the 7th of June, and three days later a force of 600 marines was landed at Guantanamo under the protecting fire of the *Oregon*, *Marblehead*, and *Yankee*. The purpose was to establish there a naval station. The fort was taken after severe fighting, and additional forces were landed later.

Several prizes were taken during the earlier period of the war, among the first the Spanish steamship *Panamá*, while attempting to run the Cuban blockade, and the *Argonauta*, in a similar attempt, with General de Corlejo and 100 soldiers on board. And there were fifty more vessels captured, many of them unarmed trading ships and merchantmen, perhaps the only property and source of livelihood of the skippers, and some of them knowing nothing of the war; which proceedings on the part of a navy fighting for humanity was not specially praiseworthy. The Spaniards took one prize, the *Saranac*, at the port of Iloilo, in the Philippines, which was subsequently released upon the somewhat shady ground that she had been transferred to a British subject while at sea. On the day before the commencement of hostilities it had been announced by the department of the secretary of state that the United States would commission no privateers, thus disappointing a Wall street company incorporated for this kind of robbery. While not a party to the declaration of Paris, the United States accepted its four cardinal principles, namely, no privateering; neutral flags to exempt from capture an enemy's goods except contraband of war; no seizure of neutral goods under an enemy's flag; and a blockade to be binding must be effective. Neither had Spain signed the declaration of Paris, and might therefore have continued the barbaric practice of the seizure of private property on the sea, had she desired to do so. It would seem a favorable opportunity, and would have been quite consistent with the high moral stand for the right taken by the United States, now with the prestige of a superior sea force to have denied its navy the right to despoil non-com-

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batants at sea, as it denied its armies the right to despoil non-combatants on land. It is a poor argument that such has long been the custom, an argument which offers excuse to the end of time for the most abominable superstitions and atrocities, an argument which would justify the pillage and burning of private property on land as well as on the sea, together with torture and the dungeon, the outraging of women, the killing of children, and the enslavement of prisoners. A naval commander writing in the *North American Review* soon after the war finds in the outrages of the past justification for outrages in the future, which in participants in prize money might be regarded as an *argumentum ad crumenam*.

During the previous two years Spain had maintained in Cuba an army of over 100,000 men at a cost of some \$200,000,000, an army which proved as ineffective as it was expensive; its most brilliant achievement being to drive to starvation, at the command of the infamous Weyler, thousands of unoffending men women and children. And among other present incentives, the Spaniards argued that this was the time to stand out, as the Americans were not prepared. Such is the mistake which ill-advised Europeans are apt to fall into. They do not understand that where the people of these American states are united on any issue they are always prepared to fight, whether the occasion finds them at the plough, or at the university, or in the marts of commerce. The whole seventy millions are a standing army, and if they lack officers and munitions of war they create them. "But that takes time," it is said. True; we have never found injurious, however, a moment's pause for cool reflection before entering the arena of battle.

Naturally, the naval preparations in the United States advanced more rapidly than those of the army, which was at the outset of proportionately less efficiency; so that while during the war the personnel of the navy was doubled, that of the army was increased ten fold; and if it was with difficulty that competent naval officers could be found for all the ships, the trouble was much greater with regard to the army, many being made officers who should have served in the ranks, and others through favoritism being promoted over the heads of superior officers and better men.

An important diplomatic triumph was scored by the United

States by convention with England declaring coal contraband of war, official notice of which was given to Spain. It was a severe blow to Spain, or would have been were there anywhere Spanish ships requiring coal, as she could obtain no fuel in any British port. The advantage to England, as well as to the United States, was great, for coal having become so important a factor in war, and England having an abundance of the article in every quarter of the globe, she thus became in some respects the strongest nation on earth. Russia as a friendly act joined in the agreement. France and Austria were distinctly opposed to it; Holland and Belgium non-committal; Germany displeased but reticent.

The fleets of Sampson and Schley were united off Santiago early in June, Sampson being first in command. Missiles were discharged at intervals against the harbor defenses, causing no great damage. For the reduction of Santiago city, 16,000 men under General William R. Shafter were sent from Tampa in a fleet of thirty transports convoyed by warships; 6,000 troops were landed without opposition at Baiquiri, twelve miles east of Santiago bay on the 23rd, one detachment occupying the town of Baiquiri, and another under General Lawton taking its station six miles west on the Santiago road. The remainder of the forces were landed during the next four days at Siboney, five miles nearer to Santiago, where they were joined by the Cuban generals Garcia, Rabi, and Castillo. Insurgent troops to the number of 3,000, under Garcia, coöperated with the American army, and rendered good service at the landing, and later as scouts and skirmishers. For regular fighting they lacked organization and discipline, yet they managed after the battle to show their share of killed and wounded.

During the next four days a further advance of a mile or more was made, so that by the end of June but three and a half miles intervened between the American front and the Spanish intrenchments. The road to Caney was held by General Lawton's brigade. Across the road and river, and holding the trench, was the Third brigade, commanded by General Chaffee. On the left flank were General Clark and the First brigade, and on the right flank General Wheeler and the cavalry. Thus the forces stood for the next two days, while preparations were made for an advance. Rations were dealt out, roads examined, and the configuration of the country

studied. On the 24th occurred the battle of La Quasina, and nightfall saw the Americans within five miles of Santiago. It was a hot fight. Marching along the road, 1,000 men of the First and Tenth cavalry and the First volunteers, General Young's brigade of General Wheeler's division and Roosevelt's Rough Riders, fell into an ambush, and found themselves surrounded by an unseen foe, which proved to be 2,000 Spanish soldiers. Exposed as they were in the open, while showers of bullets fell upon them from the thickets, the Spaniards expected of course that the Americans would break and run. But they did not run. They had no intention of running. They stood and swore because they could not see the enemy. "Don't swear, but shoot," shouted their commander. And they did shoot, and then dashed into the thickets, and with such determination and effect as soon to dislodge the Spaniards from cover, and send them flying over the hills.

Up to this time almost bloodless victory had attended the arms of the United States. Now, meeting the enemy in the bush, with wire-fence tactics, ambuscades, and trenches, our army was naturally in for more scratches; but the result would be the same, whether the fighting were much or little.

Says Roosevelt in his report on the capture of Santiago: "The Spanish guerrillas were very active, especially in our rear, where they seemed by preference to attack the wounded men who were being carried on litters, the doctors and medical attendants with Red Cross badges on their arms and the burial parties. I organized a detail of sharpshooters and sent them out after these guerrillas, of whom they killed thirteen. Two of the men thus killed were shot several hours after the truce had been in operation, because in spite of this fact they kept firing on our men as they went to draw water. They were stationed in the trees, as the guerrillas were generally, and owing to the density of the foliage and to the use of smokeless powder rifles it was an exceedingly difficult matter to locate them."

Early in the morning of July 1st General Lawton's troops moved forward and opened fire, and the battle of Caney was begun. A little less than two hours later the Cubans under General Garcia emerged from the adjacent thickets and joined General Lawton. As Captain French's troops advanced along the road under the burning sun, the men succumbed, one after

another, until twenty had fallen by the way exhausted. Next day the main body began its advance, the fleets shelling batteries as a diversion. The enemy made no response for twenty minutes after firing began. Then the cavalry pushed forward, and Colonel Wood and his Rough Riders charged for the fortifications in the midst of a galling fire. From Caney and San Juan the enemy was driven into the city, whose investment by nightfall was completed, the American losses being in killed wounded and missing 1595 men.

While the American army thus lay entrenched before Santiago, there occurred another of those naval exploits which will ever render this epoch memorable in the history of maritime warfare.

Unlike the Americans, Spain had made few preparations for the coming conflict. Three German Atlantic liners and an English yacht were purchased, and a call for 80,000 men of the reserves was issued. A squadron was made up at the Cape Verde islands, Captain Villamil coming from Cádiz with a flotilla of torpedo boat destroyers, the commander-in-chief of the Spanish navy, Pascual Cervera, with his flagship and other vessels joining him later. These ships were in bad condition, unfit to fight; and the Spanish admiral and his officers were surprised when on the 22nd of April peremptory orders came from Madrid to put to sea and make for Cuba.

"It seems to me a most risky adventure, and may cost us very dear," said Cervera to the Madrid authorities; while Villamil, the brave sailor so soon to lose his life at Santiago, telegraphed Sagasta a pathetic message:

"I deem it expedient you should know, through a friend who does not fear censure, that while as seamen we are all ready to meet honorable death in the performance of duty, I think it certain that the sacrifice of these naval forces will be as sure as it will be fruitless and useless."

It was not a question, however, of Sagasta's opinion or Cervera's success; the squadron could no longer remain in a neutral port; it could not return to Spain, but must go forward, even though it were to death and destruction; it must move westward to its fate, to the further satisfaction of Spanish honor and the Spanish people.

Putting to sea with a fleet of seven vessels on the 29th of April, Cervera's departure was soon known to the Washington

authorities, and his destination became at once a matter of no small speculation and anxiety. Would he go to Porto Rico, or eluding the American fleet bring destruction on the American coast, or would he make at once for some Cuban port? But without loss of time, and fortunately eluding the watchful eyes of his enemies, he came on the 19th of May to the south side of Cuba and slipped into Santiago bay, before whose narrow entrance Sampson and Schley were soon stationed watching for their prey.

"Trapped", people said, and "bottled up"; which were not the most appropriate expressions. Cervera at Santiago was no more trapped than was Montojo at Manila, or Camara at Cádiz; or if bottled, it was the Spaniard himself who did it. I should say that like the fabled fox, having no where on earth, or on the waters of the earth; a resting place, he sought his hole and found it. Here for the present he was safe; and happy, for across the ocean and into this hole he had brought with him his honor, not having had occasion ignominiously to fly from the personal presence of the enemy; and, fortunate man, he had by this one stroke of genius, this matchless piece of strategy, greatly pleased two nations, the Americans who now knew where to put their hand on him when they wanted him, and the Spaniards, who loudly extolled their commander's skill and good fortune in thus outwitting the enemy, as they were pleased to call it.

Great was the rejoicing in Spain, when on the following day it became known that the admiral's fleet had made its port in safety. In full uniform, their faces wreathed in smiles, Sagasta and his ministers appeared before the cortes. Madrid was elated, the populace demonstrating their joy. In the churches thanks were offered for the safety of the squadron which had so successfully crossed the ocean, and with its torpedo boats was now ready for the destruction of everything American, even as the *Maine* was destroyed. It was a day of congratulations, this 20th of May. Admiral Cervera had not conquered America, but the skilful tactics by which he eluded the enemy and entrapped himself in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba were marvellous. Montojo's action before Dewey in Manila bay or Camara's eager inactivity were not superior to this manœuvre. A note of thanks was framed by the cortes and cabled to Cervera. Never let it be said that

Spaniards were outdone in costless generosity by any American congress in the reward for faithful service.

Why did Spain rejoice? one might ask. Was it only a play at war that they were making thus to congratulate him whom they had sent forth to conquer for escaping with a whole skin? Did the Spanish government know no better; or was it dust for the eyes of the populace. "It is a triumph for the Spanish navy;" burst forth Aunon, minister of marine, "and the sailors who executed the movement, and those who planned it are worthy of all praise. Now will be strengthened the friendship of the Cubans for Spain, and prove to the world that the motherland will never abandon her colony while strength and vitality remain."

Of the naval success and Spain's rejoicing America knew nothing as yet. For so snugly had the Spanish admiral stowed himself away that it was several days before the Americans could ascertain the truth of the matter. Schley however, who three days before had been at Cienfuegos had his suspicions, and ran his squadron round to the entrance of Santiago harbor, Sampson, with the main squadron arriving shortly afterward, the two fleets keeping watch and occasionally bombarding the forts as before mentioned. It appears that Cervera's instructions on sailing from the Cape Verde islands had been secret; but it was thought by the populace of Madrid that the fleet was to bombard New York. Boston became frightened; a strong guard was set, and the women and children at Fort Warren were removed to a place of safety. Little more was known when word came that the fleet had been permitted to coal and recuperate at Martinique; for which courtesy Spain expressed gratitude to the French government, while in the streets of Madrid were heard cheers for France. So there is little wonder that as June approached the question was often heard anxiously asked, Where is Admiral Cervera? Perhaps at Cienfuegos; perhaps at Santiago. To make certain as regarded the latter, Lieutenant Victor Blue finally made a somewhat perilous seventy-mile reconnaissance round Santiago bay, and counted and marked the positions of Cervera's six vessels, and returning reported to Sampson.

As for the Spanish admiral, finding himself in a safe harbor, with an entrance so narrow that the enemy deemed it prudent not to enter, closely surrounded by fortified hills, with a Span-

ish army and a sympathetic city at hand, and the patriotic insurgents none too expeditious in giving notice of his presence, for the moment he felt at his ease, and the siestas of the sailors were undisturbed. But as the fierce battleships of the American sea-kings gathered outside, and an American army landed and stationed itself round the doomed city, the siestas were not so dreamless. The eyes of Madrid too began to open. Could not the admiral find a way out as he had found a way in? they began to ask. The admiral indeed wished himself out, saw the folly of ever having entered there, or anywhere, saw Spain's insensate folly at every move. It is sweet to die for one's country, if one can choose the country.

All too soon the order came, "Put to sea." Why? If the fleet was to fight, its chances would be better where it was. To drop one ship at a time out of the harbor into the jaws of death, surely that were not wise. So said Cervera and all his officers. Nevertheless the order came again, "No matter what the consequences, make your escape."

Lieutenant José Mullery Tejeiro, second in command of the Spanish naval forces at Santiago, in his *Combates y Capitulacion de Santiago de Cuba*, says that their coal bunkers were nearly empty, the guns useless, and the ammunition damaged. A sorry force indeed to encounter a score or so of the best manned and best equipped fighting ships afloat. And the Spanish men and officers, knowing this, and driven to it by those who ruled their lives and held them at too cheap a rate, sailed out to meet their doom with scarcely a murmur. In Santiago the people could only account for this new phase of Spanish madness by the supposition that Camara's fleet was outside ready to join Cervera in a decisive battle, as had indeed been rumored.

The naval force of the Atlantic now comprised the North Atlantic squadron under Sampson; the Flying squadron, organized at Hampton Roads under Schley; the Northern Patrol squadron, Commodore Howell; with Commodore Watson in the *Dolphin* as division commander, and Commodore Remy in command of the naval base at Key West. Howell's ships were the *San Francisco* and the ram *Katahdin*, and the purchased steamers of the Morgan line converted into armed auxiliaries. In the San Juan expedition, Sampson had his flagship *New York*, the battleships *Iowa*, and *Indiana*, the monitors *Amphi-*

trite and *Terror*, the cruisers *Detroit* and *Montgomery*, the torpedo-boat *Porter*, the armed tug *Wompatuck*, and the collier *Niagara*. When he arrived off Santiago the 1st of June he found there Schley with the flagship *Brooklyn*, the battleships *Massachusetts* *Iowa* and *Texas*, the *Marblehead* *New Orleans* *Harvard* and *Vixen*, and the colliers *Merrimac* and *Sterling*. The seven ships comprising Cervera's squadron were the armored cruisers *Infanta Maria Teresa*, flagship, the *Almirante Oquendo*, *Vizcaya*, *Cristobal Colon*, and three torpedo boat destroyers.

The united fleets, with Sampson in command, formed a semi-circle round the entrance to the harbor, keeping close watch and throwing out search lights at night. Each ship was given its position, the *Brooklyn* west of the battleships, and the *New York* east of them, the distance from shore being at first six miles, later reduced to four miles, and at night to two miles. The battleships were in front, flanked by the cruisers; nearest the harbor were the auxiliaries. Owing to the depth of water the vessels could not anchor, and so kept moving, steam up and cleared for action. The *Oregon* was there from her trip round Cape Horn, and the *Vesuvius*, the latter firing at night gun-cotton projectiles, whose terrific explosions exercised a wholesome effect upon the Spanish mind. Among the others was the *Gloucester*, Wainwright commander, formerly J. Pierpont Morgan's yacht *Corsair*, now armed with a battery of three and six-pounder guns, but entirely unprotected, and destined this day to become famous.

One of the many acts of heroism during the war was performed on the night of June 3rd by Lieutenant R. P. Hobson and seven men, who volunteered to run in between a raking fire from the shore batteries on either side the collier *Merrimac*, and sink her across the channel, to prevent the sudden exit of Cervera's fleet. The gallant feat was but partially accomplished, as the steering-gear was shot away and the ship drifted off with the tide and sank at a point where she failed of her purpose, but the example remained. Hobson and his crew escaped serious injury, but were captured by the Spaniards and confined in the fortress. Their daring act excited the admiration of the Spaniards, and a flag of truce was sent by Cervera to inform the Americans of their safety. By arrangement with Blanco they were exchanged on the 7th of July.

The lieutenant thus tells his story:—" 'Not a man must move,' I said, and it was owing to the splendid discipline of the men that we were not killed, as the shells rained over us, and minutes became hours of suspense. The men's mouths grew parched; but we must lie there till daylight, I told them. Now and again, one or the other of the men lying with his face glued to the deck, and wondering whether the next shell would not come our way, would say, 'Hadn't we better drop off now, sir?' But I said, 'Wait till daylight.' It would have been impossible to get the catamaran anywhere but on to the shore, where the soldiers stood shooting, and I hoped that by daylight we might be recognized and saved. The grand old *Merrimac* kept sinking. I wanted to go forward and see the damage done there, where nearly all the fire was directed. One man said that if I rose it would draw all the fire on the rest. So I lay motionless. It was splendid the way those men behaved. When the water came up to the *Merrimac's* decks the catamaran floated amid the wreckage, but it was still made fast to the boom, and we caught hold of the edges and clung on, our heads only being above water. One man thought we were safer right there; it was quite light; the firing had ceased except that on the *New York* launch, and I feared Ensign Powell and his men had been killed. A Spanish launch came toward the *Merrimac*. We agreed to capture her and run. Just as she came close the Spaniards saw us, and half a dozen marines jumped up and pointed their rifles at our heads, sticking out of the water. 'Is there any officer in that boat to receive a surrender of prisoners of war?' I shouted. An old man leaned out under the awning and waved his hand. It was Admiral Cervera. The marines lowered their rifles, and we were helped into the launch."

After their exchange the seven seamen were called up for praise and promotion; to which their spokesman replied, "We considered it a great privilege, sir, where so many volunteered, and we want to thank you for allowing us to go."

Hobson was born in Alabama; he attended the Southern university, and graduated at Annapolis. He later undertook the floating of several sunken warships and the recovery of their guns, but with indifferent success, considering the cost of the experiments to the government.

The confinement of the prisoners in the fortress interfering

with the bombarding operations of June 16th, which must be directed to either side of the Morro where it was understood that Hobson and his men were imprisoned, Sampson sent Cervera word that he would be held responsible for the safety of the prisoners. Moreover, thinking it probable that the Spaniards might destroy their ships to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy, Cervera was notified that in such an event the value of the fleet would be charged up to Spain in the way of additional indemnity in the day of final reckoning.

Having asked why Spain rejoiced when Cervera carried his fleet into Santiago bay, let us now ask why the American commanders wished to prevent or hinder Cervera's exit when they were so anxiously waiting outside to receive him? Without any obstruction the channel is so narrow that but one large ship can pass in or out at a time. Had the proposed obstruction to the passage been made complete, how would it have assisted the Americans in getting at the enemy to fight him?

Thus matters stood when on the morning of Sunday the 3rd of July, just nine weeks after that Sunday morning when Dewey steamed up Manila bay, the lookout on the *Iowa* saw the black smoke from the funnels of the Spanish fleet rising from behind the hills, and presently the sharp prow of a warship appeared coming through the channel. Instantly the signal was given, "Enemy escaping"; the call to action was sounded, and three thousand men as if moved by a single impulse responded on the instant.

The enemy was not expected at that moment; the Americans did not think the attempt would be made at all by day. Sunday morning is a time of relaxation, of religious exercise and inspection in all navies, and that is the reason Cervera chose this day and hour, thinking possibly to gain therefrom some small advantage. It was moreover a quiet morning, with smooth sea and light trade wind, all inviting to repose; nevertheless the blockaders were ready to receive the enemy.

Sampson who with the *New York* was six miles to the eastward on his way to Siboney to consult with Shafter as to an attack on Santiago, turned back in all haste and made for the fleet. The *Teresa* was the first to appear, followed by the *Vizcaya*, *Colon*, *Oquendo*, and the torpedo boat destroyers *Pluton* and *Furor*, at distances apart of from 700 to 1,000

yards, with a speed in the channel of ten knots, increased to the utmost as the open sea was reached. The plan of attack had already been carefully considered, and every commander knew what to do, so that the signal to close in was hardly necessary. Emerging from the channel, each of the Spanish ships opened fire with her port guns as she passed the Morro and turned her course westward. In less than a quarter of an hour all of them were out of the harbor, and the Americans heading inshore in hot pursuit, some of them soon running on parallel lines with the enemy, and all firing with rapidity and precision.

Upon the first instant Schley saw it all from the bridge of the *Brooklyn*, whose position was well to the west; saw the torpedo boats make straight for him, while the four cruisers kept nearer the shore; whereupon he steamed at full speed for the foremost of the flying enemy, leaving the *Furor* and the *Pluton* to the tender mercies of the *Gloucester*. As the *Brooklyn* drew near to the flying Spaniards, she turned her helm apart, and opening fire made after them in advance of all the others.

On they came with a rush, one after the other, the *Iowa* receiving and passing them on to her faster-sailing consort the *Texas*. Crossing the bow of the *Teresa*, the *Iowa* threw from her forward turret 12-inch shells hot into the enemy, continuing to pour in broadsides with terrible effect as long as he was within reach. Showers of shells flew over the smokestacks of the Americans, some of them striking the ships. As the *Colon* passed on, she placed two 6-inch shells in the starboard bow of the *Iowa* with damaging effect. Thus escaping the *Iowa* they fell into the deadly embrace of the *Texas*, while the *Oregon* rushed forward from her more eastward station, breathing death and destruction. Though closely bunched as were the battleships at times, no damage was done. Seamanship as well as gunnery was required here. The quick handling of those ponderous masses of floating iron was no less important than the accurate poising of the huge guns in the midst of the smoke and whirl of the swaying ships. The *Teresa*, the first to come, was the first to meet her fate; and quickly following her the *Oquendo*. Twenty minutes after the first shot was fired these two ships were in flames upon the beach eight miles from Santiago. Half an hour later, and only two miles

further on, in a burst of flame, the *Vizcaya* put her helm to port and headed for the shore. The *Colon* only remained, having gained some six miles on her pursuers, the *Brooklyn*, *Oregon*, *Texas*, *Vixen*, and *New York*. Finally the *Oregon* sent a 13-inch shell over her at a distance of 9,500 yards, and the *Colon* hauled down her flag, and ran ashore about fifty miles from Santiago. The *Furor* was blown up, while the *Pluton*, riddled with hot shot, fell upon the rocks.

Then came the work of rescuing the Spaniards from their burning ships. Already Captain Evans of the *Iowa* had run in as near as was safe to the *Vizcaya*, and was as active now in saving life as he had been an hour before in destroying it. From the burning ship he took all the men that were left, and then driving back the insurgents on shore who were shooting the drowning sailors after their surrender, he fought off the sharks in the water and dragged the surviving Spaniards into his boats. On board the *Harvard* were soon 976 prisoners, many of them wounded. Hundreds of naked and exhausted men were supplied with clothes and food, and every care was given the sick and wounded. Three hundred Spaniards were taken from the beach, among them the gallant Cervera and his staff, who surrendered to Captain Wainwright, of the *Gloucester*.

Said Captain Evans: "I took Admiral Cervera aboard the *Iowa* from the *Gloucester*, which had rescued him from the dead, and received him with a full admiral's guard. The crew of the *Iowa* crowded aft over the turrets, half naked and black with powder, as Cervera stepped over the side, bare-headed. Over his undershirt he wore a thin suit of flannel, borrowed from Commander Wainwright of the *Gloucester*. The crowd cheered vociferously. Cervera is every inch an admiral, even if he had not any hat. He submitted to the fortunes of war with a grace that proclaimed him a thoroughbred."

In this the most remarkable of naval engagements, save that which occurred two months before in Manila bay, and in which alone it finds a parallel in history, 400 Spaniards were killed or wounded, and 1,600 in all taken prisoners, the Americans losing but one man killed and fifty wounded.

From the other side comes evidence in the form of statements of eye-witnesses, as that of the Spanish pilot who guided the fleet to sea and swam ashore when out of the harbor: "The

commodore said to the captains who were aboard that morning, 'Sink the *Brooklyn* and we can get away,' and they decided to do all their firing in that direction. All the big guns were trained forward off the beam, so that when we turned to the west they would be aimed at the *Brooklyn*." Lieutenant Antonio Lopez Ceron, of the *Maria Teresa*, who was standing near Cervera during the entire battle, said: "The admiral ordered all our guns concentrated on the *Brooklyn*. Our sole thought was if we could cripple her we could escape from the big battleships."

How the *Brooklyn* met this combined attack of the whole Spanish fleet is thus described by Lieutenant Ceron: "Being at the head of the line, we expected that the American fire would be concentrated on us, and the admiral tried to manœuvre so that we could ram the *Brooklyn*. I really believed that our noble Cervera would himself have gone down with sublime happiness if he could have destroyed Commodore Schley's flagship. But whenever we headed up toward it, it swung around and threatened to cross our path. We never got nearer than 1,500 yards. Once, when we turned toward it, a shell from its forward turret struck us in the bow, plowing down amidships, where it exploded. It tore down the bulkheads, destroyed stanchions, penetrated the deck, crippled two rapid-fire guns, killed fifteen or twenty men, and carried panic everywhere. We fired a few shots at the *Iowa*, but three-fourths of all our guns were aimed at the *Brooklyn*, which, I am told, we struck over forty times. I cannot understand how she kept afloat. At one time I know the *Oquendo* and *Vizcaya* both worked all their guns on the *Brooklyn*. Cervera ordered one of our gun crews to concentrate on her steering gear, trying to make her unmanageable if we could not sink her. In vain!"

Captain Eulate of the *Vizcaya* affirms that "the entire squadron was ordered to devote the fire of their guns to the cruiser *Brooklyn*, because it was believed that she was the only ship in the American squadron that could overtake us. When we got out of the harbor my ship was second in line, and I saw immediately that the flagship *Maria Teresa* was getting a terrible baptism of fire. It was frightful. The *Texas* and *Brooklyn* were just riddling her, and in fifteen minutes I saw she was on fire. The *Brooklyn* was a half mile closer to me

than any other ship, and I determined to try to ram her, so that the *Colon* and *Oquendo* could get away, and I started for her. She made a good mark, with her big broadside, and as I started I thought surely I would get her. But she had evidently seen us, and quickly turned about, and making a short circle, came at our port side, so that I thought she would ram us. I moved in toward the shore so that I could avoid her, and then I saw the *Oquendo* had gone ashore also, her steam pipes evidently having been severed by a shell. The manœuvre of the *Brooklyn* was beautiful. We opened a rapid fire at it with all our big guns, but she returned it with terrible effect. The *Oregon* also hit us several times, but the *Brooklyn's* broadside crashing into our superstructure simply terrorized the men. We worked all our guns at her at one time, and I don't see how she escaped us. She simply drove us into shore, at one time fighting us at 1,100 yards. The *Brooklyn* had prevented me from getting away, for I could have beaten the *Oregon* out, as I had a two-mile lead of it. My orders were to try and sink the *Brooklyn*, and I tried to carry them out. I did not think that her battery could be so terrible as it was."

Lieutenant Carlos Ecado Susances of the *Pluton*, describing the fate of the two Spanish torpedo boat destroyers, declared that "the young commander of the *Gloucester* is as brave as any man alive, but he did not destroy us. It was the shells of the *Brooklyn* and *Texas* that blew us up."

The surgeon of the *Colon*, Adolpho Niemere Suasere, said that "the *Colon* came out next to the last. It was the plan of the battle that she should keep behind the heavier armored ships. She was hit only six times by big shells, and would have got away if the conformation of the shore line had been different. The fine tactics of Commodore Schley in making for the great headland instead of following the *Colon* into the bay is what caught us. When the two ships came to close range at the point of the triangle, so to speak, the *Brooklyn* was more than a match for the poor *Colon*. The *Oregon* and *Brooklyn* got the range for each other and signalled it to and fro."

The cruiser *Reina Mercedes* yet remaining in the harbor was on the following day brought by the Spaniards to the entrance and sunk, the Americans assisting, the latter thus completing

their work of destruction, and the former taking this step in order to hinder the further approach of the enemy.

Far more complete than the destruction of Philip's armada of old was the annihilation of these ships on which Spain's hopes so greatly rested. Every one of the vessels was either sunk, stranded, or burned, and of all the men who were on them not more than twenty escaped over the hills. It was a gallant exploit, this of Cervera's, in obedience to orders but contrary to his own judgment, to sail out from all protection into certain destruction. There were few blunders possible in this war that Spain did not commit. In this instance all Americans felt grateful to Spain and Cervera, first for running their fleet into Santiago harbor, and then for running it out.

Speaking of this episode, Lord Brassey, the English naval expert, says: "Cervera's method of dashing out of Santiago cannot be justified in any way. Of course, it is said he simply obeyed orders. But, with the same orders, Americans or Englishmen would have adopted some rational plan that would have given a possibility of saving some of the ships. They would have waited for a storm, or gone under cover of darkness, and instead of all the ships steaming in one direction they would have scattered. The navy of the United States is small, but it is very efficient. Its men and officers are not only trained to a high point, but they show an aptitude for maritime warfare that is one of the characteristics of our race. In this war they have certainly upheld the best traditions of sea fighting."

Of the prisoners, 746, including 54 officers, were conveyed by the cruiser *St Louis* to Portsmouth harbor, the officers to be taken to Annapolis. During the voyage the commissioned officers were allowed the freedom of the ship, while the men were closely guarded between decks. Cervera remained shut up in his cabin, a prey to the melancholy reflections attending calamities resulting from no fault of his. Yet the admiral's heart seemed to be overflowing with gratitude to the American officers who had endeavored by that courtesy which a Spaniard so loves to make his great loss fall as lightly on him as possible. "My last order from Madrid" said he, "was, 'No matter what the consequences, go to sea at once and fight the enemy.' So I went out, though I knew it to be the suicide of my fleet. When the end came I jumped overboard and was followed by my son, but for whom I should have been drowned." Of

commanders Wainwright and Evans, the admiral could not find words to express his praise. As for the crew, who received good food and clothes in plenty, and for the sick medicine and nursing, instead of starvation torture and the dungeon as they had been told would be their fate, they found imprisonment not so bad. The admiral sailed for Spain on the 12th of September. He had found his enforced residence in the United States not altogether unpleasant, as the following letter to a friend in Spain testifies. "I am inclined to think that the inhabitants of my native country have changed their minds about the barbarity of the Americans, as has always been told us, and I have no doubt that, once peace is declared, the Spaniards will recognize the gentlemanly treatment of their brethren now prisoners in America. It may be possible that some ignorant persons of my native country, blinded by the sensational utterances of the Spanish papers, have given out expressions of hate regarding America; but I do not believe any person of social standing and education, after what America has done for us, will continue to hate the people and the government which now hold us prisoners. I have not words enough to express the thanks and gratitude I hold for America and her people, who took into consideration what I never considered more than a duty in recognition of the bravery of the soldier and the whole obligation of a gentleman. I refer to what I have done for Lieutenant Hobson, which was so quickly taken hold by the American people, and which has brought, and is bringing, me ovations, verbal and written thanks, has deluged me with presents and caused my instant recognition wherever I have visited, and, further, may have influenced the royal treatment of my officers, men, and myself by the United States government. I can take nothing but the kindest remembrances of such a people with me to Spain, who I think will also be grateful for such kind treatment.—Pascual Cervera."

CHAPTER VI

WAR WITH SPAIN

THE most picturesque divertisement of the Spanish war was the sailing from Cádiz of the home squadron into the Suez canal, and then its sailing out. Admiral Camara, with a Spanish fleet scouring the seas and making diligent search not to find the enemy, coming after Augustin's grandiloquent declaration so forcibly terminated by Dewey, was all one with the incessant clacking about Spanish honor which followed the dastardly treachery of the *Maine* episode. With the Asiatic squadron destroyed, and the squadron of the admiral-in-chief locked up in Santiago bay and soon to be destroyed, there yet remained of Spain's much-vaunted navy little else than the home squadron in charge of Admiral Camara, long lying at Cádiz; so long, indeed, that the people became impatient, and demanded to know why he went not forth to fight. Being thus compelled in common with the others to move on, even though it were but to flit hither and thither about the ocean like a phantom of unrest, it became a question with the Spanish government, What shall we do with it? A show of fighting there must be, else where is Spanish honor? But there must be no fight, else where is the Spanish navy? The way westward to destruction were all too short and too sure; there was no other so convenient haven as that secured by Cervera at Santiago, and to be picked off on the way were indeed too certain. Dewey was at Manila; but the distance thither was longer, and the time for life and brag-gadocio consequently more extended; so the home squadron was ordered away, perhaps to the Philippines. Then there were seen in Spain brilliant processions; speeches were made, compliments by the queen regent were spoken, prayers were said in the churches, and the flags were blessed by the bishops. Spain would now up and show the world what she could do.

The destination of the fleet was still a state secret, though every one had an opinion. Hence, after its departure it was given out that it had appeared at the Canaries; that it had sailed for Cuba; was at Porto Rico; was about to bombard the cities of the American coast; and finally that it had sailed for the Pacific, and after destroying San Francisco would cross to Manila and annihilate Dewey and his ships. It was a poorly played game of brag and bluff, and failed of the desired effect, both in Europe and America. All the world knew that Camara never wanted to find Sampson, never wanted to find Schley, and least of all did he desire to encounter Dewey. Had it been even the *Oregon* when out upon the open ocean alone, there would still have been a question. Surely the whole Spanish fleet, on which the hopes of Spain now depended, should be able to cope successfully with one United States battleship. Yet her commander, Charles E. Clark, a hero in his way, did not appear afraid. His voyage from San Francisco had been watched with interest the world over. Sailing the 19th of March, the *Oregon* coaled at Callao April 4th, and again on entering Magellan strait; on April 30th she was at Rio de Janeiro, and on the 25th of May was at Jupiter inlet, Florida, awaiting orders, in as fine condition as when she left the dry dock. While en route the commander was overburdened with directions from the incumbents of the navy department, who were fearful of his capture by the bold Cervera; to the Washington office he finally cabled, "Don't hamper me with instructions; I can take care of myself."

It was pitiable, Spain's situation, were not the Spanish government and officials so contemptible. One can forgive the wholesome fear of a brave man whose enemy is the stronger; but when bravery and fear are mixed with big Indian braggadocio, disgust drives out charity. Of a truth Spain's navy knew not what to do; the army could stand up and be shot, but the ship must sail somewhere, anywhere. As a strategic puzzle the manœuvring of the Spanish and American fleets was for a time of no small interest, until it became evident that Spanish tactics were to hide behind Spanish egotism and keep out of the way; and then the interest ceased or turned to pity. Even France was ashamed of Spain's pusillanimity. Cervera's fleet, and then Camara's were supposed

to be stealthily seeking their prey, off the shores of New England, or at New York or Boston harbor, and guards and defences were placed accordingly; but it became evident in time that Spain's most earnest desire was, while making a pretence of war, to keep her ships as far as possible from the range of American guns.

In regard to the whither and the whence, however, there must be mystery, else there were no bravery, still less diplomacy, not to say safety. Hence for a brief period the world was left in ignorance as to Camara's destination. The squadron consisted of twelve vessels, five warships and seven transports, and sailed eastward from Cádiz on the 17th of June. For seven days the phantom fleet hovered around the entrance to the canal, waiting for the toll-money of some \$250,000 to be paid at Paris. The Suez canal is neutral, and there was no international bar to the Spanish fleet. But there was the question of coaling at Port Saïd, and this Great Britain refused to permit. The principal coaling-stations beyond the canal, Aden Colombo and Singapore, all British, were likewise beyond Spanish reach. All this the astute Spanish officials may or may not have foreseen; in any event, to the satisfaction of all concerned, Camara was forced to put back, and all that was left of Spain's proud navy, like the armada of old, returned to rot in Cádiz bay.

Every day it was hoped that Spain would see how useless and insensate was the struggle, and sue for peace; but the brave barbarians seemed able to find the phantom honor only in ignominious defeat. And while believing that another decisive victory would bring the Spanish government to terms, McKinley continued his policy of a vigorous naval campaign. As time passed by and Spain still remained sullen, new plans of attack were discussed, among which were the capture of the Canaries, and the bombardment of the coast cities of the Peninsula. Toward the last of June one might read from the bulletin posted in the navy department at Washington: "Commodore Watson sails to-day in the *Newark* to join Sampson, when he will take under his command an armored squadron with cruisers, and proceed at once off the Spanish coast." The vessels named were the *Newark*, flagship, the battleships *Iowa* and *Oregon*, the cruisers *Yosemite* *Yankee* and *Dixie*, and the colliers *Scandia* *Abarenda* and *Alexander*. The notice

stated further that "the start will be made at once from off Santiago."

Surprise was expressed by some that such care should be taken to make public so important a move. Others saw in it simply a *ruse de guerre*, believing the authorities at Washington far too wise to embroil their government in grave international disputes which were sure to arise if an armed force from the United States were to invade Europe. Throughout the United States it was generally believed that preparations were being made to send to the Mediterranean a fleet under Commodore Watson in search of Camara's squadron, and to devastate the coasts of Spain; and that before it was ready to sail, better counsel prevailed; and it was deemed wise not to involve the United States in new complications, or stir up the powers of Europe by appearing on their shore in the guise of an armed foe.

The astute statesmen of Spain could not have been seriously alarmed, though they pretended that they were, as it gave them the excuse they desired to call the return of Camara's fleet, which otherwise they were at a loss how to dispose of. With regard to the Spanish people at large it was quite different. When they learned the fate of Cervera, and were told that Watson's fleet was on its way to the Peninsula for purposes of bombardment, the coast cities were badly frightened. Three infantry regiments were ordered from Seville to Algeciras. Trenches were dug near San Roque. Many of the inhabitants fled from Cádiz; and the people of Barcelona were panic-stricken when their governor told them that they could expect no help from the government, merchants and bankers thereupon removing their goods and specie to places of safety in the interior.

At the islands quiet prevailed. Three small American vessels, the *Hornet*, *Hist* and *Wompatuck*, belonging to the Mosquito fleet and in charge of Lieutenant Lucien Young, were on the 1st of July sent into the harbor of Manzanillo, where were nine Spanish vessels, among them a cruiser and a torpedo boat. After a two hours fight, during which several of the Spanish vessels were sunk, the Americans retired.

The Scandinavians on the island of Saint Thomas were greatly concerned for themselves, asking, Will there be more war with Spain, and will the Danish West Indies be bought

by the Americans? And if so, will the Spaniards bombard Charlotte Amalie before the United States secures us protection? Then the Danes remembered 1867, when upon Mr. Seward's efforts to obtain the islands for his government a vote was taken which showed 2,000 in favor of a sale of the islands, and 20 against the measure.

About the middle of July, Jules Cambon, French ambassador at Washington, went to the president on behalf of Spain and asked what reception as a peace proposal terms as follows would have: The return to Spain of the Philippine and Ladrone islands; independence for Cuba, the Cubans assuming a portion of the Cuban debt; the temporary occupation of Porto Rico by the United States; payment of indemnity by Spain, amount to be fixed by arbitration. The president replied that the only terms the United States would consider were: Cuban independence absolute; permanent occupation of Porto Rico; occupation of the Philippines and Ladrone for an indefinite period; and a war indemnity to be paid by Spain, the United States to determine the amount.

Poor Sagasta was ready to give up. If ever premier was an object of pity he was one. The queen regent prepared to fly to Austria, and all made ready for the expected Carlist uprising. War might be continued a little longer, but peace in time was inevitable, and peace, as it now seemed, signified destruction to the present government. If she remained at Madrid there must be a change. Believing her son's throne to be in peril, she who during the twelve years and more of her regency had strictly observed her oath to maintain the national constitution, now saw the necessity of ruling as absolute monarch, suspending the operation of the law of individual rights. This involved the non-payment of the salaries of all military and civil servants, the entire revenue of the nation being required for war expenses and foreign obligations which had to be met. The suspension of the constitution virtually placed the country under martial law. A military dictatorship, however, was regarded as better than no government, and despotism better than anarchism. The step was taken in anticipation that the consequences of the inevitable defeat which was in view might be met. The approach of peace would probably be the signal for Don Carlos to inaugurate rebellion. The republicans blamed the monarchists for

the war, and the Weyler implacables were worse if possible than the others. "The Americans have no need to fight," said Sagasta. "They have only to sit down and patiently wait until starvation forces our brave men to surrender. Had we a fleet the situation would be quite different. As it is there is nothing to do but treat for peace. The army would resist to the last, but the government cannot consent to such a useless sacrifice."

The destruction of the Spanish fleet, and the investment of Santiago city by the American forces, threw a sombre aspect upon affairs. For the first time during the war the Spaniards ceased for a moment their boasting, and set up a world-wide wail. "Poor, weak, and defenceless," they cried, "we are beset by a lusty young nation thirsting for our blood." And they prayed the powers of Europe, they prayed the pope, to save them. But neither pope nor powers came to their relief.

Meanwhile General Nelson A. Miles, commander-in-chief of the United States army, appeared at the seat of war before Santiago, and a demand to surrender the city within twenty-four hours was sent to General Toral, in command of the Spanish forces, General Linares, commander-in-chief, being wounded. The usual Spanish tactics were employed, a play for time and terms, the promises of one day rejected the next, and so on. General Linares asked time to communicate with Madrid; he knew the cable was cut. Then with Havana; the delay was granted. At length Toral was plainly told that temporizing must cease; the American ultimatum must be accepted or rejected at once or hostilities would be resumed. The Spanish yielded to the inevitable. It was a cheap surrender for Spain, yet better than further resistance sure to end in defeat. For the Americans, who thus secured so easily 20,000 prisoners and half of Cuba, the alternative of further resistance on the part of the Spaniards would have been a prolonged summer campaign with a mingling of war, disease, and death frightful to contemplate. In the opinion of those who saw the intricate network of defences when they entered the city, with such fighting as the Spaniards had previously displayed, it would have cost the Americans five thousand lives to capture it.

The terms of capitulation were: 20,000 refugees to go back to Santiago; a United States infantry patrol on roads surrounding the city; United States hospital corps to give at-

tention to Spanish sick and wounded; all Spanish troops in Santiago province, except 10,000 at Holguin under General Luque, to come to the city to surrender; guns and defences to be turned over to the United States in good condition; Americans to have full use of the Juragua railway; Spanish troops to surrender their arms; free conveyance to Spain of Spanish troops and portable church property; Spanish coöperation in destroying harbor mines. Toral long held out for the right to retain arms after surrender, but on being referred to President McKinley the request was denied.

Offended at the supposed slight thrown upon him in not being consulted at the council of capitulation, General Garcia withdrew from the American camp with 3800 Cubans. On their way to the mountains they hid themselves in thickets and lay in wait for a Spanish force on its way to Santiago to surrender. This force Garcia attacked, and was defeated, with a loss of 40 killed and 200 wounded, after which the insurgents continued their way, feeling no doubt the better for their drubbing. In this display of anger Garcia was not altogether at fault; the Cuban general expected too much while the American generals granted too little. General Gomez, as commander-in-chief of the Cuban army, also felt himself ignored in the settlement by the United States of Cuban affairs; yet he acknowledged Cuba's debt of gratitude.

By disinterested persons it was deemed a generous act on the part of the United States, giving the prisoners a free passage home. And so it was. Every thing about this war was conducted upon high-minded and liberal methods. It was a war not for spoliation, nor for revenge, nor for territorial or other aggrandizement, but for humanity and the right, and only the right and the humane should find favor among its measures. Yet the United States government would hardly claim that it was actuated alone by benevolence in sending these Spaniards home. There were wisdom and sagacity in the proceeding, as well as kindness and liberality. We could not well kill 20,000 prisoners, howsoever disappointed they might feel in our not following what they had been assured was our accustomed course in such matters; nor should we care to keep them in prison and feed them, until Spain with her endless to-morrows should be compelled to provide transportation. To turn loose the Spanish soldiers in Cuba to stir

up strife and turn banditti, was not to be thought of. Therefore a free passage to Spain might be, and was, though expensive, costing about \$700,000, the cheapest way of getting rid of them after all. But now comes in the ludicrous part of it. The Spanish government was short of funds; her quicksilver mines were pledged, and she had no credit. But it so happened that among the bids for transportation, a Spanish steamship company was the lowest, and obtained the contract; and then was seen for the first time in history the strange spectacle of the victor, in the midst of war, paying the merchant marine of the vanquished for taking home its own army!

The flag of the United States was raised over the government house in Santiago on the 17th of July. Besides the wide extent of country, with its scattered garrisons and about one fourth of Blanco's troops, which this surrender covered, as the proximate results, the political and further reaching effect was to give concrete shape and direction to affairs which followed, tending toward the cessation of hostilities. The fall of Santiago rendered the occupation of Porto Rico no difficult matter, and General Miles went thither in July with 5,000 troops for the accomplishment of that purpose. Landing at Guantanamo on the 25th, the expedition met with little opposition, and entered Ponce two days later, the city surrendering without firing a gun. Encounters with the Spaniards at Guaymo, Hermeguez, Coamo, Yanco, and Cape San Juan, were easily repulsed, and by the middle of August, midst protestations of gratitude by the people, the island was practically in the possession of the United States. The towns, through their respective mayors, were enthusiastic in their welcome of the new government, which they felt assured would be preferable to the old one, as they were guaranteed rights of person and property, as well as religious and political liberty. Complete possession was taken on the 18th of October. The island, consisting of 221 square miles with 800,000 inhabitants, was then left by General Miles in charge of General Brooke as military commander, the Spanish governor-general, Macias, retiring.

The total army force at the close of the war, regulars and volunteers, was 274,717 men; total of deaths in the army from all causes from May 1st to October 1st, 1901. General Miles expressed as his opinion that Cuba should be garrisoned with

50,000 men, the Philippines 25,000, Porto Rico 14,000, and Honolulu 4,000. But as the Philippine insurrection continued, he saw that twice or thrice the estimated number would be required in that quarter.

Owing to the inefficiency of volunteer officers, placed in power by political influence, all under the mismanagement of inexperienced men in Washington, unnecessary loss of life ensued; and so loud became the charges of favoritism, and so great the complaint of fraud and mismanagement, that the president felt constrained to appoint a commission to investigate the conduct of the war department. As this commission was appointed by the same power that made the previous appointments it was not to be expected that any one would be very severely handled, or that official investigation under the same baneful method too common in American affairs of making politics of every measure should result otherwise than in the usual punishment for the innocent and acquittal for the guilty.

The cost of the war to the United States in money may be approximately placed at \$362,000,000, that being the amount voted by congress for war expenses, and used more or less for that purpose. The cost to Spain, aside from loss of colonies and warships, was \$375,000,000. As compared with our civil war, which cost thousands of millions of money, and a vast multitude of brave lives, this war with Spain was a petty affair. And yet the results are as pregnant with importance, and as far-reaching in their influence as if the cost had been a hundred times more.

The war with Spain was practically fought and won upon the water. It was by naval battles that one of the so-called powers of Europe was conquered, and at a trifling loss of life to the conqueror. In the 100-hour fight at Guantanamo, there were 23 casualties. In the little affair off Cienfuegos, two were killed and eleven wounded; in the bombardment of San Juan, one American was killed and seven wounded; one man was killed and eleven wounded in the attack on the forts at the entrance of Santiago harbor, June 22nd. The Spanish loss was by no means heavy considering the work done, though mounting up into the thousands. At this rate the United States can better afford to fight the world than indulge in one civil war. And it is quite evident that Spain could better

afford to fight and lose her colonies, than to fight and keep them; for during the late insurrections in the West Indies and at the Philippine islands, the cost in money was twice the cost of the war with the United States, and the loss of life ten times greater.

The fact that the customs collections at Santiago de Cuba rose at once from \$475,000 per annum under Spanish régime to \$100,000 a month, or at the rate of \$1,200,000 a year, shows the honest and efficient collection of revenue under the American system as compared with the Spanish system, with its extensive bribery and large and well known frauds.

In proportion to size, Porto Rico is a more profitable possession than Cuba. Though but one-twelfth as large it has half as many people. It is well watered and fertile, and yielded larger returns to Spain at less trouble and cost according to area than any other of her distant possessions. The benefit to the people, five out of eight of whom are white, of this change of government, will be incalculable. Here, as in the Hawaiian islands, there was no question of the transfer of sovereignty, and the people generally regarded it a privilege to become allied to the United States.

By the annihilation of her navy and the capitulation of Santiago, not to mention the general tone of European opinion, the Spanish people as well as the Spanish government began to realize the hopelessness of their cause, and the necessity of coming to terms. Hence on the 26th of July overtures of peace were made through the French ambassador, Cambon, who presented a communication from the Spanish minister of state, the duke of Almodovar, asking for terms, which resulted in the signing on the 12th of August of a protocol stipulating that:

(1) Spain will relinquish all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba.

(2) Porto Rico and other Spanish islands in the West Indies, and an island in the Ladrões, to be selected by the United States, shall be ceded to the latter.

(3) The United States will occupy and hold the city, bay, and harbor of Manila, pending the conclusion of a treaty of peace which shall determine the control, disposition, and government of the Philippines.

(4) Cuba, Porto Rico, and other Spanish islands in the West

Indies shall be immediately evacuated, and commissioners, to be appointed within ten days, shall, within thirty days from the signing of the protocol, meet at Havana and San Juan, respectively, to arrange and execute the details of the evacuation.

(5) The United States and Spain will each appoint not more than five commissioners to negotiate and conclude a treaty of peace. The commissioners are to meet at Paris not later than the 1st of October.

(6) On the signing of the protocol, hostilities will be suspended, and notice to that effect will be given as soon as possible by each government to the commanders of its military and naval forces.

Upon the conclusion of the protocol the president issued a proclamation suspending hostilities, and ordered raised the blockade of the ports of Cuba and San Juan. On the 26th of August commissioners were appointed to meet Spanish commissioners at Paris to negotiate a treaty of peace. The treaty was concluded essentially as set forth in the protocol on the 10th of December, the United States stipulating to pay \$20,000,000. Military commissions were formed to superintend the evacuation of Cuba and Porto Rico, whose members met Spanish commissioners at Havana and San Juan respectively. Military governors were appointed for the administration of the affairs of these islands provisionally. It was the purpose of the president to give aid to the people of Cuba in the formation of a just and humane government, and to advance the material interests of the island while maintaining reciprocal friendly political and commercial relations. Evacuation commissions were established at the cities of the several surrendered islands, and the fortifications formally turned over to the Americans by the Spanish officers, the evacuation to be consummated according to the terms of the protocol as soon as transports could be secured.

At Manzanillo there was a day of bombardment and battle, beginning on the 12th of August, the hostilities being suddenly cut off by tidings of peace. Five warships were there, the *Newark*, *Suwanee*, *Osceola*, *Hist*, and *Alvarado*, and the Spaniards were not disposed to yield. The troops were disappointed that they were not permitted to fight it out, as were those under General Brooke, who received a dispatch from

Miles advising him of the suspension of hostilities fifteen minutes before fire on the Spaniards was to have been opened. The criminal delay of the Spanish government in promptly giving official notice to its officers in the islands of the signing of the peace protocol resulted in the useless and wanton loss of many lives. The battleships *Iowa* and *Oregon* sailed for the Pacific, it being the intention of the government to have its naval forces henceforth more equally divided between its eastern and its western interests. At San Juan the Cuban general assembly was convened November 7th by Calixto Garcia, and Domingo Mendez Capote elected president. A previous session had been held a fortnight before. The assembly voted the disbandment of the Cuban army. A week later the assembly accepted the resignations of President Masso and his ministers in the provisional government of the Cuban republic, the insurgent government being thus placed in the hands of the assembly. The Cuban colonial government resigned on the 24th. The Cuban general Perez was made mayor of Guantanamo by General Wood, who also appointed the Cuban civilian, Bacardi, mayor of Santiago de Cuba. On the 26th of November General Blanco resigned the governor-generalship of Cuba, and was succeeded by General Castellanos.

There was much to be recommended in the suggestion to send out General Garcia to pacify the disaffected, and to enlist Spanish and Cuban soldiers in the service of the United States, until a stable government was established, and then to remain as citizens or be returned to Spain as they should choose. General Guy S. Henry was made military governor of Porto Rico. He cleaned the towns and provided them with a suitable police. Mayors and councilmen were appointed from selections made by the people. Suffrage was not restricted to those who could read and write, as only fourteen per cent of the people came under that category. There was to be no removal from office except for cause.

The death of General Garcia at Washington on the 11th of December, of pneumonia, came as a blow to many Americans as well as Cubans. He was an able soldier and a true patriot. At the time of his death he was interesting himself specially in the educating of young Cubans in the United States. Distinguished honors were paid by American officials to the remains, which were conveyed to Cuba for interment.

About the middle of December General Brooke was appointed military and civil governor of Cuba, and General Ludlow military and civil governor of Havana. Among the first important work done was a thorough cleaning of the city from the filth of the ages. General Menocal remained at the head of the Cuban forces. In the evacuation of Cuba, one delay after another was asked by Spain, until finally the 1st of January, 1899, was made the limit, and further delay denied. The last of the Spanish troops in Porto Rico, under General Ortega, sailed for Spain on the 24th of October.

Sovereignty over Cuba was formally transferred to the United States by General Castellanos at Havana on the 1st of January, and the four centuries of Spanish rule in America were ended. An army of subordinates and clerks of the American military and civil officials and commissioners were sent over with their principals to the islands of Porto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines to assist in maintaining order, organize governments, collect revenues, and superintend the transfer of sovereignty and the departure of Spanish forces.

The sentiment in Cuba against annexation in certain quarters at first was strong; yet it seemed in the minds of many Americans, and Cubans as well, a foregone conclusion that the island would be annexed to the United States, and that it was desirable for both countries that it should be so. A party favorable to annexation was formed in Cuba, but the people of the United States seemed to be in no haste about it.

The Americans never counted on the gratitude of the islanders as a reward for their services; or if so they were doomed to disappointment, and deservedly. Some of the more intelligent Cubans and Porto Ricans appreciated what had been done for them, and were truly thankful; but many more of them, and many in the Philippines, with Aguinaldo at their head, blessed the Americans for all their goodness, and begged them to leave the islands that the islanders might enjoy their new liberties after their own fashion. Others wanted money; yet many were satisfied with the results. Thus Bartolomé Masso, late president of the alleged Cuban republic, effusively expressed himself in a proclamation to the Cuban army, and let us hope that he spoke his true feelings: "Moved by our convulsions, the United States could not continue to live the pleasant life which their prosperity guaranteed to them, and

which other countries, indifferent to our misfortunes, have continued to live. The United States gave in their cities hospitality to our people; in their manufactories our rifles were made. From their shores came numerous expeditions; their press, with immense and constant clamor, called for justice, praising our triumphs, publishing our sufferings, encouraging us with their sympathy and promise of help, while it protested against and condemned the atrocities of Spain. American diplomacy drove the infamous Weyler out and terminated the criminal policy of concentration; and the United States have continued their great work of humanity and justice, sacrificing their own peace, offering their own treasure, and giving their own noble blood, constituting themselves the executioners of their verdict, by which the empire of Spain is forever extinguished in the Antilles, and Cuba becomes sovereign in the enjoyment of her independence." Naturally the Cubans were jealous of the United States, and hated the men placed in office over them. But by far the greater part of the people in all the islands were utterly indifferent as to who their rulers should be, so long as they were left to eat and sleep in peace, for in these they find happiness.

Some trouble was caused by the refusal of the Cuban army to disband before being paid, living by enforced contributions from planters, or otherwise. The Washington government offered to advance \$3,000,000 for this purpose, looking for reimbursement to the Cuban custom houses, of which it had control. The amount offered angered the Cuban assembly, whose ideas had at first been \$60,000,000, and whose wrath was likewise kindled against General Gomez, who was impeached and deposed from command of the army, because he advocated taking what was regarded a small amount rather than nothing. Thus are patriots treated for sacrifice of fortune and a lifetime of unrewarded toil by upstart demagogues who perhaps never fired a shot or gave a dollar toward the deliverance of Cuba. The government in the meantime was not sure that it was under obligations to pay the Cuban soldiers anything.

American rule at Santiago was quietly accepted by the people, under the military command of General McKibben, who was soon succeeded by General Wood. Cuban sentiment at that time expressed confidence in the good faith of the United

States, and desired nothing better than independence and final annexation. The president gave instructions that the laws then existing in Cuba should for the present remain in force, and that the judges and others then in office should be left to administer the laws as heretofore, provided they accepted the supremacy of the United States; such administration to be under the supervision of the American commander-in-chief, who possessed the power to replace or expel the native official and to substitute another, or create a new court, or a supplementary tribunal, should he deem it necessary. Much like children the Cubans seemed to expect the immediate recognition of the Cuban republic which had been wandering about the woods these many days. They were obliged for the present to rest content with the proclamation of General Wood as military governor guaranteeing personal rights to the people. General Garcia becoming somewhat officious, was requested to let political matters rest while he gathered in his troops and completed the expulsion of the Spaniards. The Cubans wished to make Santiago the seat of their government, but the president had no intention of recognizing any insurgent government at the present juncture. The surrendered territory would be administered by authority of the United States. On the whole the Cubans received the change fairly well. They preferred United States supervision to Spanish tyranny, but immediate independence or perhaps anarchy and civil war would have pleased them better. When they come to know what peace really is, and that they are as free and fairly treated as any others who enjoy the protection of United States laws, perhaps they will begin to understand how much better off they are than they would be if left to themselves.

The autonomists desired their own government, but it was found that the Cuban soldiers under Garcia were little better than a rabble, and that the government of which Maso was said to have been president did not exist. It was now clear that congress and McKinley were right in refusing to recognize the Cuban republic, its belligerency or independence, and there remained nothing to be done except to maintain order on the island until such time as the inhabitants were capable of taking care of themselves.

In the military government of Cuba by the United States, most of the civil positions were filled by Cubans, appointed

by the American military authority under the old laws. Havana, for example, at the opening of 1899, did not lack for government. First was Brooke, governor-general of the island; Ludlow, military governor of the city; Fredrico Mora, civil governor; Perfecto Lacoste, mayor, with five assistant mayors and twenty-four city councilmen. General Menocal, of the Cuban army of liberation, was chief of police, and General Cardenas his assistant. Havana is allowed one thousand policemen, whose work is not severe, as there is but little drunkenness. Twelve hundred Cubans clean the streets; the custom-house receipts are six or seven hundred thousand dollars a month. New schools were opened, and the construction of new lines of telegraphs and railways throughout the island were shortly begun.

The conduct of the Spaniards throughout the war was an enigma to the uninitiated, though the actors themselves probably knew why they did so many strange things. They probably knew why they blew up the *Maine*, always provided they did blow it up, thus bringing upon themselves, without gaining any benefit from it, the stern anger of a great nation and the hot indignation of the world. They knew of course, and others know, why they played at war so long knowing that certain failure awaited them. They knew why Cervera ran into his trap, and why Camara flitted hither and thither, of not the slightest use to any one. They probably knew why instead of coming forth manfully to the fight, they resorted to sixteenth century bombast and trickery. Spain's soldiers are not cowards, even though her statesmen are more cunning than wise. The Latin race should now know that spectacular performances played for effect are a poor substitute for shot and shell, and that bulletins reporting a victory posted after every defeat is scarcely the way for rulers to win the confidence of the people. True, Sagasta's was no easy task, without proper arms, without money or credit, having to fight at once a powerful enemy abroad and the foul spirit of revolution at home, fighting in both instances with weapons sure in the end to be turned on him who handled them.

In the vagaries attending American commandership, food also is found for reflection. For example, one would hardly imagine it affectation or nervousness, but rather naturalness, that prompted the observation of Commodore Dewey at the

most critical moment of his life, when the fate of nations turned upon the motion of his hand, in reference to the hills round Manila bay, that they reminded him of the mountains of Vermont. And those who knew him say that it was not affectation in Captain Wildes of the *Boston*, to stand on the bridge plying a palm-leaf fan beneath a shower of shot while directing the operations of the ship and its death-dealing machinery. Nor was it laziness or cowardliness in General Shafter during the battle of Santiago, to lie on his back in the shade well away from the scene of action, fanned by a native; he was fat, and he was hot. The much-kissed Hobson seemed to enjoy it until his unkissed brother officers rose in a fury and shamed him out of it. The secretary of war had the honor of lending his name to the coining of a new word to stand for political favoritism in army affairs. The balloons sent up at the battle of Caney benefited the Spaniards more than the Americans, indicating to the enemy as they did the position of our forces, and so enabling them to direct their fire accordingly. Blanco wished to kill himself; he should have been permitted to do so; the world would have been none the loser; better still had he been among the sharks with the poor sailors on whom his Spanish pride and pig-headedness had brought destruction. No one sees sarcasm lurking in the words of Wainwright which he spoke to Cervera at his surrender. "I congratulate you, sir," he said "on having made as gallant a fight as has ever been witnessed on the sea",—a compliment which savors more of Spanish courtesy than of American truth. It displayed the highest heroism, this brave deed, though performed under compulsion, thus to go forth to one's fate in obedience to the orders of insensate folly; but the most gallant fight is not the fight of him who runs away. Though there is feeling, some sentiment, and much passion with no small hatred, there is little true gallantry in any of the Latin nations, least of all is it to be found among the soldiers of Spain. In the underlying principles of the war, as well as in the evolutions of the armies, extremes met, though the true significance of Hobson's brilliant exploit may be as fathomless as Camara's elusive naval tactics.

Thus the tragedy was played to its conclusion. All the loss was on one side and all the gain upon the other. For the money spent by the United States, and even the lives

sacrificed were nothing as compared to the results. Spain will probably never wage another war, at least not the present Spain. She has nothing more to lose, not even honor. Once mistress of the earth, possessor of the two Americas and vast dominions in Asia and Europe, she has now little left; in all the New World she has not a foot of ground for the safe repose of its discoverer's bones.

After long and tedious labors on the part of the commissioners at Paris, the terms of peace, practically as in the protocol, were agreed to by the respective governments, and a treaty signed. In the surrender it was thought Spain should relieve Cuba of the debt imposed by the mother country, some \$500,000,000, largely held in Paris; hence the French friendship for Spain. Thirty years ago the finances of Cuba were in good condition, with government revenues exceeding expenditures. But distant and lengthy wars of coercion are expensive, and the benignant mother charged all the cost of subjugation to the erring colony, this cost reaching sometimes the sum of \$10,000,000 a month, and desired the United States government while taking the island to assume the debt, which it declined to do.

It is well to bear in mind our merit. We should not forget that we are a young, strong, intelligent, and wealthy people, and that we can shoot better than the Spaniards. We should not forget that we are astute, scientific, progressive, and brave. We should continue to affirm that we are not afraid of Europe, of the world, of half a dozen worlds; but we must acknowledge to ourselves that we were all round exceedingly lucky, whatever that may be, in this war. We were lucky in Dewey's victory; in gaining possession of the city of Manila a day after the protocol was signed; in the coming of Cervera to be captured; in the surrender of Santiago before our troops were down with fever; in Great Britain's freak of friendship; and in many other things. I repeat, we are a people of great foresight and shrewdness, and should never forget it; but we cannot honestly claim to have foreseen, or to have compelled through pure superiority, all the fortunate circumstances which attended us in this conflict.

cans became more intensely Americans, more one and indivisible than ever before. It was a patriotism of an order different from that which finds expressions in Fourth-of-July buncombe, or in Chinese expulsion, or in negro suffrage. An intense pride of race was at once engendered, which was the primary cause of our sudden friendship for England and English-speakers every where, finding as we did so much that was despicable in the Latin race. Nor was it narrow prejudice, but rather a fuller realization of facts purchased by experience. If we are willing to admit thus suddenly falling in love with ourselves, we may at least claim that it was with the nobler part of ourselves. If we were proud of ourselves, it was not of our brutality, our cunning, our chicanery, but of the better principles of humanity which had led us on to high achievement. It was a patriotism which filled us with pride for a country which bred men for such deeds, and for institutions which yielded such results. An American in Asia expressed the feelings which inspired millions of Americans in America. "When the news of Dewey's victory was confirmed", he says, "I was the biggest man in Hongkong. My chest went out a foot, and I was twenty years younger. You should have seen me strut, and every one in Hongkong touched his hat to me."

The war with all its victories had come upon the American people like a whirlwind, and we had now before us the bewildering consequences. In the first flush of success we paused, standing in awe of ourselves, of our prowess. Wonderingly we beheld our work, and deemed it great, and ourselves great. We had but leaned against the pillars of this Peninsula, and lo! it had crumbled to dust. Spain was a mighty nation, old as christianity, once owner of half the world; how easily we had conquered her! Then we reflected; the Spaniards are a people of many to-morrows; old age brings decrepitude; with their second rate ships, and antiquated guns, and poor marksmen, two thousand of them being unable to kill a single man of us in open fight,—perhaps it was not so brilliant an achievement as we had thought; and if we are a world power, then the other powers of the world are not so potential after all.

War is an evil, though not always or altogether evil. All wars are brutal, but not all are base. As a rule war is de-

moralizing, because as a rule it is waged on one side or on both sides in an ignoble cause. The last Franco-German war was wholly base on both sides, born of hatred and jealousy, without principle and without one redeeming feature. What were nine-tenths of all the wars of history but displays of bloody fanaticism, and the lust of gain and glory. Wars for national independence, for national integrity, for the cause of humanity are not, in the outcome, however they may be in the action, demoralizing, but ennobling to a people, and that throughout all time. There is not an American, who can truly be called a man, who is not morally better and stronger by reason of our war with Spain. For he is one of a nation that has uplifted all the nations in setting higher than ever before the standards of international morality. The apprehension expressed by Professor Bryce that the conquering spirit may be developed by our late acquisitions loses somewhat of its force when we remember that this was not a war of conquest, that territory came as an incident and not as an object. There are surely no signs at present apparent on the part of the people of a serious accession to the war spirit.

The only unjust war our country ever waged, the only war for territory, so wrought upon the national conscience and the popular mind as to create a strong aversion to fighting or looting our neighbors; and that too after paying Mexico \$15,000,000 hush money. The two were wholly different in the inception, the war with Mexico and the war with Spain. The former grew out of the desire of Polk and his politicians for more slave territory; the sole purpose of the latter was to right a great wrong, and deliver our borders from the curse of Spanish medievalism. Additional domain came in both instances; yet there are no signs of our coveting more; the American people now as hitherto seem to know when they have enough. Another fear expressed is that we will become a military nation. For that matter we have always been military enough to wage successful war when we deemed war necessary; we are now military enough to put such men and machinery in the field as to accomplish any purpose we are likely to undertake. It is not bad to be able to fight; it is only bad to fight in a bad cause. To reasonably increase and render more efficient our navy; to have military schools of

high efficiency turning out graduates enough properly to officer and drill a million or two of volunteer troops in any emergency, will not tax the resources of the nation very severely. As for a large standing army or a too cumbersome navy, they are not necessary in the United States, where the people are an army and navy unto themselves, as has in every instance been amply proved.

A good navy, however, during the present era of dismemberments, and the seizure and appropriation of half the world by the other half, is a good thing, though it is a question if it is wise for England and France to put all their money into warships. It may come to this, however; for in going forth to fight the world it is best to be the best armed; so when England adds fifty to her five hundred ships France must add a hundred, while Russia stands by figuring it up, and makes 1000 ships matched against 1000 equivalent to fifty matched against fifty, and so proposes to the powers, "Let us limit ourselves to fifty fighting ships each", which of course reduces the whole thing to an absurdity. For if by convention the fighting powers of each nation is limited to a certain standard or grade, why not as well each lay aside all his strength as a part of it, and so stop fighting altogether, which indeed were the wiser course.

Our few warships were found of service in the late misunderstanding with Spain. The general opinion after the war was that the army and navy should both be increased, the former perhaps to 100,000 men, and the latter by twenty to fifty ships. The fighting potentiality of the United States rests not so much upon a standing army as upon the navy. The popularity of the cause is more than either; for if the cause be sufficiently popular as to unite in opinion the several sections and classes of the republic, the necessary millions of men and money will always be forthcoming. In a cause which inspires his enthusiasm, and properly officered, the United States volunteer is an effective fighter,—courageous, cool, and obedient to discipline. The navy has so lately spoken for itself that it needs no praise from me. In numbers of ships and men, England's navy comes first in the world; after that in the order named the navies of France, Russia, and Germany. With the completion of the ships now building, the United States will be fourth in ships and men, be-

ing surpassed only by Great Britain, France, and Russia. Thus we find that we have become a naval as well as a military power, and are daily becoming greater. The spirit of progress inspires the people. Humanity joins hands with patriotism and high endeavor. We have seen the importance of a navy, and we will never be without such a one as will place us on a fair footing with other nations. We have seen how, had Dewey failed at Manila, Hawaii and the entire Pacific coast would have been at the mercy of Spain, and this war would have had a different history. Dewey's engagement should be classed among the decisive battles of the world, an issue affecting the destinies of nations as well as the minor affairs of men so long as America and Asia shall continue to make history. The wars of Europe and America for the past century have cost 5,000,000 of men and \$20,000,000,000. Our revolutionary war cost \$135,000,000; our civil war cost the north \$3,400,000,000, and the south as much more in money and destruction of property. Compare these figures with the relative wealth of nations based upon the records, where Spain is placed at \$11,300,000,000; Italy, \$15,800,000,000; Austria, \$22,560,000,000; Russia, \$32,125,000,000; Germany, \$40,260,000,000; France, \$47,950,000,000; Great Britain, \$59,030,000,000; and the United States at \$81,750,000,000.

Immediately after the war attention was given to coast defences and the emplacement of heavy guns. The value of forts, shore batteries, and submarine mines was fully demonstrated at Cuba and Porto Rico, and appropriations were made for the better protection of our ports on the Pacific.

From the present point of view we can see that the war with Spain was inevitable. If not of our own seeking, it was none the less impossible for us to avoid it; for involved in the issue were principles which if not solved would have blocked the wheels of progress. It settled within a brief period vital points affecting the human race which otherwise might have dragged themselves along undetermined throughout the century. The time had come when despotism of whatsoever nature could no longer be maintained on the borders of the American republic. So it had been with slavery, polygamy, tyranny; so it will be with other barbarisms which perhaps we now unwittingly harbor.

We are told by those abroad, and we often repeat it to


ourselves, that we are now a power of the first class among nations, a moral and political power as well as a fighting power. To fight it is necessary to be armed. A small standing army will keep affairs in order at home and on the islands, but would prove of little avail among the powers of Europe. The greatest power now is the one that has the largest navy, with the men and money to keep it in a state of the highest efficiency. We have no fear of the land legions of any nation; we have always at hand the material from which to improvise an army of several millions, but it would be of little use abroad; we have, however, great respect for a great navy, particularly when it comes booming and bombarding along our coasts. To be powerful, a navy must to some extent be ponderous; and yet, personnel is more than ponderosity. The potential power of the French navy may be ten times that of the United States, and yet it by no means follows that the navy of France can sink the navy of the United States. It is doubtful if the battleship *Oregon* would have fled before Cervera's fleet had they met in open ocean. We may be sure that her commander sailed the high seas without thought of avoiding encounter, whatever the instructions from Washington.

Yes; every one says that the United States is now a great power, one of the great powers of the world; meaning of course a great military power, or naval power, or possibly and perhaps necessarily in connection with its militarism, a money power. Few consider the nobler strength and prestige falling on the nation by this episode of 1898, the moral preëminence attained. We feel it already in our politics, in the better quality of manhood that is coming forward to assume the duties of government and society. No nation can fight such battles, and for such a cause, without being the better for it. There is where our true power lies, a power to live for and die for, the strength to be true to high principles, and to do good to our fellow men.

The naval lessons of the war are not without significance. The first is that manhood and seamanship are as essential to success as good guns and expert gunners. It was said that but for the *Oregon*, at the Santiago naval fight, the *Colon* would have escaped, and but for the engineer, who had saved up some good coal and knew how to use it to the best ad-

vantage in the chase, the *Oregon* would have been left behind. Thus to the engineer we may accredit the capture of the enemy's vessel and the glorious outcome of the engagement. Next to a navy, and the money to maintain it, coaling-stations are an essential of international power. England has long seen this, and her stations for coaling at convenient points and distances apart give her the advantage over any government of five times the naval strength not having this advantage. This vital convenience, totally lacking before the war, the United States now has in all the waters where it will ever be required,—unless our imperialism shall some day embrace Europe and Africa as well as Asia and America,—to a greater extent perhaps than any other nation except Great Britain. Besides the increase of army and navy, provision for the future was proposed to be made by laying up an emergency supply of coal of a half a million tons in storage ships and naval stations in the ports along the Atlantic, Pacific, and gulf coasts, and on the islands of the West Indies and the Pacific.

Mr James Bryce and Carl Schurz both argue that the cost of a navy for the defences of Cuba and Hawaii would be more than the profit of their acquisition. In answer we would say that these countries were not acquired for profit in the first place; and secondly, why is not a powerful navy as necessary for the protection of our Atlantic and Pacific seabords as for the protections of the islands adjacent? True, the inhabitants of these tropical islands are unfit either for self-government or for the adoption of American institutions; but the present natives, what they are or what they desire is not the whole of the problem which comes up for solution. There are comparatively few natives left. We do not propose cruelty, inhumanity, injustice, or any but the fairest dealing with them; but there are other things to be considered, among them the possibilities of these lands and their value to civilization. I think if the true sentiment of the American people were ascertained, it would be found that they care very little for the cost of this war, or the cost of governing the islands. What we prize as the outcome of it is the new quality of manhood achieved or discovered. What we need as a nation is to spend, not to hoard money. This farm of Uncle Sam's is sadly in need of improvements and repairs, which if made



would increase its value four fold. The money given therefor would be an investment rather than an expenditure. If our law-makers would learn how properly to invest money in the greatly needed requirements of the nation, instead of clogging such legislation while squandering millions on needless measures affecting their politics or reelection to office, we should soon have a merchant marine, an interoceanic canal, and the great interior desert intersected by irrigating ditches, and spanned by government railways delivering the inhabitants from the tyranny of a commercial despotism under which they have groaned for a third of a century.

As previously intimated, battleships and coast defences will play more important parts than inland armies in determining future issues. This was made evident no less by the war between Japan and China, where the capture of coast fortifications resulted in the subjugation of a vast empire by a nation of one twelfth the size and of far inferior resources, than by our war with Spain, where a two hours play of war vessels determined the contest. The United States navy was brought to its present state of efficiency by years of training, which the national habits prevented in the Spanish navy. This underlying element of work is the fundamental and characteristic difference between the two peoples, and explains the difference in their progress,—intelligent labor and thoroughness on one side, laziness and procrastination on the other. Pomposity will not serve instead of discipline in the hour of battle. The declaration of war found Dewey at Hongkong and Sampson off the coast of Florida, engaged not in loud talk and long siestas, but in drilling their men in gunnery and naval tactics; and the world knows the result.

If war is an evil, it is at the same time a luxury, the greatest of luxuries, men paying for it more than for all other luxuries combined. Progress is a battle, and is usually accelerated by battles. The new life is fed by death. Europe kills 10,000,000 of her own people, and 10,000,000 of Africans and Asiatics, every hundred years. The institutions of Christian nations are fertilized by the blood of their own people. These economies of the universe seem to us poor mortals bad economy. The slaughter of 20,000,000 men, leaves desolate double that number of women and children. Then again, to kill these 20,000,000 men costs according to fair estimates £3,000,-

000,000. Wholesale as has been the slaughter, it has cost the powers £150 to kill each man, and as for the victims, not one in ten knew for what cause he fought or why he should be killed, further than the pounds or pence per month wage. The willingness for war on the part of the American people was not for the indulgence of a vulgar trial of strength or brutal encounter, but a natural and almost unconscious impulse to rescue the oppressed and lift up the down-trodden.

Our late war with Spain was peculiar in many respects. It was short and decisive; was attended by limited loss of life; was free as possible from hate, cruelty, or revenge, and when the vanquished sued for terms, they were accorded in a spirit of fairness unattended by any great unnecessary humiliation. For so small an affair it yielded great returns. It was a profitable conflict to both victor and vanquished. It was worth to Spain all it cost in delivering her from her unprofitable colonies; and it was worth to the United States many times its cost as an object lesson, teaching men how to kill their fellow men gracefully, humanely, and in all Christian charity. Never before was seen in war such zeal and patriotism unattended by enmity, and where there was such an absence of any desire to inflict wanton injury upon the enemy. But whether we are the better or the worse for the war, we are no longer the same. We have changed; not designedly or by our own volition, but suddenly and unconsciously. Dewey's victory transformed the American people into a new nation with new opinions and purposes, and from that point ever to go forward and not backward. Undo the victory, throw away the islands, turn back a leaf in the book of fate; all of no avail. We may read of ourselves as we were on that first of May, as we would read of a people who lived a hundred years ago.

There have been wars which advanced civilization and proved a blessing to mankind, and there have been wars which from first to last were nothing but a curse. Most of the world's wars will have to be placed in the latter category, the wars of the Alexanders and Cæsars; the wars of the great Peters and Fredericks, and of the scourge Napoleon; religious wars, and such foolish fighting as the French and Prussian war, all these have been and are unmitigated evil.

If true what John Bright said in the house of commons

regarding our civil war: "We see that the government of the United States has for two years past been contending for its life, and we know that it is contending necessarily for human freedom. That government affords the remarkable example offered for the first time in the history of the world, of a great government coming forward as the organized defender of law, freedom, and equality"—if this be true and praiseworthy, then we may say with equal confidence that never before appeared a great nation, in open battle and apart from all fanaticism as the avowed champion of humanity.

A further effect of our naval victories was to inspire with confidence and enthusiasm not only the government and people at large but the entire personnel of every branch of the service, naval and military; also to remove all fear for the Pacific American coast, and to lessen the rates of insurance on goods and vessels in the merchant marine service. War usually brings more of good or evil than is promised at the outset. Likewise men go to war for one thing and get another. Independence was not the supreme idea at the beginning of our war with Great Britain, nor the abolition of slavery in our civil war. The poorest result of the war with Spain, the object least worth attainment was the acquisition of these tropical islands, for which we have little use; but there remain to us as trophies, worth many times their cost, a more refined consciousness of the right, a love of liberty for others as well as for ourselves, higher aspiration, and firmer principles. It was felt that the destiny of the American people is toward whatever is best for humanity, toward the largest enlightenment and the uplifting of the human race. The wars of America have all been successful, have all been blessings, however horrible in the achievement, have all been honorable and for righteous cause,—all save one, the inglorious war with Mexico for slave territory. Our wars with England gave us national independence; our civil war saved the integrity of the nation; our war with Spain gives us new being, elevation of thought and feeling, expansion of ideas and intellect with expanded domain. When we include Spain as among the beneficiaries of the war it is in a material sense that is implied; no teaching by example or otherwise would have much influence with the dry bones of the Peninsula, but the benefit accrues in another way. It was a blessing to

Spain to lose her island colonies. Whatever they may have been to her in the past, they could never bring her any thing in the future but trouble and loss. They were diseased members of a diseased trunk; amputation was necessary, and the price paid the surgeon was none too high. A single decade of Cuban war, from 1868 to 1878, cost Spain 200,000 troops and many millions of money; the cost of another war decade, say from 1896 to 1906, could Spain and Cuba have survived so long, it is impossible to estimate.

Even England's loss of colonies was a gain to her. By that loss she learned a lesson which brought her profit in the end. Spain is too old and too conceited to learn. But directly as well as indirectly, it is plain to-day that England is the better off for America's independence. Look at Canada. Would England wish to be mother of another child like that? Are we not worth more to her in pounds sterling as a rich cousin, a buyer of her merchandise, a world power allied in blood and sentiment, than as a thriftless child of grace?

If Spain did us a good turn in coming forward to be beaten, we have returned the obligation in doing our work well. If it is well for Americans to know their strength, it is well for Spain to know her weakness. Not that there is any thing to be proud of, now that we know what we have done, in giving a drubbing to an old woman in her dotage; but the exercise and experience may prove of use in more serious engagements. If Spain would now toll her bell, ring herself out of the category of fighting nations, disarm, and join the tsar's peace brigade, it would be a happy consummation, dispelling all her woes. She can the better afford to do this at the present time, not having many arms left to dispose of, and those of little value. It must be said in justice to American chivalry and sentiment, that the people did not know how poor and pitiful the Spanish nation had become, or they would not have regarded their victories as such high achievements.

The more immediate effect of the war in the United States was to fill the hearts and minds of the people with joy and thankfulness, not unmingled with grave considerations regarding the new and broad responsibilities thus suddenly laid upon them. There has been a great awakening the world over, politically and commercially, owing to the grand and unexpected display of wealth and power on the part of

the United States, and in the sudden transformation in the condition of affairs in the Orient. It is no longer alone the powers of Europe in Asia, but the powers of Europe and America in Asia. It tended to enlarge the national ideas and strengthen the national character, and bring home to the minds not only of our own citizens but of the citizens of the world, a fuller realization of the high destiny of the American people. It opened the eyes not only of foreign powers and peoples, but of Americans themselves, to what stature and strength as a nation we have attained. To the oriental mind America appears in a wholly new light. Every American legation and consulate, not only in the east but throughout the world, was at once elevated and strengthened. Every American, whether at home or abroad, feels prouder of his country, while he remembers that he too is an American.

It was indeed a New Pacific on which our eyes opened after the war; an ocean of limitless potentialities; opportunities for enlarging our commerce, for extending the influence of free institutions, and while benefiting ourselves benefit all the world. Here might be preached the religion of industry, and a new faith in the human race promulgated. Coming to us as a gift not of our own seeking, these Atlantic isles and Pacific archipelagoes, there is none the less with the gift a sacred obligation whose responsibility we dare not shirk. For with the obligation fortune gives us opportunity, which implies duty. We can exercise an influence for good over the people which we have been thus unexpectedly called upon to govern, and help to modify, perhaps, the evil designs of Europe in Asia.

Events followed one another in such startling rapidity as often to leave no time for deliberation, and no honorable alternative. Thus after the *Maine* explosion, war must follow; after the Manila bay victory the Philippines must be taken; after the attack on our forces by the insurgents, they must be fought. We were without choice in these matters; destiny seemed to be ruling us, even as it rules us now, for if we would not see the glory of Ninety-eight turned into our shame, the Aguinaldo rebellion must be put down at any cost.

Men's eyes were opened as well to what will be as to what has been. If during the past century, or a little more, the two

Americas have been delivered from European despotism and made free; if from the institutions of mediæval monarchies this vast area has become republican,—for Canada is as free as any republic, more republican indeed than any of the Spanish American republics; if with freedom have also been gained the services of steam and electricity, the advantages of scores of inventions, as railways and steamships, agricultural implements and mining machinery, manufacturing plants with their endless improvements great and small,—if all this and more be the result of one century's work, what will be the result of a second century of like labor in the same ratio of progression?

From this war new social and political mechanisms are evolved. Possibilities and probabilities never before contemplated at once presented themselves. We are to take our place with the other powers of the world in the affairs of the Far East, and in the commercial development of the Pacific. For besides a moral and political power we have become an industrial power. Our line of tropical islands with continental possessions extending to the north pole, give soil and climate for the successful growth of every species of plants the earth produces. Of minerals, forests and all other natural wealth we have unlimited supplies. Already exports exceed imports, while our manufactures are taking the first place in all the markets of the world. A world's power indeed! And let it always be as it has been, a power for the true, the beneficial, and the good.

There was no sudden rise in the price of products, as is usually the case in war time, particularly when attended by a depreciation of the national currency. As business continued to improve after the war, prices advanced, more particularly manufactured articles of iron and copper. Later, agricultural products advanced; also coal and oil, and chemicals. And as wealth accumulated, and money massed itself in trusts and monopolies, there was at the same time a breaking down of trade barriers, and openings of new highways of commerce. The prosperity of the nation never was greater; the profits from industry covered the cost of the war many times over.

Early in 1899 the New York market for securities showed an increase of business to 1,500,000 shares a day without a break, owing primarily to the large successive crops of the

past two years, which sold abroad at good prices, thus swelling exports while imports decreased, and so leaving a surplus for investment in home securities. Commercial confidence was further increased by the settled state of the silver question, no fear being entertained of currency fluctuations. Then there were the increased earnings of the railroads, the output of iron and the exports of manufactures, the large payments through the clearing-houses, and the low rate of interest, all tending to an increase of business. This is all the more phenomenal because the people of the United States during the past three decades have lived in a lethargy of apparent inactivity and business depression, but undergoing in reality great prosperity. Therefore the war and its results come upon us as a crisis, which requires to some extent a readjustment of affairs in order properly to be met. Until our eyes were thus opened we did not know the extent of our prosperity during those dull times, how population had increased, ideas advanced, art and science enlarged, and even industry, commerce, and wealth wonderfully increased. In *Blackwood's Magazine* one writes: "Unless all the signs deceive, the American republic breaks from her old moorings and sails out to be a world power. Whether the start has been well made—with sagacity, with dignity, with due circumspection and preparedness against internal disturbance, for example,—is for the Americans to consider. For our part, we must acknowledge that the movement is perfectly natural, if not mysteriously imperative; and also entirely their affair. And then, taking account of another illustration of the way in which history repeats itself, with so little modification by moral forces, we must shape our conduct accordingly."

It was apparent before the war was over that it would bring to the Pacific immediate commercial prosperity and a great industrial future. American products would be more than ever a necessity in Asia, and American goods find favor more and more in Australia and South America. The Pacific United States were now in a position to take the lead in commerce and industries in all eastern Asiatic countries. New fields were offered for the extension of American industry, new openings for investment, and new enterprises for the energies of active young men. Opportunities for business were offered in the newly conquered and annexed islands, but

perhaps not better than those existing in most parts of the United States. First of all capital was required; then these tropical lands were not the place for white labor, though a limited number of young Americans might find employment and advancement as clerks and managers. The islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Ladrões, and the Philippines will be no inconsiderable factor in supplying the United States with the \$250,000,000 worth of tropical products annually consumed. Tropical lands have acquired a more pronounced value since the war, for the fact is now better understood that the land is limited which will successfully grow those great requirements of civilization, coffee, tobacco, and sugarcane.

The problems of Cuba, the Hawaiian islands, and the Nicaragua canal, which for a half century had been discussed, were solved by the war on the instant and without friction. The canal became a palpable necessity; Cuban freedom was the primary issue; possession of the Hawaiian islands was deemed essential to the peace and security of our Pacific seaboard. An impetus was given to interoceanic canal projects, though their advance was hampered by politics in legislation. Porto Rico, Nicaragua, Hawaii, and the Philippines are nearly on a latitudinal line, which fact carries its own commercial significance. The British admiralty authorities at once conceived the plan of converting Kingston harbor into a naval station and dockyard of the first grade, making of Jamaica a second Gibraltar.

There are always to be found in every legislative body men who will oppose any measure, no matter how essential it may be or how palpably advantageous to the commonwealth. They oppose upon either instinct or interest. Enough of such men would stifle to destruction all prosperity, and kill any country. Though always favored with some such in congress, let us be thankful they are not many. Opinions are so easily influenced by self-interests. It is not to be expected that a railroad man should ever be brought to see any benefit to accrue from the Nicaragua canal. One senator stoutly opposed expansion, "because of its conflict with the sugar-beet interests of our state, and the damage to American labor." That is to say, the whole United States must forever forego progress for fear of injuring an insignificant industry

or of giving work to Chinamen. An order of statesmanship new to Americans is now demanded, a statesmanship able to adjust colonial interests and govern colonial dependencies; a statesmanship broad and enlightened enough to deliver from anarchy strange peoples, and teach them the blessings of liberty, humanity, and self-government; above all a less selfish statesmanship, one less given to place-seeking and demagogism.

Under the present dispensation it is ordained that progress shall be ever a struggle between the better and the worse, and that to the strong it is given to determine the issue. The late conflict with Spain is but one in a series of many conflicts for the self-emancipation of mankind, which may be followed along the highways of history from the time of King John to the time of Washington and Lincoln. In the early ages a vast despotism overwhelmed and blinded the human race, and from that day to this man has had to fight for his freedom. In this war we were fighting for freedom, if not for ourselves then for our neighbor. While we were securing our own independence, Cuba should have been securing hers, as others of her race were doing shortly afterward, and so continued until America for the most part became an America of republics.

We find in the American people, to a greater extent than was ever before realized, and as is equally found in no other people, inherent forces evolving the highest good. Our altruism is of the homely practical kind, and of whose strength and capabilities we are scarcely conscious until occasion brings them out. Interested as we are in so much that is selfish, the mind dwells little on disinterested duty, so that we scarcely recognize it as such when it comes, but rather regard it as the old selfishness in some new guise. And so perhaps it is; but better that than the low brutal selfishness of egoism.

As the fifteenth century was the transition period from the middle ages to modern times, with the removal of the seat of civilization from eastern to western Europe, so may the twentieth century become the period of a new transition from the present to a yet higher culture, with the removal of the seats of empire and progress from Europe to America, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The better to realize the broad significance of this conquest of the Spaniards, this uplifting

of international ideals, the advance of humane thought and action, nobler perceptions of liberty and human rights, imagine the result in case of our defeat; imagine the arrest of progress, retrogression, national paralysis, the iniquities of Spain established as the proper ideal of Christian civilization, and liberty humanity and the principles of republicanism hurled into the dust. What greater calamity could have come upon the world than the defeat of the United States by the Spaniards in the year of Ninety-eight? Think of it! Mediævalism triumphant; the baser parts of Christian civilization as represented in the Latin race, triumphant; tyranny, cruelty, wrong, injustice, barbarity, all triumphant!

CHAPTER VIII

IMPERIALISM; THE POLICY OF EXPANSION

PERHAPS no questions affecting the interests of any people were ever more fully discussed than those relating to the disposition of the conquered islands. Were we caught in the meshes of an enforced imperialism, or were we still free agents to exercise our judgment in the matter, and if so what should be our determination? Paramount over all was the question, What shall we do with the Philippines? Shall we give them back to Spain; shall we turn them over to be partitioned among the European powers, the United States government retaining its share; shall we sell them to some European government, or to Japan; turn them over to the natives and give them autonomy, with or without a protectorate; or keep them, and if so under what form of government, military rule, or civil colonial or territorial, or full statehood? As to Cuba, we were pledged to autonomy; Porto Rico we would take as a relic of the war or partial indemnity; but the Philippines?

Shall we expand and assume dictatorship over distant tropical territory which we will never colonize, or rest content over home affairs? If we keep these islands, we adjoin European possessions in Asia at a point where war is most likely to break out, in which case our dignity would require their defence.

Do we want expansion? Do we want empire in the East? Do we want to mingle in the quarrels of the Europeans over their lootings of the Asiatics?

Do we want these far away tropical isles with their hybrid inhabitants? Have we not already absorbed in the veins of our republicanism, in the stolid African and the low European, enough of the scum of humanity? Were it not better to prune and cultivate than to grow more weeds?

Do we desire eternal isolation? Do we wish forever to confine our energies, our intelligence, our influence within their

present limits? Do we wish to restrict the benefits of our free and ennobling institutions to ourselves alone?

Can we do better in these respects in the future than in the past? Have we not prospered in the pursuance of our present policy? Why plunge into the intricacies of the unknown when we have a happy experience for a guide? Did not Washington and Jefferson, the founders of this republic, know the best course for a republic to pursue? Can we improve upon the wisdom of those whose teachings have made us what we are?

All the world was curious as to what America would do, and free with advice as to what she should do. But more especially in our own country rose the talk higher than the west wind, where every newspaper, every college undergraduate, every educated or uneducated person held his own opinion, and was by no means backward in expressing it; and where too the subject assumed an endless variety of phases, as we shall see.

Some genius for statistics, out of 500 leading newspapers of the United States, counted up those for and those against imperialism, or expansion, with this result: In the south there were 55 for expansion and 64 against it; in the west, for expansion 126, against expansion 51; in New England, for expansion 61, against it 42; in the middle states, for expansion 63, against it 36; summary, for expansion 305, against expansion 193.

The word imperialism is used in this connection in a modern, American sense, as applicable to the empire of industry as well as to domain, rather than in its ancient old-world significance of monarchical supremacy. It does not necessarily imply warlike aggression or despotism, but rather the extension of political and commercial influence, particularly in the Pacific.

On the one side it was held that our present prosperity and power are due primarily to the traditional policy under which they have developed. To leave this happy path, whose way is safe and whose end is certain, for another however flowery in appearance but still untried, and whose outcome is problematical, is not wise. So acted not our fathers, who left us this nation as a legacy. It is true that the republic carries with it obligations. But what are they? Is it our duty or mission to right all wrongs and succor the oppressed of every land?

Were it so, have we the ability to do this? Or if we cannot do all, should we do what we can in that direction? The first duty of the American people is so to conduct all their affairs, foreign and domestic, as to solve the problem of republican government, and to preserve their institutions for that purpose.

Never has this nation added to its domain unless it was primarily for the good of the nation. We have been governed by no scheme of philanthropy and no dream of empire. Now to employ a war waged for the liberation of one island in the subjugation of another, mainly to provide spoils for political adventurers who support the administration, is worse than was the robbery of Mexico to provide more slave territory for Polk's politicians.

Of what use to us are these 1400 tropical islands 7000 miles from our western seaboard, where white men cannot live and where seven or eight millions of negroes and Malays swelter in the heat, eating roots, grasshoppers, and berries, and trembling through fear of earthquakes and typhoons? Of what advantage to call them ours and intermeddle in their affairs? Trade? We can dictate our own terms as to trade in any event. Money? It will cost more to hold them than we will gain by them. As it is, our intercourse with them is upon the same terms as those of other nations, and we are at no trouble or expense for morally cleansing and governing them. Is it worth to us two or three hundred millions a year to be called a great power and good fighters? There is no profit in our farming this foreign plantation; we can buy the products cheaper than we can raise them. Our own people cannot work there; our own institutions never can be planted there; or, if planted, never can be made to take root and grow. Our blood is not of that strain, nor our temper of that clime, nor our nature of that soil. These Asiatic isles, with their motley humanity, are worse than valueless to us; they are dangerous to our peace, dangerous to our time-honored institutions, dangerous to the principles of our republicanism. For our own honor and safety we should refuse to employ military despotism in the administration of a free government.

We are told that the islands are desirable for military as well as for commercial occupancy. Now the primary advantages of the sea to civilization are not for purposes of war, as some seem to think, but for purposes of industry, for the

interchange of the commodities of various climes for the benefit of all. Islands should be of value to mankind for other purposes than as coaling stations for warships. Must fighting forever continue the great momentous occupation for man, on the water as on the land? If so what better are men than sharks or wild beasts?

The expansion policy is not a safe one. If imperial, that is tending toward world empire, it is too ambitious. What we are we can continue to be, conservative and content, one of the great commercial and industrial commonwealths, which is better than the greatest political or military oligarchy. Washington said: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible." Isolation and reserve have made of us a homogeneous and compact people, growing in strength and prosperity. Without imperialism, without expansion other than the natural growth arising from the addition to our domain of contiguous territory, we have become prosperous and powerful, and all of it is the product of our own institutions, which tend to make men respectable and respected. Nor is our acreage by any means fully occupied or cultivated, but will sustain comfortably several times its present population.

This reaching out for empire will bring disaster to the republic. It will tend toward extravagance and waste in public affairs, toward a change of maxims and institutions to fit new necessities, toward a transformation of character in the people and their laws, toward a revolution in commerce and industry, in a word, it will all tend toward national disease, decay, and death. "We have not," says the *New York Post*, "no thinking man has, the smallest doubt how this imperialist movement will end. The history of America under it will, in all human probability, be the history of the most tremendous calamity which has ever overtaken the human race, greater by far than the fall of the Roman empire, considering what our religion is, what our knowledge and experience are, considering how many instruments of civilization we possess which the Romans did not."

Our war with Spain was undertaken for the accomplishment of a purpose, and under pledge of the government that territorial aggrandizement was no part of that purpose. To break

this pledge is national dishonor; and to say that indemnity is not imperialism, or that Asiatic islands are not Cuba, is too near quibble for honest Americans to indulge in. How can we, without exposing ourselves to the charge of insincerity and deceit, adopt a policy which we so lately voluntarily repudiated? We should have respect for our ante-bellum promises, which assured the world that the war was not undertaken for territory. But aside from this, a conservative policy, under which we have attained a high degree of prosperity, is surely better than one untried and less assured.

To say that because of an accident of war which unexpectedly placed us in possession of an Asiatic archipelago we are thereby under obligations to keep it, and cleanse and fumigate and politically, morally, and intellectually renovate it, and whitewash the half savage and wholly impossible inhabitants into European civilization, is absurd. The United States government is not in the general regenerating business, and is under no more obligation to usurp the management of the Almighty's affairs there than elsewhere. Our people can find more suitable employment than capturing islands, educating the inhabitants, and then turning them loose.

We defended Cuba against foreign arms; now we must defend ourselves against a foreign idea. We must abandon any intention of entering upon a colonial policy like that pursued in Europe, or we must abandon our present interests, our future welfare, and go buccaneering over the world in a career of conquest. We must abandon even our form of government, trample down our sacred traditions, ignore all precedents, and annul that doctrine dear to republicanism that governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed. Then, too, the physical aspect; in the exultation of victory and the thought that we can keep the islands if we will, we forget the unhealthfulness of the climate, and the ignorance and treachery of the people whom we would improve, but whose nature it is as difficult to change as to change the color of their skin.

This union of alien races where there is no union, where there never can be political union or social amalgamation, tends to degrade labor as well as domestic life. To our sensitive Irish voter the presence of a Chinaman in his brickyard is as a red rag to a bull; what will he say to the insult of

placing on an equality with him, not only in the field of labor but in the field of politics, in vote-selling and office-holding, at one fell stroke seven millions and more of Asiatics, the best of whom are worse than Chinamen? To absorb the African surely should be enough for a single century, but his respect for work does not permit him greatly to interfere in the fields of the white man's usefulness; and being already in evidence, and philanthropy being in mourning just now, black comes to the front, while yellow is an off color. Hence the Asiatic is not wanted in America, while white men cannot live in the islands and work. There can never be bred in the tropics a community whose prosperity is based on intelligent labor, which is the corner stone of all Anglo-American institutions. There can only be the non-laboring governing class, and the servile laboring class, because the climate and conditions cannot engender any other.

Not only are the Malays, Chinese, half-breeds, and savages, people whom hitherto and now we will not permit to touch our shores in any considerable numbers, not only are they not competent to govern themselves, but they cannot be governed by the United States at this distance, and while inhabiting a tropical wilderness. We do not want association with such people on terms of pretended political equality; we do not want intimate relations of any kind with them; we are not of them; we are better than they, and we know it, and daily assert our superiority by a thousand acts; and pretended social or political equality, as with the negro, is hypocrisy. We want no more territory, no more responsibility, no more debt, no more governors, and no more governmental machinery. Nor do we want any more base blood injected into the national veins; tropical climate and ineradicable race tinctures forever prevent union.

The retention of the islands will never prove an element of strength to the republic, but rather of weakness. The drain on our resources will never be met by any adequate compensation. For a turbulent horde of lazy tropical islanders, who are of no use alive and whom it is expensive to kill, we give our best blood and pour forth our treasure. For nearly four centuries Spain has tried their subjugation and failed, and Spanish soldiers are able to endure tropical life and guerilla warfare as well or better than American soldiers.

The attempt to rule distant barbarous people will bring evil upon our country, because in our system of government no provision is made for such an emergency. Not only that, but the spirit of our government, which makes for liberty and humanity is directly opposed to the government of alien peoples, which tends to coercion and tyranny, thus turning our republicanism into despotism. England can do it; sell the islands to England as a war indemnity. She knows how to handle eastern races, to civilize, christianize, and pulverize them into profit.

Our institutions were designed for a compact people who look closely to their affairs, and not for the administration of distant provinces. We have neither the men nor the machinery for imperial purposes. Even from the aspects of morality and international philanthropy, were such indeed our mission, we are in no position to start out on a crusade for the conversion of the world to American republicanism, having no corps of trained administrators acquainted with oriental countries and familiar with oriental character such as England has, and as Spain even long possessed. To govern ourselves is all we can well do, without assuming the government of foreign peoples; nor is our political system one that will develop them. Unlike the monarchies of Europe, our chief executive officer has no long tenure of office in which to formulate and carry out a permanent imperial policy. Every four years a large and variable constituency is liable to dictate to a new executive new policies in regard to foreign as well as domestic affairs, and changes in the former will prove more disastrous than in the latter. If in the United States the railways are stronger than the government; if in Washington congress is in some degree influenced by monopolists, what cannot the evil-minded do in Manila? Then there is the cost of it all, a larger army, military and political, and a larger navy, more war material, and more schools for the education of fighting men, all significant of higher taxation and heavier burdens for the producers to bear. Annexation signifies largely increased expenditures. Imperialism means an immense debt, like England's, never to be paid. An army of 100,000 men will cost to maintain \$120,000,000 a year, and provisional governments, public works, and other expenditures will cost as much more. Are the American people willing to pay all this for a sentiment, for the shadow of an idea?

Islands are in history proverbially vulnerable. They are not worth what it costs to keep them as colonies or dependencies. They breed wars and are constantly changing masters. Unless near at hand, in which case they are practically contiguous territory, their chief political products are political disruption and physical disease and death. The Philippines are difficult to defend; they will always prove an easy point of attack for our enemies; they will be costly to govern, and the revenue they will yield will not pay expenses. Where then is the compensation? Humanity? Have we not had enough of killing people for humanity's sake? Liberty, fraternity, equality? The fanatical cry of the canaille. Is it the mission of the American people to free the world from sin, to overturn the ways of providence and make black white and the crooked straight? Have we not wickedness enough to overcome within our own borders without assuming the role of political missionary in Asia? And if there is no money in it, and no philanthropy that will pay, what do we want with the country?

To extend sovereignty over a people without their consent is contrary to the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, and hostile to the spirit of our institutions. Forcible annexation is a violation of American law and the American constitution, which if we adopt such a policy must be changed to read, that governments derive their just power from superior strength. We have not the right to enslave these people, even in the name of humanity, or force upon them a government against their will, or tax them without their consent. We have no right to repudiate our principles and overthrow the sacred traditions of our time-honored institutions. We say we did not go to war to deprive them of their liberty; they want independence; they do not ask to become a part of the United States, and they do not desire to be tributary to or protected by any government.

The very words empire and freedom are antagonistic, the one implying liberty of thought and action, the other arbitrary rule as in the relations of master and servant.

Imperialism implies militarism, either one of which contains enough of political poison to destroy free government. The effect of militarism in a republic may be seen in Paris, where infamous injustice, sustained by forgery and perjury, is made

to minister to favoritism and the pride of power. A military despotism cannot be long tolerated under a republican form of government. The supreme court has said that "it cannot be admitted that the king of Spain could, by treaty or otherwise, impart to the United States any of his royal prerogatives; and much less can it be admitted that they have capacity to receive or power to exercise them. Every nation acquiring territory by treaty or otherwise, must hold it subject to the constitution and laws of its own government, and not according to those of the government ceding it."

By no imaginary process of political legerdemain can these islands ever become one with our scheme of government. Their very existence as part of a republican system would be a standing reproach to our intelligence and our patriotism. No true American, having at heart the well-being of the republic, could tolerate the idea of a development so incongruous.

These antipodal isles are outside of America's sphere of influence; they do not come within the scheme of American development; their people are alien to our institutions, and their climate alien to our physical organization. They are not of our country, and will never be of ourselves. They are the illegitimate offspring of fanatical benevolence. It would be better than this to make more citizens, if we need them, of Alabama slaves, or Alabama mules. Under the fifteenth amendment to the constitution, citizenship cannot be denied to a people whose territory is annexed. No part of our nation has as yet been able to endure black supremacy. Southerners will die before they will allow themselves to become slaves of the slaves. Were not white supremacy guaranteed in Hawaii, few white men would live there. We have sinned; but we know our duty, which is to cultivate and preserve purity, purity of blood and political purity. To annex Cuba would not be so bad as to annex the Philippines, as sixty-six per cent of Cuban population is caucasian; the island is near, lying within the sphere of American influence, and the people may in time become assimilated.

Spain's greatest affliction and cause of decay was her inability to regulate her distant subjects. Has human nature changed in crossing the Atlantic? Are our politicians when left to their own devices for lengthy periods of time more reliable than those of other nations? Is their honesty more sensitive

or their integrity more enduring? Who shall attempt to say? We only know that our politics at home is full of imperfections; we have not tested it in tropical lands seven thousand miles away.

What becomes of the Monroe doctrine if we insist upon a policy of expansion? How can we logically oppose foreign powers from interfering in America if we go abroad to interfere in foreign affairs? Then there is the matter of race to be met. The constitution of the United States declares, logically or illogically, that American citizens shall be either white or black; no coppery hued skins admitted; and here are nearly eight millions of people to be annexed who are neither black nor white. True, the constitution can be altered to meet the emergency, but do we want to dilute and degrade our republicanism with more of that quality of humanity? If the half-savage hordes of Asia and the isles of America are not to be admitted to citizenship, as were the emancipated African slaves of the south, then the lands must be held as provinces, which signifies taxation without representation, and government without the consent of the governed, ideas oppugnant to republicanism. Incapable of self-government, the rule of these hybrids must be arbitrary, and over seven millions of American subjects there must be thrown the mantle of republican despotism. Or shall they be given statehood and the suffrage, and because they are not fit to govern themselves let them govern the United States?

Whether the government of the Philippines be territorial or colonial, military or civil, whether they are given protection, guardianship with a government of their own, or statehood, the objections remain the same, distance, alien races, and tropical climate, rendering republican colonization in its true sense impracticable. In time, if under control of the United States, these islands must be admitted to statehood. For a reasonable period they may be held as in time of war under military rule, and by direct congressional legislation, but eventually the inhabitants themselves must in some way do their own governing if they remain under our institutions, which are made only for a self-governing people, and not for arbitrary, monarchical, or imperialistic rule. Whatever may be said as to military rule, a territorial form of government, or colonial supervision, ownership in any form signifies ultimate annexation, and a further diluting of the blood of Ameri-

can citizenship by alien and inferior races. The same political fanaticism that made citizens of four millions of freed African slaves, would now add to our voting population seven millions of half-savage mongrel Asiatics, of a quality far inferior to the Chinese whom we will not allow to touch our shores.

To Spain and Portugal were given as an inheritance by God's vicegerent all the heathen lands of the earth; with line and plummet his holiness divided the world between them. Where was the advantage? Look at them now! What have Mexico and Peru been to Spain, or India and Brazil to Portugal, further than the means of their ruin? Was France strengthened or weakened by her possessions in America? The tendency of the weaker nations of Europe is toward separation from their colonial possessions as too expensive luxuries. Portugal is practically bankrupt, and able to raise money only by selling her holdings in Africa.

Finally, while we are wasting our breath about what shall be done with these islanders, about our duty, our obligations, the duties and obligations imposed upon us by providence, the duty of teaching them liberty and fraternity, of gently leading them in the paths of our superior civilization, what in truth are we doing? Killing them. Killing them by thousands, as fast as our combined navy and army with their rapid-fire guns can do so. And this through no fault of ours; we have to do it; it is our destiny, the destiny of our humanity, our expansion, the destiny of United States imperialism.

That the prevailing epidemic of imperialism should result in the slaughter by our own forces of those over whom we would spread the mantle of humanity, is not surprising when considered by the logic of coming events. That the American people do not see the glaring inconsistency of closing their door to the admission of the Asiatic while forcing themselves upon him, or the ethical difference between killing off their own Indians when they obstruct progress and going to Asia to kill there the natives who impede their purpose, is strange; but all these are but stages in a transcendently great movement. Nor will expansion, if permitted to have its way, with all its attendant curses, stop where it is, but the national hunger for land, and the grasping greed of politicians will drive the government into further conquests and complications, in which are scattered the seeds of self-destruction.

Thus said the anti-expansionists.

CHAPTER IX

IMPERIALISM; THE POLICY OF EXPANSION. THE OTHER SIDE OF THE QUESTION

ON the other hand, the expansionists claim that the United States entered upon this war with Spain to deliver Cuba from the hand of the oppressor,—that and nothing more; and with the understanding that the war was not for territorial or other advantage, or for self-aggrandizement, but solely for humanity's sake; that this sentiment the nation still maintains, and the tacit pledge of Cuba free will be carried out. That during this conflict the fortunes of war threw unexpectedly into the hands of the United States other similarly situated and more distant islands, where persecution was similarly practised, and on which the covetous eyes of Europe were also fixed, but whose inhabitants were lower in the scale of humanity than those of Cuba, and less capable of taking care of themselves. These, some think our government is under obligation not to leave defenceless in their present predicament; defenceless as against the powers abroad as well as against rapacious leaders at home. Further than this, the war having extended into distant parts, with portending issues of serious aspect, the sentiment of pure benevolence, which actuated interference in Cuban affairs, does not here apply, but that the government of the United States is at liberty to act according to the dictates of its judgment as conditions develop.

It is true that we declared when we began this war that it was not for territorial aggrandizement. We did not so begin it; nor did we conduct it for that purpose. Dewey's order was not to capture and hold the Philippines, but capture or destroy the Spanish fleet. The result, which added to our domain, was unexpected, not of our own seeking, and not altogether welcome. Whatever may be the quality of these islanders, we are in honor bound to stand by them and see

them made free, free from Spain, free from the other spoilers of Europe, free from their own leader, who is indeed their worst enemy, inflicting on them horrible wrongs, sending them to their death by thousands to gratify his base ambition. God have mercy on those natives should the sway of such tyrants as Aguinaldo and his crew ever become absolute! Their rule would be a cross between the governments of Dahomey and Spain.

It is not primarily a question of policy, but of duty, expansionists say, though from this duty some policy will evolve; but first of all having interfered, we must deliver these people; having delivered, we must protect them. It is not a question of career of conquest, appropriation, and arbitrary rule to which the name imperialism applies, or a continuance of continental exclusiveness which has hitherto marked our course; in determining present issues we are not obliged to take Russia as our guide to empire-building, or China as an example of isolation.

We are not obliged to apply the term imperialism to the enlargement of our borders unless we choose. There is nothing oppugnant to republicanism, however, in the word empire as employed at the present day. The significance of words change as the ideas or institutions which they represent change. Canada belongs to the empire of Great Britain, yet Canada has freedom. Only if imperialism is to be the name of American progress, let it be so, but let it be imperial progress, let it be the imperialism of integrity and humanity, the imperialism of intellect and good morals. Let us have an empire of learning, as well as empires of industry and wealth and government.

Nor does expansion necessarily imply imperialism, or a colonial policy, or what is ordinarily meant by these terms, which are as a rule loosely and inaccurately used. Neither empire in the sense of a union of sovereignties, or vast and arbitrary dominion, nor the colonization of white people in tropical islands, was ever seriously contemplated by the American government. And most meaningless of all is the term colonial expansion as applied to territorial extension, and for which it would be difficult to find any rational equivalent. Expansion is simply growth; to resist expansion is to resist progress, which is to resist destiny.

Because of the acquisition of new lands, and the assumption of new duties, we are told that we are grasping at empire. Is it grasping at empire to do one's duty, to deliver the oppressed, to right the wrongs that cry loudly at our door? As for the acquisition of new lands and the management of strange peoples, there is nothing very formidable in either. If this is imperialism it is a new, a noble imperialism, born not of despotism but of democracy, not of slavery but of freedom, the imperialism of equity and humanity. The policy of expansion, if proper conditions are present, may as well be questioned in the growth of the individual from boy to manhood as in the growth of an intelligent and progressive nation, which does not object to a seat among the dominating powers of the earth. Why should we not enlarge our borders with the enlargement of experience, wealth, and population; why not grow to the full stature of manhood? Moreover, what of the man having ten talents and employs but two, burying the others; what saith the scriptures of such an one? Providence has given us wealth, intelligence, and power, not quietly to sit down and enjoy, but to use for the advancement of the true interests of mankind.

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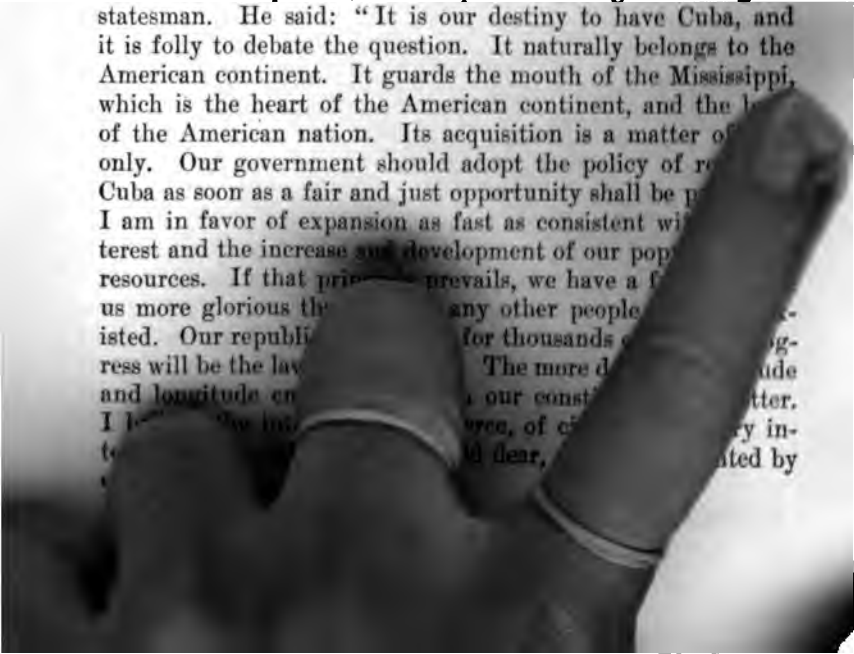
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Nor does expansion necessarily imply imperialism, or a colonial policy, or what is ordinarily meant by these terms, which are as a rule loosely and inaccurately used. Neither empire in the sense of a union of sovereignties, or vast and arbitrary dominion, nor the colonization of white people in tropical islands, was ever seriously contemplated by the American government. And most meaningless of all is the term colonial expansion as applied to territorial extension, and for which it would be difficult to find any rational equivalent. Expansion is simply growth; to resist expansion is to resist progress, which is to resist destiny.

Because of the acquisition of new lands, and the assumption of new duties, we are told that we are grasping at empire. Is it grasping at empire to do one's duty, to deliver the oppressed, to right the wrongs that cry loudly at our door? As for the acquisition of new lands and the management of strange peoples, there is nothing very formidable in either. If this is imperialism it is a new, a noble imperialism, born not of despotism but of democracy, not of slavery but of freedom, the imperialism of equity and humanity. The policy of expansion, if proper conditions are present, may as well be questioned in the growth of the individual from boy to manhood as in the growth of an intelligent and progressive nation, which does not object to a seat among the dominating powers of the earth. Why should we not enlarge our borders with the enlargement of experience, wealth, and population; why not grow to the full stature of manhood? Moreover, what of the man having ten talents and employs but two, burying the others; what saith the scriptures of such an one? Providence has given us wealth, intelligence, and power, not quietly to sit down and enjoy, but to use for the advancement of the true interests of mankind.

There were able men in our nation a half-century ago who openly advocated the extension of our borders. Few will deny, whatever their politics, that Stephen A. Douglas was a great statesman. He said: "It is our destiny to have Cuba, and it is folly to debate the question. It naturally belongs to the American continent. It guards the mouth of the Mississippi, which is the heart of the American continent, and the life of the American nation. Its acquisition is a matter of time only. Our government should adopt the policy of reaching Cuba as soon as a fair and just opportunity shall be presented. I am in favor of expansion as fast as consistent with interest and the increase and development of our population and resources. If that principle prevails, we have a future far more glorious than any other people ever enjoyed." Our republic has prospered for thousands of years because of its geographical position. The more densely populated the country, the greater the advantage. The more densely populated the country, the greater the advantage. The more densely populated the country, the greater the advantage.



Some of our best and most conservative men hold that departure from established methods entails serious risks, that what was best for the republic in the days of Washington and Webster is best for it now; others believe that wealth and power bring responsibilities upon the nation as well as on the individual, and that the United States can safely and beneficially undertake things now which could not have been safely undertaken a hundred or even fifty years ago. As to the doctrine or tradition of isolation, let the dead bury their dead. However it may have been in the past, whether beneficial or detrimental, we are now no longer isolated and never shall be again. The world is round, and America is as near the middle of it as any other country, but no nearer. The term ends of the earth is obsolete; the earth no longer has ends. One side of America is in touch with Europe, and the other side is in touch with Asia. Steam bridges space, and the lightnings of commerce flash over both oceans. How then is isolation longer possible? What other continent has on either side of it these the world's greatest oceans? Rather say that with us, of all the world, isolation is not possible, whether or not we own a foot of land outside the continent.

As the world is moving, with the hungry eyes of Europe on China, political isolation signifies commercial depreciation on the shores of Asia. To withdraw ourselves from the responsibility of the Philippines would be to stultify ourselves before the world. Having gone to war to stop brutality in one island, and having had other islands where is also much brutality placed in our charge, we cannot stop now and say we have had enough of it, we will do nothing more; we cannot claim that we made a mistake in the first instance, or that this tyranny is beyond our reach. Conservatism and isolation up to a certain point in a nation's growth may be, and as regards our own country have been good politics while bringing expansion; for while we have enlarged our borders we have increased our strength. Having attained this much we would scarcely be content to hold aloof from the world and turn our land into a hermitage, when we are as willing and competent to take part in affairs concerning our interests as others. Isolation is not inconsistent with expansion; and after having swelled ourselves out from the Atlantic to the Pacific, there is nothing frightful in laying gently one hand on the Antilles and the other on the Philippines.

Isolation is well when conducive to a nation's best interests. There is a noble isolation which tends to the healthy growth and maturing of a young nation aspiring to independence and improvement, and there is an isolation base and ignoble, unworthy of true manhood, unendurable to aspirants for the fuller life which evades not the responsibilities of power for high purpose. But isolation may become repulsive, when like China's it is based on self-sufficiency churlishness, ignorance, and bigotry.

Only 110 years ago thirteen states with 4,000,000 inhabitants on the shore of the Atlantic comprised the republic; will any one say it would have been better to have remained so? And if not; if it were well to plunge into the wilderness, span the continent, and increase twenty fold in wealth and population, who shall say that it is not well to cross a second ocean, as our expansive forefathers crossed the first, and plant our flag on the isles of Asia if our interests and inclination so prompt us? Expansion is the consequence of growth; one cannot become larger without occupying more space; it is the inevitable sign of prosperity. Contraction signifies decay. Isolation means a limitation of power and progress, of wealth and influence, intellectual and material unfolding to fill only the measure of present environment. The environment of the founders of expansion, Washington and Jefferson, and the rest, from whose words the gospel of isolation is so eloquently preached, was restricted, and would not comfortably accommodate the seventy millions and more at present comprising the nation; in which case, obviously, there must have been more land than that belonging to the thirteen original states, or less nation. Perhaps the nation is too large; but we were not willing to divide it when the south desired a division. If then, in the expansion from the Alleghanies to the Pacific within a century the republic was not wrecked on the breakers of universal empire, is it any more likely to turn out disastrously if we expand proportionately during the coming century, which must necessarily carry us into and across the Pacific? We are none of us looking for growth in the future as in the past, and would hardly desire it, as it would involve the extension of the United States over the whole of China. The Philippine archipelago, however, is not the whole of China, and is by no means out of proportion to our industrial importance and coming necessities on the coast of Asia.

rulers of other nations, will tend in some degree to take the government out of the hands of irresponsible demagogues, and elevate to office a new and higher order of statesmen.

If then greatness is desirable, if it is better to be strong and influential than of mediocre quality and place, then we must abandon our past policy of international isolation, if indeed we have ever indulged in such a policy, and assume the responsibilities of a world power. We can no longer stand heedless between the old and the new, the old alleged conservative method and the new era of oceanic expansion. In the days of our nonage, while we were growing rich and powerful, selfishness was beneficial, enabling us to husband our resources, strike deep our national roots, and firmly establish our institutions; yet all the while we have been expanding, we have not kept ourselves cramped up in any narrow New England, but have always provided ourselves with plenty of contiguous lands westward on which to outstretch our limbs and grow. As for oceanic expansion, the question so suddenly thrust upon us, in pursuance of our old-time conservatism we pause and ask, Do we wish to be greater than we are? Are we strong enough, are we deep-rooted enough in experience and sober-mindedness to take upon ourselves strange problems and foreign complications? The greatest happiness to the greatest number may be to remain content as we are, discard ambition, and enter quietly upon the period of honorable old age. But so might have argued the nation with Daniel Webster when the Rocky mountains was its hypothetical western bound; it were worse than useless to go further, to scale that continental barrier, and enter upon the subjugation of vast deserts and inhospitable wilds, he said.

Such is the law neither of physical nature nor of human nature. Neither men nor nations are so constructed. We could not if we would cease to be ambitious; we would not if we could. A nation like an individual that has nothing more to do, that can do nothing more to benefit itself or others, that has lost the inclination as well as the power of progression, had better not be, but step aside and make room for some more profitable cumbrer of the earth. Progress is not alone civilization; it is life. In organic nature, when growth ceases decay sets in, and death in due time is inevitable. So it is with nations. One might point to Switzerland for an example

to prove the contrary; I should say that Switzerland is not a nation, neither is she living.

What is meant by greatness in the United States? A nation can become great only as its people are great. If a nation is strong, or brave, or virtuous, it is because its men and women are so. If the occupants of the shores of the Pacific are enterprising and wealthy; if their manufactures are large and their commerce far-reaching, it is because they regard useful activity as better than the *dolce far niente* life of the pre-American lotus-eaters. For the last quarter-century the country has been asleep, yet sleeping into wealth and strength. The explosion of the *Maine*, and the retributive echo so quickly heard in Manila bay, awoke America and the world. A new power appeared in the Orient tacitly claiming recognition. The time had come for us to step forth from our international isolation and assume the responsibilities of equality with any and all other nations.

The argument from tradition is the argument of stolidity and non-progression. It is not by the fears of the past but by the hopes of the future that we should be guided. All that is now old was once new; all that is now new will become old; all is change and transformation. There is nothing immutable in our constitutions or our politics. Tradition is a bad ox for progress to be yoked to.

In taking the Philippines out of the hands of Spain we assumed solemn obligations alike to the inhabitants of the islands and to the world. We cannot leave them to become a prey either to foreign powers or to domestic strife. We have taken possession and must bear the responsibilities of possession. We have deprived them of their government, which poor as it was, perhaps was better than no government; we must supply them with another government. We cannot rescue a child from the wolf only to leave it in the wilderness to starve, or as a prey to some other wolf. The Malayan pandemonium which would follow abandonment by the United States would be music to the spoilers of Europe, who prowl about the whole Asiatic seaboard watching for an excuse to seize and appropriate any portion of it, islands or mainland.

To give the islands back to Spain would be making of the United States an instrument for the restoration and perpetuation of all the evils and infamies which Spain has hitherto

inflicted on this people, and would surely inflict again, and as often or as long as she had the opportunity. As well give Cuba over to the torture, and turn loose the wolves throughout the Philippines, undoing all that has been done, and let mediævalism run riot, 200,000 Spanish soldiers officered by Weylers and Blancos laying waste the country, and herding the inhabitants like venomous things, until the half of them shall not be left alive. And as for giving or selling the Philippines to some other power, were we desirous of doing so, and were there no other objections, it could not be done without disturbing the equilibrium of nations in the Orient.

It is not a question of color or of race. Ignorant and brutal as they are we owe it to ourselves, to humanity and justice if not to the inhabitants, having driven away their persecutors not to leave them a derelict upon the ocean to be appropriated by the first comers. Nor has gratitude any thing to do with it; they know not what gratitude is. They have no consideration for those whose blood and treasure have given them freedom. Having delivered them, they bid us go; they have no further use for us; and if we do not give them their way, they fight us as they fought Spain. They are like coyotes that bite the hand that delivers them from the trap. No one blames the Filipinos for the desire for liberty and self-government; they do not know how ignorant they are, how ill-fitted to take care of themselves; and if they possessed the intelligence and strength to sustain themselves they would be left to their own devices. As it is, such a course would be only to turn them over to anarchy, to a state of things worse than any in China, and finally to become the prey of some foreign power.

Few could be found who would wish the work undone, and Spain still sovereign over the ill-treated islanders; were it otherwise we are scarcely ready to repudiate an obligation because it is disadvantageous. We have acted for the best throughout, and have by no means done badly; why then hark back as to what might have been instead of pressing forward in what we ought to do? Say what you will as to the impossibility of political affiliation and race amalgamation; the fortunes of war have thrown these people on our hands, and as men and Americans we can not ignore them. And as to any close union with such a horde, social or political, it is

them made free, free from Spain, free from the other spoilers of Europe, free from their own leader, who is indeed their worst enemy, inflicting on them horrible wrongs, sending them to their death by thousands to gratify his base ambition. God have mercy on those natives should the sway of such tyrants as Aguinaldo and his crew ever become absolute! Their rule would be a cross between the governments of Dahomey and Spain.

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We are not obliged to apply the term imperialism to the enlargement of our borders unless we choose. There is nothing oppugnant to republicanism, however, in the word empire as employed at the present day. The significance of words change as the ideas or institutions which they represent change. Canada belongs to the empire of Great Britain, yet Canada has freedom. Only if imperialism is to be the name of American progress, let it be so, but let it be imperial progress, let it be the imperialism of integrity and humanity, the imperialism of intellect and good morals. Let us have an empire of learning, as well as empires of industry and wealth and government.

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Only 110 years ago thirteen states with 4,000,000 inhabitants on the shore of the Atlantic comprised the republic; will any one say it would have been better to have remained so? And if not; if it were well to plunge into the wilderness, span the continent, and increase twenty fold in wealth and population, who shall say that it is not well to cross a second ocean, as our expansive forefathers crossed the first, and plant our flag on the isles of Asia if our interests and inclination so prompt us? Expansion is the consequence of growth; one cannot become larger without occupying more space; it is the inevitable sign of prosperity. Contraction signifies decay. Isolation means a limitation of power and progress, of wealth and influence, intellectual and material unfolding to fill only the measure of present environment. The environment of the founders of expansion, Washington and Jefferson, and the rest, from whose words the gospel of isolation is so eloquently preached, was restricted, and would not comfortably accommodate the seventy millions and more at present comprising the nation; in which case, obviously, there must have been more land than that belonging to the thirteen original states, or less nation. Perhaps the nation is too large; but we were not willing to divide it when the south desired a division. If then, in the expansion from the Alleghanies to the Pacific within a century the republic was not wrecked on the breakers of universal empire, is it any more likely to turn out disastrously if we expand proportionately during the coming century, which must necessarily carry us into and across the Pacific? We are none of us looking for growth in the future as in the past, and would hardly desire it, as it would involve the extension of the United States over the whole of China. The Philippine archipelago, however, is not the whole of China, and is by no means out of proportion to our industrial importance and coming necessities on the coast of Asia.

Is it well to be strong or weak, to be rich or poor, to be great or small? Isolation alone never yet made a nation strong or rich or great, but on the contrary weak and insignificant, if continued too long, and finally to be swept away by people who were not afraid to assume the responsibilities of the fuller life. Rome had her Cæsar, and Greece her Pericles; Greece, however, would not listen to Pericles, but preferred the apostles of conservatism, and so became a prey to the spoiler. True, Spain achieved empire in its widest sense, and still fell into decay; it was not expansion, however, that wrought her ruin, any more than England's imperialism will bring upon her destruction. Spain was diseased from the first.

What! shall we stop now at the very starting point of our career, and tremblingly draw back, afraid? Afraid of what? Of our shadow, which ought not to be on the other side of us from the sun? Afraid that we shall lose some of our dearly loved wealth: afraid that our institutions will not stand the strain; afraid that we shall fall in pieces if we allow ourselves to grow larger? Is that the law of growth, to become weaker as one becomes stronger; to tremble and fear to take another step forward on reaching magnificent maturity—no not maturity; the United States is only a boy yet; we are still nothing but young America. We do not want the world, yet we are not afraid; what England has done we can do, as opportunity offers; yet we are looking for no India, or southern Africa, or another America; we are content; but if fate should fling China at our heads we would not dodge it because of pessimistic fear. Nothing can be more unamerican than fear to accept the responsibilities of victory, even though they lead to power and prominence. Human art and human agencies rapidly enlarge. No greater difficulties present themselves in overlooking Philippine affairs now than had to be met on the acquisition of the Mississippi valley or the Pacific coast a century or half a century ago.

Even if imperialism signifies an active and aggressive policy in the international struggle for preëminence, who will say that it is undesirable; who will say that the sentiment is mean and ignoble? Men and deities covet power, and have so coveted since the beginning; nor is the desire condemned. Imperialism will elevate the politics of the United States. The governing of distant lands; coming in closer contact with the

rulers of other nations, will tend in some degree to take the government out of the hands of irresponsible demagogues, and elevate to office a new and higher order of statesmen.

If then greatness is desirable, if it is better to be strong and influential than of mediocre quality and place, then we must abandon our past policy of international isolation, if indeed we have ever indulged in such a policy, and assume the responsibilities of a world power. We can no longer stand heedless between the old and the new, the old alleged conservative method and the new era of oceanic expansion. In the days of our nonage, while we were growing rich and powerful, selfishness was beneficial, enabling us to husband our resources, strike deep our national roots, and firmly establish our institutions; yet all the while we have been expanding, we have not kept ourselves cramped up in any narrow New England, but have always provided ourselves with plenty of contiguous lands westward on which to outstretch our limbs and grow. As for oceanic expansion, the question so suddenly thrust upon us, in pursuance of our old-time conservatism we pause and ask, Do we wish to be greater than we are? Are we strong enough, are we deep-rooted enough in experience and sober-mindedness to take upon ourselves strange problems and foreign complications? The greatest happiness to the greatest number may be to remain content as we are, discard ambition, and enter quietly upon the period of honorable old age. But so might have argued the nation with Daniel Webster when the Rocky mountains was its hypothetical western bound; it were worse than useless to go further, to scale that continental barrier, and enter upon the subjugation of vast deserts and inhospitable wilds, he said.

Such is the law neither of physical nature nor of human nature. Neither men nor nations are so constructed. We could not if we would cease to be ambitious; we would not if we could. A nation like an individual that has nothing more to do, that can do nothing more to benefit itself or others, that has lost the inclination as well as the power of progression, had better not be, but step aside and make room for some more profitable cumberer of the earth. Progress is not alone civilization; it is life. In organic nature, when growth ceases decay sets in, and death in due time is inevitable. So it is with nations. One might point to Switzerland for an example

to prove the contrary; I should say that Switzerland is not a nation, neither is she living.

What is meant by greatness in the United States? A nation can become great only as its people are great. If a nation is strong, or brave, or virtuous, it is because its men and women are so. If the occupants of the shores of the Pacific are enterprising and wealthy; if their manufactures are large and their commerce far-reaching, it is because they regard useful activity as better than the *dolce far niente* life of the pre-American lotus-eaters. For the last quarter-century the country has been asleep, yet sleeping into wealth and strength. The explosion of the *Maine*, and the retributive echo so quickly heard in Manila bay, awoke America and the world. A new power appeared in the Orient tacitly claiming recognition. The time had come for us to step forth from our international isolation and assume the responsibilities of equality with any and all other nations.

The argument from tradition is the argument of stolidity and non-progression. It is not by the fears of the past but by the hopes of the future that we should be guided. All that is now old was once new; all that is now new will become old; all is change and transformation. There is nothing immutable in our constitutions or our politics. Tradition is a bad ox for progress to be yoked to.

In taking the Philippines out of the hands of Spain we assumed solemn obligations alike to the inhabitants of the islands and to the world. We cannot leave them to become a prey either to foreign powers or to domestic strife. We have taken possession and must bear the responsibilities of possession. We have deprived them of their government, which poor as it was, perhaps was better than no government; we must supply them with another government. We cannot rescue a child from the wolf only to leave it in the wilderness to starve, or as a prey to some other wolf. The Malayan pandemonium which would follow abandonment by the United States would be music to the spoilers of Europe, who prowl about the whole Asiatic seaboard watching for an excuse to seize and appropriate any portion of it, islands or mainland.

To give the islands back to Spain would be making of the United States an instrument for the restoration and perpetuation of all the evils and infamies which Spain has hitherto

inflicted on this people, and would surely inflict again, and as often or as long as she had the opportunity. As well give Cuba over to the torture, and turn loose the wolves throughout the Philippines, undoing all that has been done, and let mediævalism run riot, 200,000 Spanish soldiers officered by Weylers and Blancos laying waste the country, and herding the inhabitants like venomous things, until the half of them shall not be left alive. And as for giving or selling the Philippines to some other power, were we desirous of doing so, and were there no other objections, it could not be done without disturbing the equilibrium of nations in the Orient.

It is not a question of color or of race. Ignorant and brutal as they are we owe it to ourselves, to humanity and justice if not to the inhabitants, having driven away their persecutors not to leave them a derelict upon the ocean to be appropriated by the first comers. Nor has gratitude any thing to do with it; they know not what gratitude is. They have no consideration for those whose blood and treasure have given them freedom. Having delivered them, they bid us go; they have no further use for us; and if we do not give them their way, they fight us as they fought Spain. They are like coyotes that bite the hand that delivers them from the trap. No one blames the Filipinos for the desire for liberty and self-government; they do not know how ignorant they are, how ill-fitted to take care of themselves; and if they possessed the intelligence and strength to sustain themselves they would be left to their own devices. As it is, such a course would be only to turn them over to anarchy, to a state of things worse than any in China, and finally to become the prey of some foreign power.

Few could be found who would wish the work undone, and Spain still sovereign over the ill-treated islanders; were it otherwise we are scarcely ready to repudiate an obligation because it is disadvantageous. We have acted for the best throughout, and have by no means done badly; why then hark back as to what might have been instead of pressing forward in what we ought to do? Say what you will as to the impossibility of political affiliation and race amalgamation; the fortunes of war have thrown these people on our hands, and as men and Americans we can not ignore them. And as to any close union with such a horde, social or political, it is

not desirable. We will protect them, teach them, touch them with a tincture of our own civilization, but we do not wish in any further manner to become one with them or have them made one with us. This may not be in the eyes of some good republicanism, but it is good common-sense and decency. True, our constitution says fraternity for white and black only; yellow not admitted. For United States citizenship all coppery skins must be ebonized. It is a good constitution that excludes any base element; it would be a better one if it excluded all base elements.

So far as profit and loss are concerned, we have never acquired a new territory that we did not make pay a profit; even ice-bound Alaska has a fair sum to her credit. The Philippines may be as hot as Alaska is cold, but they are fertile, have some manufactures, and enjoy great commercial advantages and possibilities, lying as they do so near the border of opulent Cathay. As regards the cost of keeping them, it is evident that since the war has occurred the government expenses for army and navy must be more than they ever have been before, and with force sufficient to protect Cuba, the Hawaiian islands, and the rest, it will cost but comparatively little more to include the Philippines, certainly not so much additional that their revenue will not more than cover it.

It is not true that Spain's islands proved a loss to her save in times of war. The surplus in the Cuban treasury from 1850 to 1860 was from three to five millions. For three centuries the Philippines, under the management of the friars, gave Spain millions, while the expenses were comparatively light. Or if this were not so, in arguing that because Spain found her colonies expensive to hold the United States will be compelled to advance more money than will be returned in revenue, we assume that United States officials are neither more able nor more honest than Spanish officials. If we can do no better than Spain in the administration of tropical islands, we must not expect different results. Florida, Louisiana, and California became immediately more prosperous, and yielded far more revenue, under United States proprietorship than previously. The islands are a fair equivalent for the war expenditures, and will double in value with good management.

The fact that the United States demanded no money indemnity was salutary to international ethics and to civilization.

Besides the cessions in Alsace and Lorraine, Germany mulcted France for the short war of 1871 in the sum of \$1,000,000,000, much more than the cost of the war, and upon the prompt payment of which Bismarck regretted that he had not demanded twice as much. This was robbery of the baser sort. But for Russia, Japan would have compelled China to pay for her defeat in the last war several times more than the \$185,000,000 received, in addition to the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores. Great Britain's exactions from China of twenty or thirty millions in the opium war were not excessive had the cause been just. Had the United States considered a money indemnity, five hundred millions would not have been too much; but there would have been little satisfaction in exacting it, as the burden of it would have fallen, not on royalty and the Weylers, but upon the impoverished peasantry. It was proposed that the United States might take on account the royal art galleries of Madrid and the contents of the Escorial, but perhaps not seriously.

For the protection of our commercial interests in China, large already but destined to be in the near future twenty-fold greater, we need these islands, and having obtained them neither by fraud nor chicanery nor by any evil means nor for any evil purpose, we intend to keep them. Besides the actual and proximate value, we gain with the archipelago international prestige, and in the Pacific commercial wealth and power. The business men even of continental Europe, jealous as they are of the United States, and of the effects of our growing strength, which may tend to frustrate certain of their designs in Asia, express a preference that we should retain the Philippines rather than hand them back to Spain, or dispose of them in any way. They know that their interests are safe in our hands; and when Germany failed to frighten Dewey or browbeat the United States, they were glad in taking their departure to leave their interests under American protection.

To the argument that white laborers cannot live in the tropics, reply is made that they do not want to live there. The children of the north cannot live and labor in the swamps of Louisiana; shall we therefore rule that state out of the union? Can we not own plantations in the tropics and have them worked by men accustomed to the labor of the tropics? And because we govern those natives, does it follow that we must

allow them to govern us, or does it give them equal rights in the government with ourselves? And as to the objections raised to the coming to America of Malay laborers to the degradation of American labor, it does not sound well coming from a nation which has given the suffrage to African freedmen and Italian dagos, and to the unregenerate of all the world whose skin is not of the coppery hue, to any thing either white or black,—it does not become such a nation to deny its aid to any people on the ground of color race or low degree. If it tends to the degradation of labor to admit the yellow man, is it not equally so in regard to the black man? It is true that the black man was here, and through no fault of his; but was it necessary or wise on that account to make him our political equal or master? It was right to emancipate the slaves; but it was no more right or politic to place on them the responsibilities of government which they were in no wise fit to bear, than it would be to make citizens of the Tagals of Luzon. It was right to drive off the blood-thirsty hounds of Spain from devouring a weak and inoffensive people; it would not be right or just to ourselves, our families, our institutions, to make them our social or political equal, for God did not make them so. We would rescue a blind ass from the too severe blows of its driver; but we need not at the same time make asses of ourselves by placing the donkey on a pedestal beside the statesman. Different nations and different parts of the same nation require different forms of government, and those forms are to be devised according to the requirements of the case. Cuba, Hawaii, and the Philippines, all varying in conditions require various kinds of treatment; not even the islands of the archipelago can all be treated alike as to the regulation of their affairs.

People discuss a policy of expansion as if it were something new, when we have been expanding at an enormous rate for a century. And as for imperialism, we cannot achieve empire at any greater rate in the future than we have been doing in the past. All tradition, all precedent, as well as our instincts and institutions make for progress, expansion, imperialism, all of which in these United States have passed the experimental period, and are now bearing fruit in the fertile fields of demonstration. If growth, extension of territory, enlargement of ideas and intellect yield fruit in the future as in the past,

we cannot have too much of them, even though our imperialism carries us twice round the world.

The political maxims of a century ago, to which some good men so tenaciously cling, were well enough for that adolescent period of the nation's life, but they are by no means suited to the giant republic of the present day. A lusty swimmer in the full strength of manhood hears with contempt the warning not to go beyond his depth; words appropriately enough addressed to a child on first entering the water.

The constitution was made to fit certain conditions. When other conditions arise requiring other treatment, change the constitution if necessary. But that is needless in this case, for these new dependencies now under military rule are not territories as yet, or if they are they are not governed by the constitution, but are provided for by congress as seems expedient. Congress has power to regulate commerce, and the maxim that duties must be uniform throughout the United States does not apply here, because territories are not the United States, nor under the constitution of the United States. There are, indeed no constitutional objections either to protecting Cuba, or to giving our new acquisitions temporary government in military form. The president is clothed by the constitution with executive power covering these contingencies. Congress can replace the temporary rule provided by the president whenever it sees fit to do so, by any form of government not inconsistent with the laws and institutions of the United States, and for any length of time. A port or an island can be held permanently for military or naval purposes, under military law. Alaska has been so held for thirty years, and New Mexico for fifty years, and the former is apparently no nearer statehood now than at the beginning, while the latter, basking in the alien traditions and customs of the Latin race, does not seem to desire autonomy, never having asked for it. The people, through congress, can do as they please with what they have bought or won. There is no constitutional inhibition to our holding Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines as American colonies if we elect so to do. Congress has absolute control of the territories of the United States, all the functions of their government being within the national legislative jurisdiction. There is nothing in the federal constitution forbidding the acquisition of near or distant territory, islands or mainland,

in tropical or frigid zones, by conquest, purchase, or annexation; nothing to prevent the United States from holding such lands under military rule, or as colonies, territories, or states, as congress shall determine. Or if there is, then be it said that constitutions are neither sacred nor infallible. Men made them and can unmake them, and always have and always will break them when they obstruct the stream of passion or the path of progress. Did the constitution sanction the abolition of slavery? And yet the slave was made free. Where the constitution is wrong, all in good time liberty and humanity will make it right, and then the constitution will be fitted anew to that right. Always the right precedes precedent. A government with limited power by a people with unlimited power, is obviously a government to be changed by the people at their pleasure without regard to precedent or tradition.

Those who question the constitutionality of the acquisition of distant lands and alien peoples must not imagine themselves the first to interpose such objections. Never has new territory been acquired by the United States that a host of wise men did not come forward to tell of things that the government could not do. Said Senator Pickering, of Massachusetts, a century ago, on the matter of the Louisiana purchase: "It is declared in the third article of the treaty that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States. But neither the president and senate, nor the president and congress, are competent to such an act of incorporation." He believed the assent of each individual state to be necessary for the admission of a foreign country as an associate in the union. Said Senator Tracy, of Connecticut, "We can hold territory; but to admit the inhabitants into the union to make citizens of them, and states, by treaty, we cannot constitutionally do; and no subsequent act of legislation, or even ordinary amendment to our constitution, can legalize such measures. If done at all, they must be done by universal consent of all the states or partners to our political association. Representative Griswold of Connecticut: "It is not consistent with the spirit of a republican government that its territory should be exceedingly large; for, as you extend your limits, you increase the difficulties arising from a want of that similarity." Remarked Senator Plumer, of New Hampshire: "Admit this western world into the union, and you

destroy at once the weight and importance of the eastern states, and compel them to establish a separate, independent empire." Senator James White, of Delaware: "But as to Louisiana, this new immense unbounded world, if it should ever be incorporated into the union, of which I have no idea,—it can only be done by amending the constitution,—I believe it will be the greatest curse that could at present befall us. It may be productive of innumerable evils, and especially of one that I fear ever to look upon. Thus our citizens will be removed to the immense distance of 2,000 or 3,000 miles from the capital of the union, where they will scarcely ever feel the rays of the general government—their affections will become alienated; they will gradually begin to view us as strangers, they will form other commercial connections, and our interests will become extinct. And I do say that under existing circumstances, even supposing that this extent of territory was a desirable acquisition, \$15,000,000 was a most enormous sum to give." Upon the acquisition of Oregon Senator McDuffie said: "What is the nature of this country? Why, as I understand it 1,700 miles of this side of the Rocky mountains is uninhabitable; a region where rain seldom falls; a barren, sandy soil; mountains totally impassable. Well, now, what are we going to do in this case? How are you going to apply steam? Have you made anything like an estimate of the cost of a railroad from here to the Columbia? Why, the wealth of the Indies would be insufficient. Of what use will this be for agricultural purposes? Why, I would not for that purpose give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. I thank God for his mercy in placing the Rocky mountains there."

What is American, they ask, and what is not? A senseless question, if by it is implied that the people of the United States have or should have a written manual of behavior, or universal guide to thought and action under whatsoever contingencies may arise, for the coming ten centuries. The best answer, with the experience of a hundred years to base it on, is that a fossil is farthest from the American type, and that the truly American is right action in every emergency, the proper conduct to be determined by the circumstances attending each individual case. To imply that to be American, political ideals must be fixed and unchangeable, is to do the citizens of the United States great injustice, as depriving them of judgment and the exercise of common sense.

The advice of Washington, having France especially in mind, that we should avoid entangling alliances with Europe, still holds good to a certain extent. Washington was wise in his generation, but he could not draw lines for the republic for centuries hence. Solomon was wise; but no one now advocates 300 wives and 700 concubines for a ruler because of tradition or precedent. But with entangling alliances the war with Spain and the acquisition of the Philippines have nothing to do, save in-so-far as the continental powers choose to go out of their way to entangle us, in which event we stand ready always to fight our way out of the entanglement. And the same with regard to Monroe's corollary to Washington's doctrine; we still hold to the maxim that Europe must not interfere in American affairs. Washington's advice was good from his points of view of time and place; but great as were his faith and expectations regarding the country, he could have had no possible conception of what a century would bring forth, of the broadening of mental and material things, of the extensions and resources of latter-day America, to say nothing of the adaptability and tenacity of the people, bringing the whole world tributary to their industries. Though strict constitutional constructionists, Washington and Jefferson both were imperialists of the first class, the one giving the nation imperial impulse and the other imperial domain. The Floridas came with Monroe, promulgator of a doctrine of still higher imperialism, a touch-me-not order to all the world.

In common with other revolutionary statesmen, Alexander Hamilton believed that by the adoption of the constitution the colonies would "concur in creating a great American system, superior to all transatlantic force and influence, and able to dictate the terms of connection between the old world and the new world."

It is not true that isolation has been the policy of the nation hitherto; the United States has always stood for expansion, extending its area from the Alleghanies to the Pacific, adding state after state, until beginning with thirteen we now have forty or fifty. Is not that expansion, or even imperialism if one chooses to call it so? There is no objection to the term. If taking under control certain tropical islands constitutes imperialism, then imperial indeed must have been America before she took possession of those islands, for her

prior acquisitions were as a hundred to one, in importance if not in area, compared with what she wrested from Spain. The thirteen organized states first added the Northwest territory, comprising the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. This foundation of the nation's greatness was the beginning of expansion and imperialism on the part of the United States. Then came the Louisiana purchase, another stride toward empire, and adding to the list of American citizens many French and Spanish who could not speak the English language. The further acquisition of California, and the deserts intervening back to the Rocky mountains, which added more citizens, some of a mongrel type, but whom we had no difficulty in managing, and even swindling. Last of all before the war came Alaska, and expansion in that direction to the north pole. And now our Greater America has triangular imperialism in the northern hemisphere in which the Pacific ocean is a most important factor.

Nor was United States government wholly without experience in the administration of distant lands with alien peoples. Leaving out Alaska, which offered no obstacles to a territorial form of government, a pertinent example was California, which at the time of her conquest presented some points analogous to present contingencies. Legislation for the new lands was deferred pending the slavery discussion. Meanwhile the question arose as to the president's power to tax and govern California, and the theories of constitutional law appertaining thereto. These questions were answered in the president's messages by reference to the orders in October, 1848, of Secretary-of-war Marcy to Colonel Mason, commanding in California, and of Secretary-of-the-treasury Walker to the collectors of customs, advising them that by the treaty with Mexico the constitution of the United States was extended over California, and that the customs duties there should be regulated by the tariff law of 1846. In March 1849, General Persifer F. Smith, then commanding in California, made still plainer the positions of government and governed by the lucid exposition of the legal theories connected therewith. Marcy held that the military government established in California under the laws of war ceased to derive its authority from this source of power, it being at the end of the war a government *de facto*, with the presumed consent of the gov-

erned until congress should further provide, which de facto government, however, must abide by the constitution and laws of the United States.

There was no talk of imperialism or undue expansion when that other Paris peace commission, composed of Franklin and Adams, of Laurens and Jay, 115 years ago succeeded in extending United States domain west from the Alleghanies, England's efforts to arrest the outspreading of our republican empire at the Mississippi river proving unavailing. Jefferson wrote to President Monroe in 1823: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cisatlantic affairs." But how should these sentiments, provided we felt ourselves bound to them throughout all time, affect our acquisition of islands in the Pacific ocean, as they certainly did not prevent their author from the acquisition of Louisiana. Asia is not Europe, and to take these islands is in no sense intermeddling in the affairs of Europe. All civilized powers claim as a right the seizure of savage or half civilized lands for the benefit of civilization, and are even now considering the partition of China as they have already partitioned a large part of Africa.

Uttered at the moment of their inception, when the ideas and facts for the first time came together, and Jefferson's expositions of liberty and republicanism were sublime; but never yet were all the words of any one man intended to stand good for all men or for all time; else there would be no manufacturers in the United States because this same statesman regarded them as "the panders of vice;" likewise that "the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army;" and "never call on foreign powers to settle our differences," and many such maxims which though wise in their day are without much significance in later times.

The anti-expansionist is the legitimate descendant and successor of the federalist of 1803, who opposed the Louisiana purchase, and the admission of Louisiana as a state in 1811; who also opposed the wars of 1812 with England, and of 1846 with Mexico. Some of those who now stand on the floor of congress and loudly proclaim the downfall of the republic in the event of the adoption of a progressive policy, called expansion, imperialism, or what you will, should turn to the

speech of John Quincy delivered January 4, 1811, on the admission of Louisiana. "If this bill passes," he said, "the bonds of the union are virtually dissolved. It will be the right of the states, and the duty of some, to prepare deliberately for separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must. You have no authority to throw the rights and liberties and property of this people into hotchpot with the wild men on the Missouri, nor with the mixed, though more respectable, race of Anglo-Hispano-Gallo-Americans who bask on the sands at the mouth of the Mississippi." Quincy denounced the prospect of senators and representatives from the Red river and the Missouri "managing the concerns of a seaboard 1,500 miles at least from their residence; and having a preponderancy in councils into which, constitutionally, they could never have been admitted. The bill will justify a revolution, and will produce it. New states are intended to be formed beyond the Mississippi. There is no limit to men's imagination on this subject short of California and the Columbia river. The bill if it passes is the death blow to the constitution." Anti-expansionists should beware lest their speeches, ninety years from now, should appear to people then as ridiculous as does this of Mr. Quincy's to men of the present day.

We expect protests, of course, against any and every issue which may arise; they are an important factor in party politics. The general assembly of Rhode Island protested against the annexation of Texas in 1845. There were endless protests against the purchase in 1803 of nearly a million of square miles west of the Mississippi for \$15,000,000. There were protests against the purchase in 1819 of Florida from Spain for \$5,000,000. There were protests against our paying Mexico \$15,000,000, no less as a salve to our own conscience than as a pacifying honorarium to Mexico our sister republic. As to the purchase of Alaska, it was almost universally ridiculed. In congress Ferres of New York, pronounced it "a wretched and God-forsaken region, worth nothing, but a positive injury and incumbrance as a colony of the United States." Washburne, of Wisconsin, exclaimed, "I tell gentlemen who go for Alaska that Greenland to-day is a better purchase than Alaska." Said Price, of Iowa, "Now that we have got it, and cannot give it away, or lose it, I hope we will keep it

to any thing was never asked. By virtue of international law and the usages of war, and by the power conferred on him by the constitution of the United States, the president simply continued military rule until something more permanent should be determined by congress.

Is it precedent that is wanted? Then tell me wherein lies the difference in taking from the natives of America their lands and governing them without their consent, and taking from the natives of Asia their lands and governing them without their consent?

The answer should be in favor of the American aboriginal, as at the time of his obliteration he was absolute lord of the soil, and we robbed him of it, whereas the Filipinos had already been robbed by Spain, and we only robbed the robber. According to the laws of nations the Filipinos have no claim on us, and no standing in the premises, not being themselves in possession of the islands when we took them. We conquered them from Spain, not from the natives. They have never been free since the time of Magellan; though called colonists they were in reality peons. The Filipinos declare that Spain cannot transfer nor the United States rightly receive the sovereignty of the islands, and their representatives protested against any proceedings of the Paris peace commission inimical to their independence. The Spaniards sold what they did not possess, they said. They had no ownership in the Philippines, but were there only by permission of the natives, given in the Pacto de Sangre, or blood treaty of 1565, and in the constitution of Cádiz. And when in 1814, and again in 1837, the Peninsular powers attempted to impose their sovereignty on the islands, the Filipinos rose to arms, and have been fighting ever since.

To which answer is made that rebels have no rights. Who are the Filipinos? Are they Spanish, Malay, Chinese, or native aborigines, or a mixture of all these races? Are they savage or civilized, or half savage, or some of them civilized, and if the last, what is the quality of this partial civilization, whence is it and how did they obtain it? They claim these islands as their own. By what title? We find them in rebellion against those who have held possession, undisputed by other powers, for more than three and a half centuries. Some of these rebels are Spaniards, or part Spaniards; some are

of other blood, and blood-mixtures, hybrids; there may be some of the lineal descendants of the natives in possession when Magellan was there; but if so, these are away on other islands, and have made no claim to ownership; or if so, civilization would reject that claim on the ground that they were savages. Are Aguinaldo, Agoncillo, and their immediate following Spaniards, or the sons of Spaniards, or of part Spanish blood? They have Spanish names; they look Spanish; they speak Spanish; and doubtless are of Spanish intermixture. If this be the case, then they are simply rebels against their own race, and have no national rights or standing until their rebellion rises to successful revolution, which it has never done. Then, again, the insurgents were all of the mixed tribes of Tagals, one only of thirty races in the archipelago. There were, for instance, 2,000,000 Visayas, as civilized and intelligent as Aguinaldo's followers, who had never taken any part in the insurrection.

If the Filipinos are to be placed in the category of white and Spanish, then they have no more right to the islands than other white Spaniards. If they are dark, and Malays, or aboriginal islanders, then they must come under the category of subdued savages, and remain outside the pale of international recognition. At all events, being rebels against the government the United States conquered, unless they submit and make peace they are rebels against the United States. Whether rightfully or wrongfully, the islands at the time of their conquest were held by Spain, and it was Spain's title that we acquired. The inhabitants, Filipinos, or by whatever name called, were in the eyes of nations savages. Some of them were possessed of more intelligence than the average American Indian, some of them of less. None of them possessed the native ability of the Aztecs or Peruvians. However, they had no standing as a nation, conquered or otherwise, being simply subjugated savages since the time of Magellan, a few of them about the Spanish cities having learned some of the tricks of civilization. Were these islands to be given up to the so-called Filipinos, to what Filipinos shall they be given, to the Tagals, the Visayas, or the Ygorotes?

It is well to respect precedent, but it is better to respect progress. We hold to precedent so long as precedent is worth holding to. Only the stupidly ignorant never change. We

cling to the doctrine of Monroe, not because it has become venerable in our politics, but because it is as sound doctrine, and as necessary to our national welfare now as in the days of the first presidents. The sentiment of European non-interference in American affairs, this war confirms and makes eternal. The continental press may sneer, and the continental Bismarcks may call it a doctrine of "uncommon insolence," it is a doctrine which will nevertheless be maintained. Australia as well as America has its Monroe doctrine, which regards with disfavor European interference with their affairs, there being such a thing even as too much of the mother country. Melbourne particularly does not like the too close proximity of the French or Germans. But, as before stated, the Monroe doctrine is in no way involved in the question of retention of the Philippines, which has nothing to do with European interference in America, or with entangling alliances with European or other powers. The archipelago will be essentially an American plantation, with whose affairs no other nation need have any thing to do.

Our national traditions have been brought forward, the words of Washington and of Lincoln quoted, and the Monroe doctrine held up as warnings not to prove renegade to the trusts bequeathed to us by our forefathers. All of which was superfluous. Our forebears had their lives to live and their work to do, and we have ours. Policies are not principles. The wisdom of the past is no more immutable than the wisdom of the present. With changing conditions policies must change, or the commonwealth be left behind, or swept away. Nor is the doctrine promulgated by President Monroe any the less dear to Americans because it originated in England. It was in 1823. In France, upon the spent force of revolution imperialism was reasserting itself. In Spain the restoration of the inquisition was followed by preparations for war against the revolted colonies of America. In this as in the repression of democratic uprising and the rehabilitation of absolutism everywhere, the aid of the continental powers and of the holy alliance was expected. Although England had contributed to this state of things by putting down Napoleon and helping up Louis XVIII, as well as indirectly advancing jesuitism in Spain, she did not regard it all with a favorable eye. And it was then that Mr. Can-

ning, secretary for foreign affairs in England, suggested the propriety of the United States making a formal protest against European interference in American affairs, which was done, President Monroe saying, in his December message, that we should consider any attempt on the part of the allied powers to extend their system to this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, and that we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing or controlling the American republics otherwise than as unfriendly to the United States. What there is antagonistic to this declaration in our driving from their prey in America and Asia the wolves of Spain it is difficult to see. Had we invaded Spain, as we at one time made a pretense of doing, the case might have been different. Even then it would not have been in the way of intervention in European affairs, our bombardment of forts and cities on the coast of Spain, but merely to punish an enemy with whom we were at war. It is a very different matter, both to them and to us, absolutism in Europe and absolutism in America.

As to what should be done with the Philippines, some but not many were in favor of what they called colonization; some annexation; yet more recommended a protectorate with native local government, all in harmony with the laws of the United States. This would require fleets and armies, but the benefit would more than balance the cost in extending our commerce and presenting to some extent a barrier to the feudalistic pretensions of continental Europe in spoiling the weaker nations of Asia, and appropriating to themselves their lands. What, then, should be the quality of that republican despotism which with firm hand and benignant heart should rule these tropical peoples for their good and our profit? Doubtless we can deny ourselves the pleasure of cheating them quite so cruelly as Spain delighted to do. We can if we choose give them our protection and guidance without incorporating them into our body politic, or permitting their labor to injure American labor. We are not obliged to give them American citizenship or else timidly desert them. We need not trouble ourselves for some time to come about the statehood of the Philippines. Notwithstanding the seven or eight millions of Malays and Mongols, there is but little fitter material for statehood among them than in Alaska, and we

never raised the questions of constitutional rights to govern the Eskimos without their consent, or tax the Aleuts without representation, or take from them their seals without adequate compensation when we bought Alaska. And if the quality of humanity has any thing to do in determining human rights, then I may say from all I can learn, that the average Eskimo or Aleut is a superior being to the average native of the Philippine islands.

Few regard the Filipinos as able properly to govern themselves. Self-government implies a republic; a republic implies a people of sufficient intelligence to make laws and see them properly executed. Mexico, the least republican of republics, is probably the best governed of any of the Spanish American countries. Mexico is any thing but a republic. It is something between an autocracy and an oligarchy, now leaning to one and then to the other. There are two classes, neither of which tend to republicanism, the aristocratic class, who do all the governing, and little else that is useful or beneficial, and the servile or laboring class of the peon or mozo type, and from that upward. But there is no great intelligent and educated middle class, which constitutes the foundation of all true republicanism, and rules rather than serves. Now Mexico has some good rulers, some of just the kind of men best to rule Mexicans, who need firm governing, even if it border on the despotic.

Probably seven millions out of the seven and a half millions who inhabit these isles never heard of the United States, know nothing of the war, never heard of Spain, and care nothing for any person or any government on earth. Only thirty miles from Manila is a race of dwarfs, naked save a knee bracelet of horsehair. Fancy seven millions of new citizens of that stamp, some better some worse, for on some of the smaller and more distant islands it is said are pirates and cannibals, of whom we should have to make voters and office holders with the others. The Philippines have no governing material among the people, and no people fit to be governed by free institutions, that is to say by themselves. The inhabitants are many of them little better than savages of various grades, and their rulers little better than half-civilized chiefs, ignorant, superstitious, dogmatic, and cruel. There is a small class of better men, but they are not the rulers,

nor the military. The Filipinos want firm arbitrary rule, intelligent and humane, the ruling class so-called no less than the servile class. They are children yet in the school of civilization, and need teachers. If we have the right to exercise in the islands compulsory military rule, we have the right to enforce compulsory civil rule and compulsory civilization; if we may build forts we may also build schoolhouses.

We can scarcely call it colonization, this holding the whip hand over distant Asiatics. Nor are the Philippines likely to become in the proper sense a colony of the United States. A colony is a settlement formed in a foreign country by a body of men emigrating from their mother country. We may be very sure that the day is far distant when a body of men of sufficient number to be properly called a colony of the United States shall settle in the Philippines, or if such a settlement is ever made it will in no wise affect the 7,500,000 natives who are not and never can be colonists of the United States. Under present conditions there cannot be colonizing as in times past. It was the colonies of Rome and England which made them great. It was the colonies of Spain and Portugal which placed them at the time on the world's pinnacle of wealth power and glory. They fell, but rather by reason of superfluous prosperity than from lack of it. When America becomes enervated by luxury, her people void of energy, integrity, morality, and truthfulness, and her institutions in consequence fall into decay, she also will decline, and deservedly.

Because we entered upon the war in good faith not for territory but for philanthropic purpose is no reason why we should not require from Spain a war indemnity, and as Spain has no money we must take property. We have done exactly as we said we would do; and instead of five hundred or a thousand millions in money, by way of compensation for loss of life and expenses, which would have been about the charge in Europe, we took certain islands, some of which were also in rebellion and required pacification, and all of which were no serious loss to Spain, but in some respects a gain. We might justly have taken the islands and have required a money indemnity also, but we did not. We had no desire to take unfair advantage of Spain, and did not do so, whatever may be the opinion of her statesmen.

By pursuing a policy of so-called imperialism we are in no wise changing our course, which from the first has been imperial. But if we were? What is precedent, what tradition, save examples of what was done in times darker than these and by men more ignorant than ourselves? Some traditions are densest superstition; others are gems of truth. Some precedents we should avoid; others we may follow.

A glance at the past will satisfy any one that the American people will prove competent to remove all obstacles from their progress. Empire-building in America does not date from the present; we have been rapidly expanding for a century and more. To step across the ocean now in our imperialistic course is less difficult and raises fewer issues than the step across the continent fifty years ago.

Why did the pope of Rome as well as the archbishop of Manila favor American possession to the occupation of a nation altogether catholic? Because Spain could not maintain order; because while the priests were not prevented from coercion the natives were not prevented from retaliation. Moreover, the present pontiff is sufficiently enlightened to prefer a government more in harmony with the spirit of modern progress. It will not do for religion to fall too far behind in the march of civilization.

During the civil war Englishmen said that if the north won Canada would be seized. A host heated by battle and flushed with conquest, would be carried away in a whirlwind of territorial extension and aggrandizement. And while England should be attentive to her domains, it might be well for Louis Napoleon to have an eye to the interests of Mexico, his success in that quarter depending likewise on the final defeat of the north, though from a different point of view. But when at length the north did win, and the integrity of the federal union was permanently assured; when with two millions of fighting men, armed and disciplined, ready at hand to do the nation's bidding in any just cause, when at this juncture instead of exhibiting blood-thirsty or land-thirsty proclivities they sought only disbandment and peace, those same Englishmen were forced to acknowledge that they had wrongly estimated American character, Napoleon the Little having previously given heed to Seward's warning and retired from the field to prepare for the glorious fate awaiting him at the conclusion of the Franco-German war.

We feel that a union of Canada or Mexico with the United States is something for them to sue for rather than for us to compel; we feel, so far as our northern neighbor is concerned, that the gain if any would be hers, and that in any event it is as well for both that the two great colonial swarmings from the same parent hive should each work out its own individuality, and develop original independent intellectual and political types. The editor of the *Toronto World* is somewhat premature in taking alarm when he writes in December 1898, "Unless Canadians are fully alive to the situation, and speak out in no uncertain way, they will find themselves between a grasping annexation movement in the United States, having for its end the domination of the whole continent, and a great party in England, prepared to make almost any sacrifices to the United States in consideration of some kind of support of England in her race with Russia, France, and other European powers." It is not true that the people of the United States now desire, or ever have desired their neighbor's lands or goods. Naturally such parts and parcels of native territory lying in or contiguous to our domain, and where another government could not properly be placed, as Florida, the Mississippi valley, and our western border to the Pacific, were from time to time added to the original thirteen states, by purchase, for the most part, rather than by conquest. As for Mexico, although certain demagogues once clamored for more territory in that direction, the people of the United States have never harbored such intentions, or deemed desirable political union with foreign or mixed races. And if it be true that we never have coveted and do not now covet our neighbor's possessions, how much less favorably should we be likely to covet distant incandescent isles with dusky inhabitants. We went not out to seek them. Hawaii long begged for admission into our union. Cuba is free. Porto Rico, the Philippines, and other transpacific possessions fortune has mysteriously thrust upon us; but we propose to keep them until we know why it was done. And still may we truthfully say that no dream of empire has ever actuated us in the acquisition of territory hitherto, nor does it now. No charge of imperialism has ever prevented us from pursuing what we deemed the right, nor will it now. No threat of foreign intervention ever caused us to withhold our

hand in the distribution of justice and humanity to our fellow man, nor will it now.

If Dewey had only sailed away from Manila after sinking the Spanish fleet,—but Dewey did not sail away; instead, he hoisted the flag of the United States in the Philippines, and by that simple act laid obligations upon seventy millions of souls which they dare not shirk, and do not wish to shirk. He did not sail away. He was wholly at liberty to do so, or to raise the flag on shore, just as he deemed best. What a difference it makes in the destiny of nations, his decision, his speaking the simple words, his lifting a finger this way or that!

If we can indeed improve, progress, and give the world lessons in some things, as we certainly have done, exercising an influence for good on all mankind, which also cannot be gainsaid, then have we the moral right to shut ourselves up in a shell of isolation? Should we wish to do so? Would the world allow it? Do not we say to China,

Snail, snail, come out of your hole,
Or else I'll beat you black as a coal?

International exclusiveness is no longer possible for any people; if civilized they must be social, if savage they must be exterminated.

Such were some of the opinions held on both sides of the question by the ablest men at home and abroad. The reader doubtless has his own ideas upon the subject, which I should not attempt to influence were I able to do so. As the matter stands, we have only to accept the situation as it exists at present, and work out for ourselves as best we are able the glorious future which waits on intelligent effort. For expansion is not a policy, but destiny; it is not nor has it been a sudden or unexpected acquisition, but a development, seemingly slow, but really rapid and continuous. And were there such a theory formulated as part of our system of government, as a policy of expansion, it could be nothing more after all than the adaptation of methods to conditions, in the future as in the past.

CHAPTER X

PEACE

THE American and Spanish joint commissioners met in Paris, in the salon des ambassadeurs of the foreign office on the 1st of October, 1898, to negotiate a final treaty of peace in accordance with the terms of the protocol of August 12th. The first month was occupied in discussing the Cuban debt, amounting to about \$500,000,000, no part of which the United States had ever any intention of assuming. In regard to the Philippines, the Spanish commissioners contended that the words of the protocol, "control, disposition, and government", gave the United States no sovereignty over the islands, and but temporary occupation of Manila. This the Americans denied. The Spanish refused to consider the cession of the archipelago, and negotiations were several times on the point of being broken off. The Spaniards further maintained that the capitulation of Manila occurred after the signing of the protocol and therefore was invalid; that the United States had wrongfully held the Spanish troops as prisoners, had seized the public funds which belonged to Spain, and had no ultimate rights in the islands. All this the Americans denied, and finally gave in their ultimatum, which might as well have been done at an earlier period. The terms of the treaty were essentially as specified in the protocol, including the cession of the Philippines and other islands to the United States, Spain to receive \$20,000,000 to cover expenditures for betterments, and Spanish ships and merchandise to be admitted for ten years into Philippine ports on the same terms as American ships and merchandise. The treaty was signed on the 10th of December, and subsequently approved by the Spanish queen regent and the United States congress.

The president was undecided, and the five commissioners divided in opinion at the time of their appointment as to what

should be done in regard to the Philippines; but before the commission had been long convened the people of the United States gave decided expression to the conviction that they should be held as a whole by the United States government. The capture of Manila, they said, carried with it the moral obligation of security to the native inhabitants, which could only be assured by assuming complete control of all the islands. There need be no cost attending their government which their revenues would not cover, and the influence of their possession in Asiatic affairs would be most important. The natives of Luzon had suffered worse treatment at the hands of the Spaniards, if possible, than had the Cubans; and for the others, if Spain could not maintain order before her fleet was destroyed, how was it possible for her to do so afterward? To give the islands independence, was but to bring upon them anarchy. To sell them to Great Britain, Russia, France, or Germany, or permit Spain to do so, would be to invest another power with that advantage in China which should rightly accrue to the United States. So reasoned among themselves the people as their commissioners discussed the matter with the commissioners of Spain.

In some respects the work of the Paris peace commissioners might have been simplified. Had we known at the outset what we wanted, whether we ourselves really desired to keep the Philippines, or free them, or hand them back to Spain, or make them over to some other power, it would have been better, as victors dictating terms, to have said so at once. But we did not know either our own minds, or the sentiment of the world upon the subject, and it was only as time passed by that it became evident on all sides that the United States must keep the islands. While the protocol placed our government in possession of Manila pending peace negotiations, there were some indirect advantages in having captured the city by force of arms prior to cessation of hostilities.

It was the policy of the Spanish commissioners to delay proceedings as long as possible; and they did delay until the patience of both president and people became exhausted, and the American commissioners refused to discuss Cuban affairs further, and they were left to stand as in the protocol, save that the United States would guarantee that life and property should be safe in Cuba until the establishment there of a stable

government. Thus Spain forever relinquished sovereignty in Cuba, without claims or conditions of any kind. Likewise nothing was changed in regard to Porto Rico. The cession was absolute and unconditional. The island of Guam was chosen as the United States coaling station at the Ladronez.

The commissioners on behalf of the United States had but to demand in order to obtain. They represented the victors, and though the European powers might not like certain measures, they would scarcely venture to object. They would not even advise, or attempt to influence, knowing it to be useless.

A protocol which is supposed to express the mind of the executive, and requires the consent of the senate to become a treaty, in this case served only to hide the president's intentions, or rather absence of intentions. Sagasta claimed that the signing of the protocol nullified the effect of the surrender of Manila, for the protocol was made out on the supposition that the Philippines were still under Spanish dominion, and to make the facts and agreement conform, the first work of the peace commissioners would have been to restore Manila to the Spanish governor-general. But while it was a war based on magnanimity, there must be somewhere a limit. The protocol was not consistent with the existing facts, and the anomaly is presented of a grave convention of diplomats discussing terms of peace upon an alleged set of facts when the facts themselves existed, one side predicating their pretensions on the non-surrender of Manila, and the other on Manila surrendered. "The victor may put in a treaty of peace whatever he chooses," said Commissioner Day; and it was in this spirit that the settlement was made, the protocol construed by the Americans to suit themselves, with a *solatium* of twenty million dollars thrown in.

With an army under colors of 250,000 men, and a victorious navy with nothing to fight, we had only to insist in order to obtain Spain's consent to a surrender of all the Philippines, as well as Cuba, Porto Rico, the Ladronez, and the Caroline islands. What else could she do? We might have included in our demand the Balearic and Canary isles, or even the Peninsula itself, had we desired a piece of Europe, and the powers had graciously permitted us to take it.

"The debts of the islands were contracted for the benefit of the islands," said the Spaniards. "The chief part of which

benefit was the war which brought on the islands devastation and death," replied the Americans.

The Spaniards offered many fine arguments to show that the Cuban debt should go with Cuba. To which the Americans made reply that there were no Cuban debts subject to this discussion; that the obligations referred to were debts of Spain contracted for the persecution of the islanders for whose deliverance the United States had fought. As to the Philippines, the Americans were already in possession there, and would not give them up, but would pay Spain something for the public works and a clean title. Long and wearisome as was the time expended on arriving at an agreement, it would have been longer had not the Americans given in their ultimatum, which was to be accepted or rejected before a certain time.

Among other propositions submitted by the Spanish commissioners were, that Spain would relinquish sovereignty over Cuba, and cede Porto Rico, the Ladrões, and the Philippines for \$100,000,000. Or Spain would cede the Philippines, except the southernmost islands, one of the Carolines, and give the United States cable rights on all of the islands, for \$50,000,000. Or Spain would relinquish sovereignty over Cuba, cede the Philippines, Porto Rico, and other West Indian islands, and Guam, as indemnity for the war expenses of the United States and losses to American citizens, and the two countries should agree to submit to arbitration what debts and obligations of a colonial character ought to be assumed by the receiving country. The Americans, with their warships behind them, smiled at such simplicity.

Spain had hoped that the Americans would not insist on keeping the whole of the Philippines, on the ground that the people are incapable of self-government, and the situation not warranting the United States in assuming the cost, care, and responsibility of their management. The Spanish commissioners were quite willing to yield whatever territory the United States might desire for coaling stations. The Spaniards then proposed arbitration. Again the solemnity of Mr Day's features seemed about to break. Why arbitrate when we have only to demand? Every proposition advanced on either side was contested, until the affair became a matter of money. The Spaniards exercised every subterfuge for delay, hoping to obtain more money by it. Honor was forgotten; pride put away; Spain wanted money.

The president was not prepared to decide the question until he heard from the country. Personally he did not propose to inflict upon the United States tropical islands with their tropical inhabitants which the people did not want. But in due time it appeared that the people did want them, or at least were not in favor of transferring or abandoning them, and then the president was ready to act, and so instructed the peace commissioners at Paris. At first congress was backward about assuming the responsibility, but in due time, after the most elaborate analysis and discussion of the question, the determination of the people for the retention of the entire Philippine archipelago was emphatically expressed. And had a treaty been made on any other terms congress would not have ratified it.

With all this, and while the Americans were victors at Paris as elsewhere, as a matter of fact there was little about the Paris peace treaty for Americans to be proud of. Like Hobson's exploit, the convention was something of a farce, though a farce that must be played and praised. In the absence of a naval force behind the grave deliberations the Americans would have cut but a sorry figure. Five men of the conquering nation meet in solemn conclave five of the conquered, to deliberate on certain predetermined points, that is predetermined in the minds of the victors. The protocol pretended to give the Spaniards an equal voice in the deliberations, when in fact they had no voice whatever. It was an unnecessary and uncalled for humiliation of Spain on the part of the United States, a diplomatic dragging through the dust at our chariot wheels of these helpless statesmen unworthy of the American people. If we were able and resolved to enforce certain terms, why make pretences of deliberation and discussion only in the end to insist on what we might have insisted on without the convention? The only excuse of the president for submitting such a protocol to a commission, is that he did not know at the time what to demand in settlement, or what the people desired him to demand; and it was only while the discussion was going on in Paris that the nation was able to determine the matter in its own mind. Had Spain in the end refused to yield to the demands of the United States, the president would have found himself in a somewhat awkward dilemma. The most charitable construction to put upon the proceeding

is to call it a by-play for the entertainment of the nations, of no use other than to gain time to know the wishes of the American people, and what Europe would think or do about it.

It was thought that McKinley had committed a blunder in not defining more clearly in the protocol his intentions regarding the Philippines. Had he said in the first place that the United States would insist on taking all, leaving Spain only the debts, his position would have been plain before the world, and Spain in accepting the protocol accepted all. As it was the United States was placed in the equivocal position of pursuing a temporizing policy. It was rare old-time diplomacy on the part of the president, who played the Florentine's game better than he could have played it himself, and better than he knew. I cannot give the president credit for intending statecraft so clever. He was charged by his opponents with a slavish following of public opinion, which was indeed a tribute of praise, being placed in his high position not arbitrarily to follow his own will but to execute the will of the people. As Abraham Lincoln was not personally responsible for the civil war, nor for the emancipation of the southern slaves, so William McKinley was responsible neither for the war with Spain nor for the territorial extension which followed it. It was a war of the people, and the policy of the people, and right or wrong the people alone are to be commended or blamed for it.

"There is nothing in the protocol implying Spain's surrender of the Philippines," the Spaniards urged. "The question lay undetermined in the public mind," was the reply. "If such was in the mind of the Americans why was it not mentioned at the time?" A question to be answered like the others by a glance at the warships.

It might be regarded as deep diplomacy on the part of the United States were it not apparent that the president and his commissioners were unconscious of any insincerity. Finding himself suddenly overwhelmed with victory, McKinley did not know what to demand in settlement; he did not know what the American people desired him to demand, nor did he know what the European powers would allow him to take as indemnity for a war begun professedly in the interests of philanthropy. The looseness of expression in the protocol would give time to determine what it were best to do, what congress would do, and what settlement the president would find him-

self sustained in. But no such looseness was intended; it was another piece of that good fortune which attended all of our affairs during this memorable year. This new species of American diplomacy, displaying superior statesmanship, threw the professional diplomats of Europe out of the game. The Spaniards expected to meet the Americans somewhat as arbitrators, having influence as well as voice in the deliberations. But they found in due time, while they were allowed to talk they would in no wise ever be allowed to determine. The key note to the convention was frequently struck and vibrated throughout the deliberations.

"The payment of the Cuban debt may help you to the Philippines," said Montero Rios. "We will take the Philippines and pay no Cuban debt," Day replied.

To pay a lump sum for whatever Spain has left in the way of western colonies, and possessions in the Far East, and thereby secure a clean title, thus avoiding international complications and forever settling the question of ownership was perhaps the best way. It proved good policy in regard to Mexico, who though the sum she received was small, felt that she was being treated with some degree of fairness.

The Spanish peace commissioners at Paris announced on the 28th of November the acceptance by their government of the terms proposed by the United States, and the secretaries were directed to prepare a treaty, which was duly signed. A week later the commissioners, Spanish and American, took their several ways home, Agoncillo, on behalf of Aguinaldo, first filing with them a protest. Thus by this treaty the United States acquired possession of all of Spain's colonies except the Caroline islands and the Spanish dependencies in Africa, which with the Hawaiian islands placed us sixth in area and fifth in population of distant dependencies, Russia not included as her possessions are all contiguous. The United States dependencies and possessions not contiguous are Cuba, Porto Rico, the Sulu islands, the Philippines, the Hawaiian islands, and Alaska, with an aggregate area of 698,565 square miles and 10,449,644 population.

Then Montero Rios, president of the Spanish peace commission, thus took up the lament of the Spaniards. "We have here fulfilled" he said "a very painful mission which it is impossible to dream of looking forward to with any satisfaction

but that of doing our duty. We knew in advance that we should have to deal with an implacable conqueror, who would in no way concern himself with any preëxisting international law, but whose sole object was to reap from victory the largest possible advantage. This conception of international law is absolutely new. It is no longer a case of might against right, but of might without right. As for us, we had only to protect ourselves against the embarrassment which it was desired to inflict upon us and to prove, in spite of our blunders and mistakes, that we had not compromised the proverbial loyalty to the Castilian fatherland. Misfortune also has grandeur. The Americans have acted as upstart conquerors. They do not yet know the misfortune of defeat, but there are things which the most fortunate nations cannot escape later on, when they too will have had reverses. When they will have become homogeneous and are no longer obliged to satisfy the exigencies of political parties, they too will form, like all other nations with a past, a code of international rights and duties, and be less inflexible toward those who have suffered defeat. They will better understand that strict observance of conditions agreed to, even in the thick of a fight, is a guarantee and a protection for all concerned, for the conquerors as well as for the vanquished."

The payment of money by the United States was criticized both at home and abroad, some few Americans thinking it too much, and all Spaniards regarding it as too little. It has been the custom in America, rather more than in Europe, to pay some consideration other than brute force in the acquisition of lands by war or otherwise. No matter how small the sum, it seemed better to satisfy the American conscience, and secure a valid title. We began by giving beads and bottles of whiskey to the lords aboriginal for lands which to-day are indeed imperial. We paid the bandit Napoleon \$15,000,000 for 1,000,000 square miles of Louisiana; we paid Spain \$5,000,000 for the privilege of annexing Florida; Texas with 376,000 square miles and a war with Mexico we obtained free; but to bind the bargain, when we took 545,000 square miles of the California country we paid Mexico \$15,000,000, a better bargain than the Gadsden purchase of 45,000 square miles more for \$10,000,000. Alaska was a pure purchase for \$7,200,000, and no war, which after all is the cheapest and best way, providing the owners

will sell what we want to buy, otherwise we have a way of compelling them to do so, if we are strong enough. Hawaii came begging for admission, as if sent as a gift by the gods.

But bad as we are Europe is worse, as there the vanquished must give up land and pay the cost of the war besides. Thus Prussia and Austria throttled little Denmark in 1864, and took Schleswig-Holstein, paying no indemnity. Germany in 1871 killed thousands of Frenchmen, destroyed millions of French property, took Alsace and Lorraine, and \$1,000,000,000 in money, as before mentioned. That, indeed, like our railway monopolies, was taxing the traffic all it would stand. Russia paid Turkey nothing for what the strong took from the weak in Europe and Asia in 1878-9. As compared with the rest of the world, Americans are a pretty fair and liberal people. As for Spain, she would not give the natives from whom she stole empire even whiskey for their lands, but only treachery, religion, and death.

If the truth must be told, the treaties of the United States are becoming rather slippery affairs, and Americans are aware of it as well as foreigners; hence we do not object to paying a little money to bind a good bargain. We know that we have a way of breaking any agreement made by one congress, which we do not like, by requiring another congress to annul it. And our supreme court calls this good law and fair dealings. For it upheld that infamy of Grover Cleveland's administration which thrust from our shores, without even due notification, thousands of ignorant and deluded Chinese who had come hither at a cost of their all under a solemn agreement with China of admission and protection by the United States government. What would not the wolves of Europe give for an excuse like that to rend in pieces the celestial provinces and strangle the inhabitants with their own pigtails!

On the 14th of February, 1899, the senate defined the policy of the United States by the passage of the following resolution. "That by the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain it is not intended to incorporate the inhabitants of the Philip-pines into citizenship of the United States, nor is it intended to permanently annex said islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States; but it is the intention of the United States to establish on said islands a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said

islands, to prepare them for local self-government, and in due time to make such disposition of said islands as will best promote the interests of the citizens of the United States and the inhabitants of the said islands."

Before dispersing as a peace commission, the Americans offered \$1,000,000 for the Caroline islands; but Spain refused to consider any offer for any territory she held. Thus the war was ended. Its purposes were achieved. Spain was well out of it, having obtained her heart's desire, peace with honor,—the peace of the grave and the honor of cruelty and treachery. The people of the United States were still in the dark as to what was before them; they had delivered the islands, but had still on their hands the people of the islands, who bid fair to be a bad lot.

While the peace commission was in session at Paris, the battleships *Oregon* and *Iowa* were dispatched to the Pacific, as before mentioned. The situation at the Philippines was uncertain. The Spaniards and insurgents had become so accustomed to fighting each other during the past centuries, that they were now seemingly unable to pause for a brief rest, pending negotiations which were sure to result in peace between them forever. What turn things might take, what Germany or Russia might do, no one could tell; therefore the administration deemed it wise to strengthen the fighting force in the Pacific. Spain protested against our sending warships to the Philippines, while their disposition was yet under consideration. The secretary of state replied that they were not on the way to the Philippines, but to the Hawaiian islands. It was a new secretary of state, and it was true as far as it went, that is as far as the ships went before stopping, every one knowing their final destination to be Manila, touching at Honolulu. It was a gala voyage, these famous ships with their famous captains going to join Dewey. Coalships, refrigerator and supply ships, attended the battleships, making this the best equipped naval expedition which had hitherto sailed the sea.

As we have seen, there was much discussion and no small anxiety felt as to what should be done with this tropical territory which had so unexpectedly dropped into our hands. It was finally decided that for the present it should all remain under military government until congress should otherwise de-

termine and provide. Hence a multitude of military commissioners were created, and the business of governing throughout the American empire assumed grand proportions. For many would have it that we were now an empire, like Rome and Russia, or quickly to become so, and like Russia and Rome, after a few thousand years of riotous living were to fall into decay. Thus the word imperialism, as standing for the acquisition of undesirable foreign territory with hordes of hybrid peoples too good to kill yet not good enough for American citizenship, aside from the cost of it had terrible significance with many, denoting Cæsarism, Napoleonism, Nihilism, and dynamite. If this be true, assuredly we will all pray that we may never be imperial, even so far as to clear off some Asiatic islands and plant there useful trees. One would sometimes think that the American republic was about to be transformed into a mediæval despotism, or a Chinese materialism, whereas our imperialism points rather to the empire of mind,—and perhaps of money. As for colonization, the day for such doings is past, as I have said; the United States has no colony, in the proper sense, and never will have; our government was a world power before the war no less than now; we cannot help growing, becoming great, and strong, and rich; it is our destiny; why then tremble or attempt to pause or turn backward? Nothing in the universe stands still. Nations must advance or decline. It is predetermined by the force that overrules all that the American republic is for the present to go forward, and neither ourselves nor any other people or influence can prevent it; it is so with the Anglo-Saxon race, just as it is clearly evident that the Latin race has passed the summit of its grandeur, and is now upon the decline.

It is strange likewise how men will argue from tradition, which is for the most part but another name for ignorance and superstition, that because a thing is old therefore it must be good; or from precedent, which is but a form of tradition, and may be good or bad, not because it is precedent, but because all things must be either good or bad. There is but one nation that is true to its traditions and precedents, and that is China. The previous decision of a judge, or the previous policy of a government may be worthy of our consideration and imitation, not because of precedent, but because of their wisdom. Knowledge comes from experience,

and the world's fullest experiences are the heritage of the young.

The number of those who opposed what they denominated imperialism, or imperial polity, which at first was large, in time became less as they became more and more convinced of the fallacy of their position. Imperialism meant expansion, and expansion signified increased expenses for governing and fighting purposes. Should we hold the Philippines, they said, Europe will get possession of territory in Central and South America, and the Monroe doctrine will be reduced to a dead letter. True, the continental powers may seize and partition some of the Americas, or even Spain; they have as much right to do so as to dismember China, but that has nothing to do with the American ownership of Asiatic islands or the Monroe doctrine. Such is the tumult in which the Central American states are kept by revolutionists and insurgents, that the planters and business men would gladly welcome annexation to the United States, or an American protectorate.

In the endless discussion over isolation, expansion, imperialism, and the sacredness of antiquated maxims and institutions which are not to be tampered with, there is some entertainment and some instruction. But after all the arguments are many of them hollow, even those advanced by wise statesmen, as there is always another side to the one side given. It all depends upon the point of view. Take isolation. In truth there is and has been no isolation. China and Japan isolated themselves; the United States never did, but rather invited all the world to come and enjoy our forests and our freedom, until the Irishman met the Chinaman on soil alien to both alike and demanded, "What are you doing here in our country?" Then as to expansion; there is no more expansion now than there has been in the past, and as to imperialism we would say to the politicians, "Please let us be imperial if we so desire." So with laws, customs, statutes, constitutions, and institutions, there is no harm in regarding antiquity with veneration, though there may be little sense in it; but think and do as we will, the obsolete will always be discarded, civilization will cut off and throw away the useless and decayed in morals, religion, and politics; else progress ceases, for progress is simply life and evolution. Attending to our business, insisting on the Monroe doctrine, and avoiding the entangling

alliances talked so much about is not isolation. Have we not been bragging over Europe, challenging the world's admiration of us for a hundred years? We have not cared for their squabbles over a few feet of land, or for the quarrels of their brazen and bedizened monarchies, and we do not care for them now. Let them enjoy themselves as they will, so that they do not bring their foolery too much in our way. We are an amiable people at heart, and the mountebanks of monarchy do not disturb us much if kept at a proper distance; but wrong, cruelty, and starvation inflicted on innocent people at our door, that we cannot permit. If this is isolation, attending to our own affairs, and holding at a distance the wrongs and absurdities of Europe, then we are as much isolated now as ever, and let us hope we always shall be.

In regard to dividing the islands, it soon seemed in the minds of the American people a necessity to take all or none. Joint occupation with any other people, white, black, or yellow, was impossible. The fundamental ideas and traditions of any two or more peoples as to the proper functions of government and commerce are diametrically different and irreconcilable, and any attempt at joint occupancy would result only in strife and ultimate American acquisition after further bloodshed. And whether these islands should fall to the United States or not, Spanish control of them was over.

As Philippine affairs became more involved, and the issues to be determined more intricate, there was less opposition in congress to their retention by the United States. Particularly in the early months of 1899, when the Filipinos began to fight the Americans at Manila, there were few to be found openly advocating sale or abandonment, least of all retiring from before the guns of the islanders. Aguinaldo might be better able to establish his claim to patriotism, and greatness, like those of Washington, Juarez, and Bolivar, were he able to prove his relationship to the islanders and his title to the islands, his right to be called father or protector of his country. For, as we have seen, if he is a native, Malay or Chinese or mixed, then he is one of those long since despoiled by Spain, his rights passing to the conqueror by virtue of international justice and the Holy See; if he is a Spaniard, then his rights passed with Spain's to the United States; if he is mixed Malay and Spanish, then alas! he is worse than nothing, being no

patriot and having no country. But in all soberness, if the insurgent loved his country, and sought to serve it, instead of serving only himself and playing the despot to the gratification of his vanity and blood-thirstiness, he would be a fitter object for our respect and sympathy.

Never were the intelligent people of a large nation more united on any question than were the people of the United States regarding the war with Spain. North and south, east and west, black and white, rich and poor, the sentiment was the same,—we have seen and endured this great wickedness at our door as long as we will; it is time to stop it, and we will stop it. We are hardly ready to admit that where forty or fifty millions of our American men and women agree as to any point of ethics, moral or political, that they can be far astray. Now, if it was right to go into this war, if indeed this war was a victory for whatever is most noble and most charitable in man, then it is right that the results should remain, that the end should not be subverted, and that the work should be followed up wherever it may lead, through all its logical and ethical justifications. We cannot repudiate the consequence without repudiating the cause. Many were opposed to the war at the first; fewer now would have it undone were they able; the most untenable position of all is to drop the work before its completion. It is not pleasant to see Spain killing and starving islanders, but as well that as to see them given over to anarchy and a long drawn slaughter of each other. Few have sympathy with Aguinaldo, who in the guise of patriot plays the part of despot over a half or wholly savage people whom he would use for his own selfish and cruel ends. Would it be well to permit him to do so? Where would be our moral or political justification? Therefore we must either conclude the work in the spirit and upon the plane it was begun, or acknowledge that we were wrong, our intentions futile, and our purposes weak, which we cannot do.

Nor need we trouble ourselves overmuch as to the exact form our protection over these people will take. We are sure that we do not want them for American citizens; we are sure that we do not desire to Americanize their islands; missionaries may be willing to live among them and teach them religion and civilization, but the average white man will prefer a better climate and different neighbors among whom to live and rear

a family. Before it is necessary to determine with regard to government policy, let the leaders of insurrection be caught and strangled. They are the enemies, and the only enemies on these islands, not only of the Americans, but of the islanders, and of peace and civilization. And this the American people are well able to do. The great problems of Cuba and the Philippines of which all the world speaks, seem not so enormous beside those already solved by this republic, the problems of federal unity and independence, of national integrity and human slavery. It was not necessary to determine at once what should be done with the islands, how dispose of or how govern them. No difficulty had been experienced throughout and before the war, to determine each day the duties of the day, and then as nearly as possible to fulfil them. No difficulty had been found in handling independence when we obtained it, and none need be anticipated in coping with this new responsibility. Sovereignty in some form would be exercised by the United States; for the present, military government would be continued.

In regard to the government of the acquired islands, the president determined to avoid blunders which might arise from hasty action, and continue for a time as military colonies, under a strong military rule, judiciary positions to be administered by army officers, the present currency system to be continued, import duties to be collected from the United States the same as from all other countries, and the whole to be kept out of politics. This was the president's program in November 1898. Considering the general low intelligence of the inhabitants, he feared if territorial governments were given to the islands, that some political emergency might force them into the union before they were fitted for statehood. Meanwhile, and until congress otherwise directs, the president would hold the islands, giving the inhabitants beneficent government, and peace if they will have it, otherwise war. He would encourage commerce, industry, and all enlightening and progressive influences. And the authority of the United States should herein remain unquestioned. All this that has come, involving these grave responsibilities, is not the result of the preconceived plans of those in authority, but of the inexorable logic of events, many of them unexpected, and some of them beyond the control of man. Considering it proved by experience that the federal

constitution embodies a proper plan of government for a free and intelligent people, the question arises as to the direction and extent the commonwealth may be evolved upon the higher principles of equity and humanity.

Said the president at a banquet given him on the 16th of February, 1899, by the solid men of Boston, who from the first were averse to the disturbance of their political and financial traditions by war: "Those of us who dreaded war most, and whose every effort was directed to prevent it, had fears of new and grave problems which might follow its inauguration. These problems have come upon us, and we must meet them with a clear conscience and an unselfish purpose, and with good hearty resolves to undertake their solution. The Philippines, like Cuba and Porto Rico, were entrusted to our hands by the war, and to that great trust, under the providence of God and in the name of human progress and civilization we are committed. Until congress shall direct otherwise, it shall be the duty of the executive to possess and hold the Philippines, giving to the people thereof peace and beneficent government, affording them every opportunity to prosecute their lawful pursuits, encouraging them in their industries; making them feel and know we are their friends, not their enemies; that their good is our aim; that their welfare is our welfare, but that neither their aspirations nor ours can be realized until authority is acknowledged and unquestioned.

"That the inhabitants of the Philippines will be benefited by this republic is my unshaken belief; that they will have a kindlier government under our guidance, and that they will be aided in every possible way to be self respecting and self governing people, is as true as that the American people love liberty and have an abiding faith in their government and their institutions. No imperial design lurks in the American mind. They are alien to American sentiment, thought, and purpose. Our priceless principles undergo no change under a tropical sun. If we can benefit these people, who will object? If in years they are established in government under law and liberty, who will regret our perils and sacrifices; who will not rejoice in our heroism and humanity? I have no light or knowledge not common to my countrymen. I do not prophesy. The present is all absorbing to me, but I cannot bound my vision by the blood-stained trenches around Manila, where every

red drop, whether from the veins of an American soldier or a misguided Filipino, is anguish to my heart; but by the broad range of future years, when that group of islands, under the impulse of the year just passed, shall have become the gems and glories of these tropical seas, a land of plenty and of increasing possibilities, a people redeemed from savage indolence and habits, devoted to the arts of peace, in touch with the commerce and trade of all nations, enjoying the blessings of freedom, of civil and religious liberty, of education and of homes, and whose children and children's children shall for ages hence bless the American republic because it emancipated and redeemed their fatherland and set them in the pathway of the world's civilization."

And for ourselves, have we nothing more to do? Is the end for which man was created already attained in us? No nation can long remain stationary; it must advance or decline. In regard to the United States which shall it be? Have we reached the limit of our imperial energies? Are we yet young, vigorous, ambitious, or old, decrepit, ready to retire from business, ready to abandon the great issues of life, and go down to the grave in luxurious idleness and inanity? Are we ready to admit our intellectual and physical inferiority, and while England governs India and Holland rules Java, fear to undertake the administration of the Philippines? We have grown rich remaining at home and attending to our own business. Unintentionally we have wandered abroad and started up some tropical coveys, and it remains to be seen whether or not as we stand by gaping in wonder over the effect of our own halloo, we are satisfied to see our European friends shoot down and bag the game.

The war with Spain was over. Until the Peninsula be born again, Spaniards will do little more fighting, as before surmised. As might have been expected those whom we delivered turned upon us; the swine before which we cast the pearl liberty would rend us. To accomplish his selfish and tyrannical purposes, Aguinaldo had resort to that old-time refuge of a scoundrel, patriotism. Prior to the open attack of the insurgents on the United States forces at Manila, the expansion policy was gaining in favor, to be completely settled upon the first blow struck by the islanders. Congress was at the time dallying over the ratification of the Paris treaty, but when the vile

blow of ignorance and ingratitude was struck at Manila, debate at Washington ceased, and little was said afterward about giving up the Philippines. The people were ready to meet the responsibilities, whatever they might be, and were not afraid of them. They were quite content with the outcome of the war, proud of the achievements of their armies, proud to be American citizens. Their country covered broad areas of earth, but it was none too large for the purposes of its high destiny. Larger tracts with populations as mixed were held by other nations not better able to control them than were the Americans to manage their islands, which, in comparison with other issues in due time to be met, were quite a simple affair. Their troubles in the future were more apt to spring from internal than external causes. The conduct of the American people during the war, their display of resources and genius for war, their unity and strength, their courage and moderation and love of right, all were such as to make any nation pause before seeking a quarrel with them, and until these people change materially they will not go to war without a just cause and due provocation.

The century closes upon a larger America, with a territorial area of three and a half millions of square miles, spanning 180 degrees of longitude, and containing a population of nearly eighty millions. Hitherto largely absorbed in domestic affairs, while the sinews of the commonwealth were knitting into strength, the people were roused by a great wrong committed at their door by one of the effete monarchies of Europe. They rose as one man, moved by a common impulse, and avenged that wrong, and in so doing left behind them forever their former provincialism, and took their place upon the higher plane of the world's civic life. Can any one doubt the ability of the American republic to maintain that position?

CHAPTER XI

ATTITUDE OF THE NATIONS

THE continental powers, at the beginning of the war, were all hostile to the purposes and pretensions of the United States. First, an American republic dared dispute with European monarchy at the point of the sword. This new transatlantic nation dared question the honor, integrity, and humanity of a people of the Latin race, through whom had come to them their christianity and their civilization. Then if a new western power should arise, how would it affect the political equilibrium of the world? To disturb their quiet were race antipathy, political suspicion, and commercial jealousy; for if this new power should strike root on the coast of Asia, a dangerous element might be introduced to the already perplexing problems of the Far East. So strong became this feeling against the United States that there was serious thought of interference; and had England joined the others in answer to Spain's pathetic appeals, the war would not have been permitted. But Great Britain with us, the other powers did not care to interpose objections, as the people of the United States were clearly in the right, and to stir them up in opposition might bring war upon themselves. Hence while hating the Americans, and hating the war with its brilliant episodes, and filled with disgust over the barbarity and pusillanimity of Spain, the powers paused; and when by a humane and judicious course, in which courage was no less conspicuous than sagacity and mercy, the United States had achieved a phenomenal success, no opportunity having been meanwhile given to the continental nations to vent their spleen, protestations of friendship came pouring in, as hollow as they were loud. There had been talk of intervention between Germany and Austria, while Russia at this time professed indifference as to the fate of the Philippines. With a

victorious navy and a large army now at hand, it was clearly evident to the European powers that the United States government was taking up a position in the Far East from which it was not to be driven.

The old-time diplomats were irritated, not only by the disturbance of the traditional balance of power, but by the directness of speech and intensity of purpose which characterized international intercourse on the part of the United States throughout the war. This, with the spirit of humanity and desire to deal fairly and liberally with all, irrespective of class or nationality, and with no disposition to take advantage of superior strength or favoring fortune to do an injustice, was indeed trying to those who held that there could be no statesmanship without diplomacy, and no diplomacy without chicanery. In it all America was getting outside of what should be her natural sphere of influence; for if the entrance of Japan into the politics of the Far East was an impertinence, how much more so was the intermeddling of the United States in the affairs of Asia and Europe.

Until the German merchants expressed a preference for American occupation, the tone of the continental press was hostile to the United States. The motives of the American people were impugned, and the president and congress insulted and ridiculed. This pretended sentiment of humanity, they said, is simply an excuse to wage war for territory. The presumption of a transatlantic republic to make war on one of the great empires of Europe was supreme,—which contemptuous sneers were soon to be silenced by a lesson from this same republic across the water which the kingdoms of Europe will never forget. Yet all this while, throughout the world there was a consensus of opinion that the Philippine islands should neither be turned back to Spain, nor transferred to another power. Had the United States government refused to accept them, leaving them to Aguinaldo and anarchy, it would have served the cavillers right; but in that event the powers would have pounced down upon the islands and devoured them as an eagle devours its prey.

When at the request of the Spanish government the French ambassador at Washington, M. Cambon, asked the United States to name the terms on which peace could be secured, President McKinley promptly replied, after due consulta-

tion with his cabinet, and the terms were transmitted by Cambon to Spain. At this time the Spanish government could have secured peace by the cession of Porto Rico, the independence of Cuba, and a coaling station, or perhaps the island of Luzon, in the Philippines.

Pending the negotiations preceding hostilities, in which President McKinley put forth every effort to avert war, the prevailing opinion abroad seemed to be that it was possible that a little European intimidation might tend to moderate the aggressiveness of the United States. As matters progressed, that sentiment became weaker, and entirely disappeared before its close. And it became fully apparent that henceforth the United States could not be treated as an inferior, but must be regarded as the equal of any nation, and with a voice, if not in European affairs, at least in the affairs of the world. Hence a change of tone in the European press, monarchs themselves not disdaining to disclaim ever having had any unfriendly feeling toward the American republic.

Europe had been astonished at the efficiency of American arms and the courage of our men, many of them raw recruits, but all of them born soldiers. At the rapidity with which the Spanish cruisers were hammered to pieces by accurate gun fire, all the world wondered. So thorough and scientific was the work of the American fleets that no criticism could be advanced, except, indeed, that the enemy was unworthy of our steel. Said the London *Spectator*, "Sampson and Dewey could destroy French ships of vastly superior power, and a naval struggle between the United States and Germany would be very short, and would surprise the emperor, who thinks himself invincible."

It was not a very noble spirit, that made manifest by these nations of Europe while we were attempting to clean away the moral filth which one of them had deposited at our door. They have never received aught but good from us. We have fed their poor and pampered their rich, and found homes for their surplus population; we have admired their art and patronized their tailors, and aped their manners, and furnished rich wives for their nobility. They should be pleased by our silly admiration, and our wasteful expenditures of money on their behalf. What has been the effect of America on Europe from the first? Setting aside geographical and

ethnological instructions, which opened the eyes of the blind and taught the dumb to speak, the lessons in liberty, in humanity, or it may be better to say the evolution of republican thought and institutions, and the free admission of Europeans to American domain and citizenship, has saved western Europe from the fate of Rome, of Turkey, of Egypt. We used to think it no small thing to feed Europe, and to receive the surplus population and make men of them. Now we not only feed Europeans but clothe them; we are not only supplying them with our products but are to an ever increasing extent inventing and manufacturing for them. And because the continental powers are able to tolerate Spain in Europe as a near neighbor, they seemed to think that the United States had become fastidious in being unable longer to tolerate Spain in Cuba as a near neighbor. But Americans have passed the time when ignorance, bigotry, and cruelty appear pleasing to them. They do not delight in cockfights and bullfights as national sports, nor indulge in the methods of mediævalism in war; nor do they feel called upon to witness the workings of that same spirit in the treatment of inferiors that led to the invention of the Inquisition for the purification of politics and the salvation of souls. Spain's legend in the government of her colonies, if written over the portals of America would read, In peace, robbery; in war, murder.

And now as never before men of all nations began to concern themselves about the United States, the present and the future of the great republic. The American, the European, and the Asiatic; Englishmen Frenchmen Germans Russians and the rest, all pondered over propositions now for the first time considered, what this marvel would do, and how would its doings affect the others. The islanders of the sea wondered if more islands would be wanted, or would be taken; and the republics of the mainland, from Mexico to Chili, asked themselves if they would ever be called upon to join respectable republicanism. Will Central and South America be bought like Alaska or dismembered like China, and will the United States participate in the dismemberment of China or seek colonial fields in Greenland? Cecil Rhodes was sure that the Philippines were only the beginning, and that the United States would in due time conquer by force of arms all Spanish and Portuguese America, while the *London Spectator* re-

marked: "Many Americans say they will never attempt such a task; but we do not greatly believe in the humility of any race, and see no reason in history to fancy that any of the great white races, if sorely tempted, will shrink from conquest, and especially the conquest of peoples with whom they have no sympathy, whom they think inefficient, or from understanding whom they are barred off by the impassable barrier of color. It is quite conceivable that fifty years hence, when the union contains a hundred and twenty millions of white men eager for physical well being, the dreams of Mr. Rhodes may be reproduced as curiously accurate prophecies. Eating up South America like an artichoke, state by state, would be a task to overstrain any people, even the American. Brazil alone would take twenty years to subjugate and fifty to fill, even if the union settled her colored races over the malarious section of the vast republic. The work, too, in the doing might bring to a head the great danger of the United States, the difference of ideal, and of permanent tendency, between the north and the south. That difference is supposed to have been founded upon slavery, and to have been extinguished by emancipation, but that may prove a short-sighted view. The people of hot climates tend to differ greatly from the people of cold, nor will a race which has to govern subordinates ever quite agree with a race which, as a principle, accepts equality. Our own South African colonists differ in many essential respects, and in most political ideas, from Canadians or Australians, and if the Anglo-Indians numbered ten millions, and could dwell in India, they would not obey the central power for a generation. It is true that the state system as worked in America is a wonderful instrument of Empire—we have adopted it ourselves in great part for the free colonies, but it is also a wonderful provision for disintegration. The north may refuse to persist in a career of conquest which wearies it, and with Canada may elect to form a republic with another ideal than that governing, which latter, though attractive, wears out the surplus energy of the governors."

Meanwhile Europe was in its usual state of chronic unrest, no one satisfied, but each nation longing to lay its hands on something of its neighbor's. Socialism was growing in Germany under the arbitrary rule of the young emperor; Italy

was made warm between rioters and soldiers; France was still busy with her pet scandal, while Russia was waiting to see the other fighters throw away their arms. But saddest of all was poor old Spain, whose throne, between bread riots, republican revolts, and Carlist uprising, not to mention the little affair with America (was tottering on her base. And besides some honor and common-sense Spain badly wanted money. Her finances had sunk into a gulf of depression. Her quicksilver mines failed her when their revenue was most needed; government securities and bank shares fell one half, and then again in some instances to one half of that. The import duty on raw cotton was abolished by the cortes, thus aiding the Catalonian manufactures; and the differential duties on foreign vessels plying between Spain and her colonies were likewise done away with. The benign mother had long had in view the probable loss of her colonies, and had in consequence charged up to her several dependencies such sums as she saw fit, as debts to be discharged as circumstances should dictate. Thus were set down against Cuba \$500,000,000, and against the Philippines since 1896 \$40,000,000, all of which was for the military, and for defensive works, with nothing for general improvement. There was little enough at home to make the country loved or the government respected, and still less abroad. The defeated Spanish commanders were made the scape-goats of the government, which for the most part was alone at fault; though, indeed, the Spanish people were greatly responsible, as they intimidated the government, and drove its ministers to the destruction of the nation.

With Spanish inconsistency the military governors and naval commanders were made to suffer for the sins of their superiors, who to appease the Spanish people forbade surrender, or drove them forth to fight ill-prepared and where defeat was certain. It is not uncommon now in Spain, as in the days of imperial Rome, for a defeated officer to take his own life, or feign an attempt to do so. Many of the Spanish officers after their defeat at Manila or Santiago expressed fears for their personal safety. In connection with the capitulation of Santiago, General Toral was mobbed by the populace on his return to Spain, while General Linares was charged with cowardice by Count d' Almenas, of the Spanish cortes, who on being challenged to a duel by Linares refused to fight.

Eulate, captain of the *Vizcaya*, it is said lost his reason through chagrin over his defeat. The people were full of wrath toward all, government, royalty, and its ministers, and the fighting men who came home beaten. Sagasta said that neither he nor the government had any thing to do with the Santiago surrender; Blanco laid the blame on Toral, who he said should be court-martialed if he had unconditionally surrendered as stated. On the other hand, when Weyler returned to Madrid, fresh from the field of infamies over which all the world shuddered, he was greeted by applause, and his policy in Cuba justified before the cortes.

Spanish patriotism is a mixture of undoubted bravery, with much bombast, insufferable vanity, braggadocio, a coating of suicide, all interlarded with much lying. Their maxims might be, We overcome evil by subordinating ourselves to it. If we put an end to our lives, no one can kill us. The better to endure ill tidings, let us fill ourselves with a delirium of joy such as good news would give us if true. Whether or not Ramon Blanco really tried to kill himself when he heard of Cervera's disaster, as is stated, he best knows; but if true it is nothing to be proud of. A struggle attended the attempt, it was said; he was disarmed by his officers, kept in bed for several days, after which he arose, ordered cut off all supplies for the starving towns, and felt better.

The Spanish adventurers of the sixteenth century were competent warriors, able and courageous. Clad in mail, with gunpowder and steel as aids, they were not afraid to meet a horde of naked savages with stone-pointed weapons. The Spaniard of to-day can die better than he can fight; he stands up bravely to be shot but he cannot shoot. The Spanish sailor lacks skill, and the Spanish soldier, intelligence. The American has both; he is not a mere fighting machine. It is long since Spain came off as victor in a war; the Americans never emerged from any war except as victors.

Early in the war a ministerial crisis was threatened at Madrid, portending revolution and the overthrow of the dynasty. The cabinet was hemmed in between the people and the cortes, the one demanding more war and the other breathing curses on the foolish fighting that had been done, while most of the governments of Europe seemed suspicious of both sides. There was no small excitement in the Spanish cortes on the

3rd of May, when the government was called on, amid the jeers of Carlists and republicans, to explain the defeat at Manila. Later, war credits were voted. On the 15th the cabinet resigned, and Sagasta was instructed by the queen regent to form a new one, which was done, leaving out certain inharmonious elements. To give a fairer field, the acts of Sagasta and his old cabinet were solemnly repudiated by Sagasta and his new cabinet.

The whole country threatened revolt. In many of the cities martial law prevailed. While Sagasta was raking the bones of Columbus from the débris of Spanish American occupation, the women of Granada were cursing the memory of the Genoese, and stoning his statue because of his having inflicted on them a new world with all its woes. Do the Spaniards really know whether they desire to honor or dishonor the memory of Columbus? He was a foreigner; he found a new world for Spain; Spaniards became jealous of him and treated him in his last days with injustice and ignominy. It was thus Spain rewarded her discoverers and conquerors while yet alive; when dead she gave them cheap laudation. What Columbus found for Spain is now lost to her. On the whole from first to last it proved a curse to the possessor. Why should Spanish statesmen wish to honor the bones of the Genoese? Can they tell? Or can they say that the women of Granada were not as wise, and more reasonable than they, in stoning his statue?

Don Carlos had been residing with his family at Brussels; but the emperor of Germany and Austria, affecting to believe that his presence there was a menace to the peace of Europe, requested of the Belgian government his expulsion; whereupon, receiving his conge from Prince Leopold, he took refuge in England. "Under the present dynasty," Cortini said, "the honor and chivalry of Spain have been trailed in the mud."

There was a still further decline in Spanish bonds, and depositors were hastening to draw their funds from the various branches of the bank of Spain. Nor did the fact that the queen regent felt it incumbent on her to give from her private fortune 1,000,000 pesetas, or about \$190,000, in aid of the navy, tend to help matters. In case of failure, the people said, the government is unable to respond in money

damages, and therefore must give territory. It was becoming more and more difficult for the government to palm off its false statements upon the people. Reported victories were too often turning out woeful defeats. A manifest change also was coming over the spirit of the European powers. Their smiling fronts were turned to frowns, while England did not hesitate to show her marked approval of the policy and conduct of the United States. France, ever insincere and unreliable, was beginning to count the cost. The friendship of the French on which Spain had so relied was giving way; French friendship is a poor staff to lean upon in times of adversity. Russia, also, and Germany, were just now looking the other way.

Poor old Spain! A great sadness fell upon the rulers, and rage filled the hearts of the people; a rage and sadness to be appeased only by laying on the altar of their vanity some thousands of human lives—not their own but other men's lives,—and some hundreds of millions of money, not their own but other men's money, all being a grand sacrifice to Moloch, that is to say Spanish honor. As yet the rulers could not yield, for they were pricked on by the people, and by Spanish honor. To go forward was death, the death of others, not of themselves, but death with Spanish honor. It was after the ignominious defeat at Manila that this change of sentiment appeared, and after the speech of Mr Chamberlain at Birmingham, which plainly indicated that any power taking up arms for Spain against America would have to meet England as well.

A great fear fell on Spain, and on all Spaniards. Notwithstanding their vehement brag and bombast they knew they were doomed. They fancied that if they were kicked out of America, instead of arranging their difficulties sensibly and departing in peace, they would still retain their honor. The Spanish cabinet had hoped for the interference in some way of the great powers, or at least to arrange with them for the final disposition of the Philippines so that the United States would not get them; but France preferred American to German control, and Germany, perceiving the growing sympathy between England and the United States tending to co-operation in the Far East, thought it discreet not to appear in opposition. Spain was in a pitiable condition, and she

had the sympathy of many of those who were called upon to chastise her, so far as it was possible to sympathize with a thing so false and base. And if their altruism does not logically apply to Spain through powers secured by conquest, they were assuredly altruistic in delivering the people of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippine islands from the tyranny of Spain. As time passed by the public opinion in Spain became indifferent, the mob falling from insanity into lethargy, while the impending cabinet crisis disappeared and the Sagasta ministry continued its course. From the time of the signing of the protocol, Spain had no idea of being able to save the Philippines, and the tone subsequently taken by her statesmen at home and her representatives at Paris, was simply for the purpose of driving as good a bargain as possible.

With mingled feelings of hatred and jealousy Spain watched the development of affairs in her lost colonies under American régime, rejoicing over the difficulties to be met and sighing over successes. The press was bitter in denouncing "the traitors", that is Spanish officials and bankers who so quickly changed their allegiance to the United States. She denounced the United States, and denounced Europe for sanctioning "by cowardice and selfishness a crime that will be a blot upon the history of the century." Has Spain forgotten how she obtained possession of all America, and of this piece of Asia; or did she ever reckon how many blots upon how many centuries her robberies and murders of the natives made? She suffered, partly in sorrow and partly in anger, from what the president said in his message about the *Maine* tragedy. Doubtless to a nation ready to sacrifice vast colonial possessions, thousands of lives, and millions of money for what it calls honor, it is not pleasant, the suspicion so strong as to amount almost to a certainty of an infamy more in keeping with the diabolical deeds of savages than with the honorable warfare of a nation pretending to Christian civilization. It is not altogether what the president says but what the world thinks, and will always believe about it, until the Spaniards establish their innocence. The unknown perpetrators of the crime were still at large unpunished, except in so far as the criminals as Spanish officers may feel the terrible punishment inflicted on their country. Do not Blanco and de Lome know how the *Maine* was blown up, even if Sagasta and

Christina do not? It was such men as Weyler the Infamous, not Montojo nor Cervera, who lost to Spain her transatlantic possessions, her prestige as an ancient and once glorious nation, and her honor, all she had left of it. The United States government does not lay the crime of the *Maine* upon Spanish officers or upon any one; it does not know who did it; it only knows that the warship was blown up from the outside under circumstances familiar to every one, and that the deed was quite in keeping with the general run of Weylerism and Blancoism in Cuba. Spain rejoiced in the attack of the Filipinos on United States troops, and the powers watched with interest if peradventure Uncle Sam should let drop one of his armful of islands so that they could make a grab at it. Vulgar Yankees said they "guessed the president had bit off more than he could chew," while an ex-president remarked with scarcely more elegance of words that "Mr McKinley appears to have a bear by the tail and is afraid to let go."

France set her hopes on Spain, prayed that she would win, assisted her in every way, until disgusted with her defeats, French like, she turned to her the cold shoulder. France was sore because she could not collect the money due her from Spain, first toward the Americans for causing the trouble, and then toward the Spaniards because they cut so sorry a figure in trying to save their honor, which would pay no debts. Something was said of a possible coalition of France, Germany, and Russia to wrest the lately acquired islands from the United States. Should this remote contingency ever come to pass, and the efforts of these powers prove successful, America will be in the same position with regard to Europe that Asia is now, that is a subject for aggression and partition.

Probably of all the Latin races the Italians were the most rabid, being the most ignorant. William T. Stead writes from Rome: "The answer to the question, What does the old world think of the new world? has never been made with greater emphasis than in the eternal city. The oldest old world regards the newest new with feelings of anger, disgust, and alarm almost too great for words. The sentiment of indignation differs in intensity. But it is universal. There is no sympathy for the United States, either among whites or blacks. In fact, dislike of the American seizure of the Philippines and a conviction that the humane enthusiasm which

made the war possible was a mere mask of cant, assumed in order to facilitate conquest, are almost the only sentiments shared in common by the rival camps of the quirinal and of the vatican. With the king's men the sentiment is comparatively mild. They do not believe in the least in the disinterestedness of the American war of liberation. The American declarations are almost universally derided as hideous examples of a worse than English hypocrisy. Uncle Sam, they say, determined in all things to surpass John Bull, has outdone him even in Pharisaism and cant. The friends of America wring their hands in unaffected grief over the fall of the United States under temptation of territorial expansion. Her enemies shoot out the lip and can shriek in derision over what they regard as the unmistakable demonstration which the demand for the Philippines affords to American sincerity, American bad faith and American ambition."

In the dissolution of Spain's colonies, Germany had hoped to come in for a share, and to that end had instituted a system of prying and interference which she carried as far as she dared. Dewey at Manila bay understood all about it, and so expressed his willingness to give the German admiral a lesson in polite behavior on the spot. Yet we must not blame too severely these old-time looters of Europe; whose wrangles arise from the laudable desire to find more space for their rapidly growing population and manufactures. Said the *Vorwärts*, the organ of the social democrats in Germany: "The great republic on yonder side of the ocean, without castles, nobles, or a standing army, has suddenly sprung out of her position of neutrality to Europe; and one European state which has slaughtered myriads of men wrestling for freedom is undone. It is a new power, no militarism, no huge fleet, yet an overwhelmingly mighty elemental power. Even if an alliance with England comes to nothing, the new American position in the Far East crosses every combination hitherto effective." And thus the *Cologne Gazette*: "The interests of Germany will be especially injured by the American annexation, as the policy of the open door, which has hitherto reigned under the Spanish flag, will be quickly ended. Moreover, the American demand from a humane point of view is unheard of. It means the squeezing of a fallen foe to the last drop of blood, and would sully the name of the victor. The

whole sympathies of the world would be on the side of Spain, brutally ground down by her enemy."

Public opinion in Germany changed as the end of the year drew nigh, and the possibility of continued Spanish rule in the Philippines remained open, and German merchants freely expressed their preference in the *Kölnische Zeitung* and *Vossische Zeitung* for American annexation, which would make their interests at once safer and more profitable. Early in October delegations representing German and Swiss firms in the Philippines called at the American embassy at Berlin to express hopes that the United States would not relinquish the islands, or at least would not return them to Spain, which indeed would be only to return them to anarchy and misrule. Privy councillor Schwartzstein at the same time declared that Germany had no intention of placing obstacles in the way of the United States. Even Aguinaldo, by the mouth of his envoy Felipe Agoncillo, sent to ask permission of President McKinley to appear before the Paris peace commission only to meet refusal, affirmed that the Filipinos had no quarrel with the United States, but would welcome a protectorate; but if any of the islands were returned to Spanish sovereignty and Spanish tyranny they could but fight on to the end. "It is hard for us to believe, however," the eloquent Agoncillo goes on to say, "that your government, the world's highest ideal of liberty equality and justice, will decide to keep the best of the Philippines as spoils of war, give liberty and freedom to those who dwell therein, and thrust back for Spain all the other islands, saying to those who live there 'We can't take you in. You must do the best you can under your old masters.' We do not believe your president will tell us that."

The *Kreuz Zeitung* says: "Germany is materially interested in the outcome of the peace negotiations, more particularly with respect to the Sulu archipelago, where Germany and Great Britain possess the same kind of commercial privileges, granted to them by Spain in 1877, and in which Hamburg and Bremen are largely interested. American annexation of this group, besides being a matter of strategic importance, would mean, in view of America's prohibitory tariff policy, the destruction of both the German and British trade. In short, an understanding with Great Britain for joint action

and intervention is absolutely indispensable." While the *Deutsche Zeitung* thus laments: "It is particularly painful that with the Caroline islands, to which will probably be added the rest of the islands, a piece of Spanish goods is disposed of to which we had the historical preëmption claim." The *Frankfurter Zeitung* regretted the attitude of the powers, and particularly that Germany had not embraced this opportunity to win the good-will of the United States. The German press was blamed for misrepresentations which justified the Americans in suspecting designs other than the protection of her commerce in sending five ships to Manila bay during the hostilities there when two would have been sufficient.

Rumor placed Russia first on one side and then on the other, but she always disclaimed any other than feelings of extreme cordiality, and with assurance that there would be no change in the traditional friendship so long existing between her and the United States, and so far as I have been able to observe she was sincere. Her journalists felt it their duty now and then to sound a note of warning, as for example this in the *Novoe Vremya*: "Russia must be on her guard against the United States, especially in view of the enormous wealth of its Pacific shores, and the strategical position occupied by Americans in the Sandwich, the Philippine, the Samoan, and the Mariana islands."

It is said that Russia, through a London bank, felt of the American pulse upon the question of a \$10,000,000 four per cent thirty years loan on railway bonds guaranteed by the Russian government, but received no favorable response. Had Russia met with any encouragement, the amount would eventually have been much larger. Japan also desired to negotiate a loan in the United States, and China also. It was estimated that \$400,000,000 of American money could easily find place in these countries.

Ethan Allen Hitchcock, American ambassador to Russia, thus testifies: "The stories current since the beginning of the Hispano-American war that Russia was a member of the coalition of continental powers which would have intervened in the dispute had not England refused to join them are utterly unfounded. There has never been a single item of proof produced to substantiate them, and, on the contrary, Russia has been most friendly toward the United States, and has mani-

fested that friendship during the past years in many ways, of which my position forbids me to speak. Unfortunately, the Russian government is so constituted that it cannot do much talking in such cases as the present, but can only wait for time to afford opportunities for proving the truth. When these opportunities arise its friendship will be demonstrated. The false impressions which have arisen are very unfortunate, and, I think, are largely due to the utterances of Russian newspapers, certain of which are popularly supposed to be official organs, whereas the supposition is utterly unfounded, as they represent the government no more than independent sections of the American press represent that government."

Russian statesmen are not above taking a lesson from the United States. They have marked the growing greatness of this country, which they rightly attribute to a long period of peace and internal development. Now, too, Russia wants peace and a period of development, that she may build more towns and railroads, open mines, and promote agriculture; she would turn her revenues from war, which breeds weakness, into channels which increase strength. Simultaneously with the unveiling in the Kremlin at Moscow of a monument to the Tsar Liberator, Alexander II, the Tsar Peacemaker, Nicholas II, on the 28th of August, through the representatives accredited to the court of St Petersburg, invited the powers to an international conference having in view the maintenance of peace, and the reduction of the excessive armaments now crushing Europe. The impulse does honor to the man, though the measure should prove impracticable. When one arms for fight, the best and completest is none too good. Would it not be better to disarm altogether and not fight, than agree to fight half armed? What advantage to duelists is it for both sides to use rusty weapons, or for two nations to say, "We will each match upon this quarrel one ship and two hundred men, instead of two ships and four hundred men, and so save to both of us the difference." When consideration in deadly differences reaches such a point, there will indeed be no war, and the tsar will have gained his object, a shorter, safer, easier way to which would be the simple decree, "War is abolished." Is not the noble young Russian aware that nations go to war to hurt one another, and not to save each other money? Cease war altogether and become men? It can not be done, is the reply.

Then man is not yet born into this world, all being but brute beasts. Said Lord Salisbury at the banquet of the lord mayor of London: "The tsar has invited a congress to provide for the disarmament of the world; but while we offer our heartiest tribute to his motives, and are willing to assist and sympathize in every way until the happy day when his aspirations are crowned with success, we must still provide precautions needful to counteract the dangers surrounding us. In some respects this era, this great epoch in the history of man, is marked by unhappy omens. It is the first year in which the mighty force of the American republic has been introduced among nations whose dominions are expanding and whose instrument to a certain extent is war. I am not implying the slightest blame. Far from it. I am not refusing sympathy to the American republic in the difficulties through which it has passed; but no one can deny that its appearance among factors Asiatic, at all events, and possibly in European diplomacy, is a grave and serious event, which may not conduce to the interests of peace, though I think in any event it is likely to conduce to the interests of Great Britain."

England is willing to cry a halt in territorial extension, and let each have its own with no further disturbance of the present *status quo*. The United States would do the same. Both are conservative powers; both desire peace no less than does Russia. Were the other powers like-minded and would keep themselves within limits, or finish their looting by dividing the world anew, the chief cause of war would be wanting, and peace might come. Russia wants peace and economic progress at this time more especially in order to complete her transsiberian railway, by which troops may be transported to Korea and those parts of northern China where English and Russian interests are at issue. So far as the United States is concerned the tsar's peace proposal had little pertinence, the active military force of the United States in time of peace being so much smaller than that of any other nation.

Japan it was said, made an offer of two hundred millions for the Philippines. The president replied that the disposition of the islands could not be considered until after the conclusion of the treaty of Paris. Certain senators suggested that it might be well to reserve Luzon for the United States, and sell the remainder to the highest bidder, making the offer to Japan,

England, Russia, France, and Germany. The *Singapore Free Press* is emphatic in its opinions. "To the practical and impartial observer," says its editor, "there is but one way, only one. The United States must so act as at once to secure the permanent happiness and liberties of the hitherto oppressed Filipino nation, and to preserve the islands from becoming the theatre of external intrigues, connived at by Spain, which shall have for their object the extinction of the newly exerted and altogether beneficent influence of America in the Far East, and the disturbance of political power in such a manner as to paralyze the action of the peace-loving and commerce-promoting nationalities already well established on the shores of the Pacific—Britain Japan and the United States. The collective interests, political and commercial, of these powers are of an absolutely overwhelming character, and the less the chance of conspiracy to disturb those interests the better for humanity at large. Does America deliberately mean to abandon in the Far East its present magnificent opportunity of usefulness to civilization? We refuse to believe it. The joint commission idea, even with a Filipino representation thrown in to give genuine evidence and see fair play, is a peril to the interests of the United States and to the general interest of all pacific nations. That, too, even if it were held at Manila, as it would need to be. The only solution is an American protectorate, ostensibly temporary, possibly, over the Philippines, thus at once furnishing a lever for the liberation and elevation of a long-oppressed and much-enduring people, and a security against the intrusion of disturbing influences, permanently unfriendly to the United States and to the nations whose sympathies and aspirations in the Pacific ocean are thoroughly consonant with her own."

That most remarkable incident in the political evolution of the year of Ninety-eight, the reconciliation of the Anglo-Saxon race, as I have before intimated, must forever remain the supreme event of the century. Coming as it did to the United States in the prestige and glow of victory, it was the harbinger of mighty things in the future. Beside it the war with Spain sinks to insignificance; the rise of the United States to a world power is less in itself than the power to balance the world's potentialities. For this unwritten alliance makes the speakers of English masters of the world.

It was indeed a happy outcome of the war, this uniting in sentiment and friendship the entire English-speaking race. The people of the northern and southern United States felt it first as they clasped hands in the cause of the higher progress, and took their departure from Florida. The colonies of Great Britain and Holland were never before fully united. The wrongs put upon them by the mother country forced them to unite for common defence, and all through the revolution they mistrusted motives and were inclined to be jealous of each other. With independence came various questions to cause disturbance, primarily, that of slavery, which rose to such heights as to almost destroy the nation. The civil war and emancipation cut deep, and the wound was slow to heal; the war with Spain which brought the people together from every quarter of the republic with one common impulse in a noble cause brought about a kindlier feeling. Said the president at Atlanta, "Under hostile fire on a foreign soil, fighting in a common cause, the memory of old disagreements has faded into history. From camp and campaign there comes the magic feeling which has closed an ancient wound and effaced their scars. For this reason American patriots must forever rejoice." In regard to England, and subjects of Great Britain everywhere, there was struck a chord of mingled appreciation and respect, which vibrated with yet warmer feelings when relationship was considered. For after all they were brethren, with the same language, the same institutions, and the same maxims and beliefs. But more than aught else they felt that they knew and appreciated each other; there was present neither cant nor hypocrisy; the Americans felt that their motives were understood and their conduct approved, and they were grateful. And although the denouement came suddenly, the sentiment was of slower growth, and had been ripening gradually. And in both instances the good results are sure to remain.

All through the war, while the European powers were mainly against us, England was friendly, either because of race sympathy, or material considerations, or both. France had allied interests with Spain, and Russia with France; Austria must favor her daughter the queen regent of Spain; Germany was unfriendly, and Italy must needs side with Austria and Germany. The war made clear the fact that not one of the European powers can be trusted where American interests are

affected except Great Britain, but the cordial relations manifested of late between England and the United States more than offset any evil the powers can bring upon us. There is no need of a formal treaty of alliance as was once suggested. Wherever our interests are identical, or nearly so, as in Central and South America, and for the most part in Asia, England and the United States will be together; in the presence of opposing interest it is better that the two nations should pull apart, but in a friendly spirit. Any unnecessary demonstration of Great Britain during the war would have wrought only harm. It was the duty as well as the desire of England to maintain strict neutrality, and that is all the United States could ask or would accept; and it was equally important that Spain should be treated with fairness so that no excuse to make combinations or offer protests should be given the continental powers. Of all the nations among which the new America now enters as a new power, the only one to welcome her, the only one to recognize in her this superior moral force, is England. And we would rather have it England alone, than all the rest combined. We do not ask recognition from any; what we are the world will know. But it is pleasant to feel that the nation for which we have the most respect is the most appreciative of our merits. England always dearly loved a good fight, on which account it was a pity the enemy was unable to afford her more amusement. When in October, 1898, under instructions from the secretary of the navy, Admiral Dewey sent from Manila the *Ballimore* and *Petrel* to Tientsin, the nearest point to Peking accessible to warships, for the protection of American citizens in case of an outbreak in the interior, the London *Times*, *Post*, and *Mail* spoke editorially in terms of praise of American promptitude, and welcoming the prospect of English and American coöperation in China. With the United States and its imperial position, and with British Columbia in the northwest, and Australia in the southeast, an eye on China and a dominating influence every where, Prevost Paradol, in his *La France Nouvelle*, seemed to fear lest the Pacific should become a lake of the Anglo-Saxon race. That, however, may hardly be expected or desired. The three great growing powers of the Pacific will be as they now are, the Anglo-Saxon, Russian, and Asiatic. The London *News* pronounced the episode of the war as memorable in the history

of the world, as witnessing the death of one empire and the birth of another, the latter destined to even more enduring fame than the former. The *London Times* was pleased that the United States should have adopted a new military and imperial policy, and should not have abandoned the islanders to their own or another's government.

Gladstone's partiality for the southern confederacy at the outbreak of our civil war was not so much antagonism toward the federal government as concern regarding the growth of American power. He saw more than many another that unless the American union was broken, there would soon be here one or two hundred millions of people, the equal of Englishmen, foremost of the foremost civilization. It was the welfare of England of which Mr Gladstone was thinking, and the effect of a great English-speaking nation in the west on Great Britain. What would the great statesman say about it to-day? Would he have the American republic less than it is?

In the Canadian house of commons a member remarked: "While all parties in the dominion cherish the hope that the American people may come out victorious, still there are many who would like to see the United States get a bit of a spanking because of its unfair treatment of Canadian interests." Whereupon both the liberal leader, Premier Laurier, and the conservative leader, Sir Charles Tupper made immediate reply, the former saying: "I sincerely hope my honorable friend speaks his own personal feelings, and not the feeling of his party. Though we are bound to be neutral, and must be neutral, in the present difficulties between the United States and Spain, I should like to believe that, if there is a feeling at all apart from our duty as neutrals, it is a feeling of sympathy for those who are our neighbors and who share the continent with us." The latter added: "While we are bound to respect that complete neutrality that has been proclaimed by the parent state in reference to the war between the United States and Spain, nevertheless I feel that we cannot forget that the people of Canada, as of Great Britain, are but one branch of that great English-speaking family, and that the interests of peace, the interests of civilization, and the interests of the world would be promoted by the most cordial coöperation between the two great branch nations."

The colonies of Great Britain find much comfort in the

peace and prosperity derived from the protection of the mother country, which keeps them from war upon each other as well as upon their neighbor. But they can never arrive at the full stature of manhood while tied to the mother's apron-string. The Australians have in the future a glorious destiny, whether as colonists of Great Britain or as members of independent commonwealths. With the United States and Canada opposite, these two great English-speaking and English thinking and acting peoples will dominate the great waters lying between them. "After thirty years of peace", said James Bryce, "the United States is now engaged in another conflict. Its antagonist is no doubt a power of the second order, and may probably be soon overmastered. But this conflict has already raised some grave and difficult questions, and may involve a complete new departure in national policy. The grounds that suggest or dissuade such a new departure, and still more the consequences to which it may lead, are of course much canvassed in Europe. For us in England they have a special interest, and indeed a twofold interest, as being near of kin to the American people, and united to them by many ties, social and ethical as well as commercial, we are deeply concerned in their welfare. Their peace, their good government, their material prosperity, touch us very nearly. And further, as a great colonial power, in relations of rivalry, possibly of antagonism, to one or more of three other great world powers—Russia, France, and Germany—we in England should note as a fact of the highest international significance the entrance of the United States upon that world-stage which includes both hemispheres. Her advance from her own continent of North America to the position of an oceanic power, holding transmarine possessions, and creating a huge navy to defend them, cannot but profoundly affect both England and the three great states I have mentioned."

No one expects friendship aside from self-interest, which is the basis of all friendship. While selfishness lies at the root of all policies, personal and political, we find here and there in history examples where sentiments of good feeling and approbation have influenced the conduct of nations. England sees advantages to herself in the presence and moral support of the United States in Asia, in the dismemberment of China, for example, and in all matters where the nations will be apt

to think and act alike. In his *Problems of Greater Britain*, published in 1890, Charles Wentworth Dilke writes: "American trade and influence are spreading westward across the north Pacific, and if I was able to prophesy in 1867 that the relations of America and Australia would be the key to the future of the Pacific, it is now certain that three federal powers will control that ocean, of which the Dominion of Canada and the United States of Australasia will probably remain under the same flag, but even so will be virtually, in their relations to one another, distinct but friendly powers." In a speech at Birmingham on the 13th of May, Joseph Chamberlain, secretary for the colonies, openly advocated Anglo-American alliance. He took the ground that the combined assault of the nations on the commercial supremacy of Great Britain, threatening the country's existence, made it the first duty of Englishmen to draw the parts of the empire closer together, and their next duty to maintain permanent amity with their kinsmen across the Atlantic. "The time has arrived", he said, "when Great Britain may be confronted by a combination of Powers, and our first duty, therefore, is to draw all parts of the empire into close unity, and our next, to maintain the bonds of permanent unity with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. There is a powerful and generous nation, speaking our language, bred of our race and having interests identical with ours. I would go so far as to say that, terrible as war may be, even war itself would be cheaply purchased if in a great and noble cause the stars and stripes and the union jack should wave together over an Anglo-Saxon alliance. It is one of the most satisfactory results of Lord Salisbury's policy that at the present time these two great nations understand each other better than they ever have done since, over a century ago, they were separated by the blunder of a British government." On which the *Standard* commented: "There is not the smallest reason to suppose that his convictions are not shared by every member of the cabinet. They had been anticipated by most men, who have tried to look below the surface current of diplomacy; and the special quality which he has imparted to the declaration was the emphasis of concentrated and unadulterated truth. We are liable at any moment to be confronted by a combination of all the European powers. The contingency should not be dismissed

as impossible merely because it would be startlingly unpleasant. Already we have endeavored with no small success to draw all parts of our vast empire together in the firm determination to coöperate for the common defence; nor can it be said that there is anything lacking in our feeling of regard and friendship for the great kindred community on the other side of the Atlantic." And thus the *Times*: "It was a foregone conclusion that the opportunity should be seized of establishing permanent relations of amity and something more with the United States, whose success in the operations that have lately taken place has been welcomed here as not only justified by the goodness of her cause, but as a tribute to the practical capacity of the Anglo-Saxon race in the business of war, even when no adequate preparation for the struggle had been made." Again at the Conservative club banquet Mr Chamberlain said: "I rejoice, at the change that has occurred in the relations between Great Britain and the United States. To us they stand in a relation different from that occupied by any other people. I know a hundred reasons why we should be friends, none why we should be otherwise; and I believe that has been the true feeling of this country toward the United States for many years. All misunderstandings have been happily removed, and the combination of the two English-speaking nations would fear no other alliance. Our imagination must be fired when we contemplate the possibility of such a cordial understanding between the 70,000,000 of people of the United States and our 50,000,000 Britons, an understanding which would guarantee peace and civilization to the world. We shall welcome the United States in its new career as a colonizing nation, because we know it is animated by the same motives and aspirations, employs the same methods, and loves justice as ourselves; and such a new departure will, doubtless, as Lord Salisbury has said, serve our interests, not in any selfish or mercenary sense, but because it will give each a better understanding of the other's work, increase our sympathies, bring us closer together and make easy and inevitable that most desirable coöperation."

This sentiment of friendship extended by England was not perhaps of such sudden growth as it seemed, but was rather of ante-bellum origin, the result of a progressive sympathyspringing spontaneously from kindred tastes and principles, from

similar intuitions and institutions, from the same love of truthfulness and integrity in all things, and continuing through an unconscious growth of several decades. Then, too, as manners have changed elsewhere, kindness and true politeness—not the French affectation of politeness—coming to the front everywhere, manifesting itself more particularly in travelling, and in the treatment of animals and children as well; why should not courtesy extend to nations nearly related by ties of blood and tradition? No harm can possibly come from true kindness, but on the contrary great good. In fact there has never been absent that feeling of respect on which all true regard is based. England's rulers are not England, and America's demagogues are not America. Our wars with England were foolish affairs,—that is to say for Englishmen, who got the worst of it. We have passed over many more serious difficulties without war since then, and it does not now seem possible for either nation ever again to be guilty of such insensate folly. English and American instincts are alike fair, liberal, and honorable, free from jealousy and overreaching. There is no need of an international butchery in which to settle differences between these two nations. With regard to the Latin race, all is different as between ourselves and them. They are not truthful and reliable as England is, and their friendship if we had it would be of no value, because of hollowness and the tendency to treachery. As far back as 1848 one writes in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* on the relations of amity between the two nations. "Of the press in Great Britain and the United States there is an abundance of rancor and bad feeling, in some cases the offspring of mere ignorance, in others of bad faith, disguised under the cloak of nationality and patriotism. But among the educated and the thoughtful portion of the public, and among the higher organs of periodical literature in both countries, a very different spirit is evidently gaining ground. A feeling of mutual respect, a spirit of cordiality, is every day becoming more apparent, as the conviction of the common interest of the two countries becomes more palpable; and a union is gradually in the course of formation which the storms that are agitating the rest of Europe will only tend, we trust, to cement and confirm. How, indeed, should it be otherwise? How at least should it long continue to be otherwise? For what country but Great Britain has ever sent forth

from its bosom such a colony as now forms the United States of America? What colony could ever look back upon a loftier lineage than America, when, comparing her own wide and thriving domains with many of the sinking empires of Europe, she remembers her British descent, and feels, in a thousand traces of blood, and thoughts, and habits, and morals, her connection with 'the inviolate island of the brave and free?'

And it is not alone in the British isles that this sentiment is becoming established, but throughout the vast extent of the British empire, and wherever the English language is spoken. As Lord Brassey, governor of Victoria, says: "Considering that the peoples of the British empire and the United States are closely allied by blood, inherit the same literature and laws, hold the same principles of self-government, recognize the same ideas of freedom and humanity in the guidance of their national policy, and are drawn together by strong common interests in many parts of the world, this meeting is of opinion that every effort should be made in the interests of civilization and peace to secure the most cordial and constant coöperation on the part of the two nations."

If as some say it is an enlightened self-interest that dictates the policy of England, then let it be an enlightened self-interest that dictates the policy of the United States. It is not possible for the two nations to find a firmer foundation on which to rest a permanent alliance than this unwritten treaty of mutual helpfulness. In terms more forcible than refined the *Saturday Review* speaks of the "slobbering cant and hypocritical blazoning of doubtful affection" between England and the United States, and thus continues: "Let us be frank and say outright that we expect mutual gain in material interests from this rapprochement. The American commissioners at Paris are making their bargain, whether they realize it or not, under the protecting naval strength of England, and we shall expect a material quid pro quo for this assistance. We expect the United States to deal generously with Canada on the matter of tariffs, and we expect to be remembered when the United States comes into possession of the Philippines, and, above all, we expect her assistance on the day, which is quickly approaching, when China comes up for settlement, for the young imperialist has entered upon a

path where it will require a strong friend, and a lasting friendship between the two nations is secured, not by frothy sentimentality, but by reciprocal advantages in solid, material interests."

In regard to the Philippines it was first the expressed desire of British capitalists that the Americans should keep the islands, and then it became the expressed desire of all capitalists, merchants, and others having pecuniary interests in those parts, French German and Russian, that Spain should not again have control. These men of money all well knew that their interests were, under the government of the United States, safe from pillage, undue taxation, or other robbery. In common with all the world Englishmen were shocked over the *Maine* matter. They compared it with the *Victoria* disaster of 1893, and talked of Sigsbee's fine behavior as they talked of Tryon's with manifest pride of profession and of race.

As for United States expansion, the matter of fact Englishman's view of the question is from the pedestal of experience. It is a plunge for a young republic, and the expansion itself will expand until its destiny is fulfilled. The continent hardly knows what to make of it, what the United States really intends to do. Spanish statesmen were tired of their distant dependencies long ago, and pride alone sustained the Spanish people under the burden of taxation to support the administration of the colonies. The United States navy must be strengthened until like the British it becomes a menace to mankind. More regular troops will be required such as can be called upon at a moment's notice to quell turbulent populations. Tolerance is a factor in colonial administration. It is doubtful if the islands will pay expenses. It will not be pleasant to have to ship coin there for public improvements, and the natives will not like excessive taxation. This, and much more, say the Englishmen.

England would prefer the colonial expansion of the United States to that of any other country except her own. Imperialism, or even empire and emperor she would not object to in place of the great republic. English statesmen were kind enough to say that it was a gain to civilization, the American possessions of the Philippines and influence in Asiatic affairs. "Since it is equally inadmissible," says the *London Spectator*,

“to grant independence or to transfer the Philippines to any other power, it is best that the United States should assume the heavy responsibility involved, which will serve to bring out the best qualities of the American nation. England does not desire the Philippines, and if she did she would not take them, because she wishes to prove that her sympathy for the United States is quite disinterested.”

As it seemed natural for England to sympathize with the United States, perhaps we ought not to complain of Spanish America for wishing Spain success. And yet, were there such a thing as national gratitude, or even an appreciation which could lay aside race prejudice and distinguish the false from the true, we might call attention to the centuries of wrong and contempt heaped by Spain upon these countries, and ask comparison with the benefits conferred by the republicanism and institutions of the United States, which have lifted the two Americas out of reach of the clutches of a world-greedy Europe, whose navies even yet may some day come prowling around these same Spanish Americas for purposes of dismemberment. It is said that the Chilians had a plot to blow up the *Oregon* and *Marietta* upon their arrival at Santiago, as the *Maine* was blown up at Havana; this seeming to be a favorite method with the Spanish race, treacherously to destroy the vessel of a friendly power which they fear to fight; but the plot was discovered in time and prevented. Although Mexico remained quiet, her sympathies were with Spain, notwithstanding her late hatred of everything Spanish, and notwithstanding the debt she owes the United States for saving her from the tyranny of France and the imperialism of Maximilian of Austria. And Venezuela, so lately saved from the encroachments of Great Britain by the United States at the imminent risk of war, likewise sympathized with Spain, though she will be ready enough to deny the fact should she ever again need the good offices of the Washington government.

We may indulge a patriotism of race in England as we indulge a patriotism of country in America; for, standing together as we now do, the present attitude and understanding are equivalent to an alliance, an unexpressed compact based upon interest and not on written formulas; and having a potentiality equal to all the rest of the world. A high ethical

CHAPTER XII

THE PASSING OF SPAIN

GREAT were Babylon and Carthage and Egypt and Rome, but they have all passed away. Great was Spain; but alas! she is passing. China they say is doomed; so is Spain. Little consolation in that for either Spain or China. So young to die! is Spain; only two thousand years old, while China is four thousand. We are all doomed; inexorable is fate. Where will be the United States four thousand years hence, when the New Pacific is as old as is now the Mediterranean?

Nations must die, and Spain and China are sick unto death. Old age comes on apace, showing disorganization and decay, internal corruption and external infection, the air pestilential from their presence. Young nations take their place, the strong becoming stronger and the weak weaker, until the young become old and their death too is demanded. All the nations round the Pacific are young, all save poor old China, and her the powers propose to rejuvenate by processes of strangulation and limb-tearing, making her quickly to die that the more quickly she may be born again. Our war with Spain was but part of that irrepressible conflict ever in force between advancing youth and departing age.

I do not purpose in this chapter to recite the woes and wickedness of Spain, because, first, a volume would not contain them, and secondly we have all made our little slips in life, which we see no use in constantly raking up; we, even we of these American states, innocent and unsophisticated as we are, have to blush for some few little sins of our own, such as burning witches, hanging quakers, exterminating Indians, and giving Africans the ballot. These, however, are but the small follies of childhood, gone and forgotten, all but the one last named, which I fear will hang as a black cloud over the

destinies of this republic for many a day. "Ah, well!" says Sancho, "We are all as God made us, only a little worse."

Having confessed ourselves we may now confess Spain. What are her sins? Folly, first, and second, and folly last. But are God's fools to be blamed or pitied? Well, then, pity Spain, and pass her on. Fools are not pleasant things to have around, that is when the folly is offensive, which means when it differs from our own folly. Though we hanged a poor quaker or two, we never robbed and burned 100,000 Jews at one time, or drove out to desolation five times as many Moors after promising them protection; but then we are so very young, we may do something great yet before we die.

Spain is passing, and she deserves to pass. It is the best for all, for herself and others. Let all good people stand aside and give her room. Her days of usefulness are over. We thought the Pizarros of the conquest bad enough, but the Weylers of the reconcentrados are worse. She is rushing headlong to destruction down a descent so steep that she never can recover herself. Her Spanish honor has become so black and dastardly a thing that it can sit and smile on such high achievements as the *Maine* infamy, the starving of thousands of innocent country people, and the cruelties at the Philippines, surpassing those of any Inquisition, for the Weyler was there also.

The time of which Campanella wrote when the world looked to Spain as universal lord and dominator has long since passed away, never to return. Old age has come, hastened by ignorance, egotism, and superstition. Spain lost her colonies in attempting to fasten on them her own industrial fanaticism, and the diseases of the mother still infect the blood of the daughter-countries.

What is the cause of Spain's degeneracy, after running her brief and sometime brilliant course of a thousand or two years? In answer I might ask what causes the decay and death of any nation, of all the nations, one after another, each in turn? First it is the law. Secondly, the administration of the law, as displayed in the deeds of the insane Nebuchadnezzars before they are turned out to grass. Thirdly, the luxury and licentiousness of the people. It is all very simple, though wonderful, as simple and wonderful as the shooting up and dying down of a blade of grass, for so

come and go nations as well as individuals. So long as Spain had honest work to do, and did it—for I suppose as the world has been going that the wars of Christians and Mohammedans may be called honest work,—as long as she was fighting her Moors, some 800 years or so, she grew in strength and greatness. Then came Columbus, even to the walls of Granada, and as the last of the Saracens were passing out he handed in his New World. And that made all the difference. This clearing the Peninsula of infidels gave all the soil to christianity, and it took root and flourished, and is there to this day. But the Moors were better men than the Spaniards, though like the Chinese in California they had to go; they were better men as wealth-producers, not as New World robbers; better artisans and architects, better workers and better subjects, or citizens. They were more moral, more intelligent, more liberal-minded, more tolerant in religious matters. These are not mere random remarks; the statement will bear the closest scrutiny of the student. The Moors had in themselves and their religion their own elements of decay, but their disease was not the disease of Spain. Her trouble was the glory and greatness resulting from her long wars, followed by the wealth of the Indies which quickly flowed in, all blown into a brilliant bubble by those very able princes from Holland, father and son, and attended on the part of the people by cessation from work, and that idleness, luxurious living, and overweening indulgence which lead to degeneracy, and which breed bigotry and egotism, moral and political corruption, and an ignoble end.

All this we shall surely come to some day ourselves, unless God changes or the world changes; but when will it be? Shall we die young like Spain, or live to be old and respectable like China, to be finally looted and partitioned by the combined powers of the North Pole?

Look at Spain at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Her merchant marine was the finest in the world, numbering over 1,000 vessels. A new world with a wilderness of new wealth had just dropped into her lap as from the skies. The quays of Cádiz and Seville were groaning under the burden of a new commerce. Her manufactures were ample to supply not only home requirements but the necessities of all her colonists. Cloth and coral work were produced at Barcelona,

in freedom of thought speech and conscience, in thrift and integrity; the latter became drunken on the wine from the vineyard which the Genoese had planted. England's colonial power became all the stronger from her American losses.

British colonies are of three categories: namely, crown colonies, controlled directly by the secretary of state for the colonies, as Ceylon; colonies with representative institutions but without responsible governments, as Barbadoes; and colonies having both representative institutions and responsible government, as Canada.

To be successful, the government of colonies must be on the basis of benefit to the colonists. This is wherein Great Britain has shown wisdom and Spain folly. The latter never cared for the people she governed, but sought only her own selfish interests. England has made mistakes, which were in due time brought to her notice by such episodes as the American declaration of independence in 1776, and the Indian mutiny of 1857; but Spain has never made aught else but mistakes, resulting in her own decadence and the loss of all her colonies.

In marked contrast with the sincerity and truthfulness of the United States government in its diplomatic intercourse, were the Machiavellian policy, and lies, and trickery employed by Spain in her mediæval ways of dust-throwing and circumvention. All this of course acted against the perpetrators of such childish folly. Never appeared a nation's so-called honor in a more ridiculous light. They might blow up ships, and shoot prisoners of war, but they could not surrender until their honor was satisfied by having unnecessarily slaughtered some thousands of their own poor half-starved and unpaid soldiers. They must prevaricate to each other, each knowing the other to be untruthful, while their own people all through the war must be fed with lies to prevent revolution.

Within the last half century, in common with all progressive commonwealths, the people of the United States have lost much of their conceit, the offspring of ignorance, and have become more intelligent and refined than formerly, more humane and just, society more complex and less tolerant of hypocrisy and cant in politics or morals. They hold more in contempt those who profess honesty and philanthropy while

permitting preventable injustice and cruelty. Either our environs must be cleansed so far as possible from the brutalizing influences of vice, or we suffer from the impurities of the moral atmosphere. We could not regard the cruelties of the Spaniards in Cuba with our former indifference and complacency. Time was, with much less than now to go upon, when the American would swagger through Europe scattering his coins among those much richer than himself, and boasting of his independence and intelligence to people in many ways his superior. All this has changed; yet while Europe has proved a good school to America, we have in return taught our fellowmen across the Atlantic some things. Of course we owe to England far more than we have given; we value friendship, and approve of social and sentimental alliances, but no one holds in greater contempt titled Europeans, as such, than the Americans who buy them. It is done primarily to please the ladies; the same money would as cheerfully be paid for a poodle as for a prince, if it would give the darlings the same gratification.

Portugal once held India and large areas in Africa and America; Spain the rest of America and part of Asia. Portugal is giving up the last of her African possessions; and thus these two nations, between which the pope once divided the world, have both returned to their original shell, none the better but much the worse for their former greatness. Too late these Peninsula people may learn the lesson that one nation, be it monarchy or republic, cannot rule another nation to its injury, without bringing into its own constitution the elements of destruction.

The day of reckoning had now come, Spain's judgment day for her centuries of crime in America, and the United States of America was to pass judgment on these crimes. Spain's colonial methods for all time and throughout all the world were now to end. Her egotism as well as her ignorance and bigotry assisted her downfall. When England through the stupidity of her rulers lost part of her American colonies, she saw her mistake and quickly changed her policy. Spain never made a mistake, according to her ideas of it, and hence never changed a policy, but went on blundering until with her own hands she would strangle her colonies or be strangled by them. England was never too wise to learn, and therefore

read or talk. His mind was as empty as his days; and with such military chiefs in office, is it any wonder that not a single preparation for the war was made, not a single evidence of official competence, of forethought, of average intelligence was displayed by Spain at home or in her colonies? And this is by no means an isolated case. I studied for a month in a public library of Spain. The officials always arrived long after I was seated at my table. All the time they remained there they walked about or sat on tables, gossiping and smoking. Nobody wrote, nobody read, nobody knew anything on earth about the books in every one's charge, and at one o'clock they locked up the library and went home, worn out with the day's labor, to refresh themselves with a siesta and a lounge upon the public place. And this is the life of the average Spaniard, rich or poor, unless he plays pelota, bicycles, or rides."

The returns from America were not large at first. Charles V received from the Netherlands four millions of dollars to one million from the Indies. But the yield from the mines increasing, Carlos III was able to boast that after paying 100,000 well-disciplined troops, the cost of 100 ships of the line, and all other expenses of the government, \$100,000,000 remained in the treasury, and all from America. To Spain every native of the colonies was worth what could be made out of him, either by the tricks of trade or by the imposition of taxes. In the division of spoils, next after the king came the conquerors, the ecclesiastics, and the adventurers, the courtiers and hangers on also coming in for a share, while the merchants, producers, and other colonists must look out for themselves, which they did by cheating every body to the best of their ability.

All this time that Spain was teaching her people the lessons of laziness, while manufacturing for the colonies must be done largely abroad, Spain held on to her gold with as firm a grip as possible, forbidding any of it to be sent abroad except by the government, and after the government had taken heavy toll. Then to Cádiz must come all manufactured articles from England France and Holland, after Spain by her lavish indulgence and restrictive policy had crushed home enterprise. Spain parted with her gold with reluctance believing it to be wealth. England soon saw that more wealth

was to be obtained by paying out gold for raw material, the manufacture of which would bring more gold.

The history of Spain is no less instructive than pathetic. It shows that without a certain progressional flexibility no nation can live. The pabulum that stimulated gigantic growth in the fifteenth century, nations of the nineteenth cannot digest. The strength acquired fighting Islamism disappeared in the luxury bred by colonial exactions. Every thing came Spain's way for a time,—riddance of Jews and Mohammedans while the Genoese was begging the sovereigns to accept America, and a Portuguese secured them the Philippine islands for a song.

A Boston sentimentalist catalogues Spain's benefactions, beginning with her discoveries, when he should have begun with the expulsion of the Moors, the Jew-burnings, and the Inquisition. But the discoveries; what did Spaniards ever discover? Nothing. Columbus was a Genoese, and Magellan a Portuguese. But the money? No. Isabella's trinkets paid for finding America, while the most that Magellan received as recompense was, death. True, the writer goes on to say that the victory of Lepanto by Don Juan of Austria saved us all from being Turks. Perhaps it had been better otherwise. He would not say that Turks were better than the Christians of Spain; they could not well have been worse. He speaks of Murillo and Velasquez, painters, but he says nothing of the Saracens who gave Spain art and the finest specimens of architecture which stand on the Peninsula to-day; Cervantes, who wrote a book, but nothing of Torquemada who burned thousands of books. Of all the nations on earth at the present time, there is not one to which civilization owes less than to Spain.

It is a mistake, I say, to speak of Spain's discoveries. Spaniards never discovered any thing,—none of them except Balboa, who was told by an Indian to cross certain hills and he would come to a large pond where was gold; and he went, and waded into the water, and in consequence claimed ownership of the universe. This was the extent of Spanish discovery, and this Spaniard had his head cut off as his reward for making it. The Genoese was told to go west and he would come to the east. The Portuguese was told that he could reach the Indian ocean by that same route. Both tried

it, and both were in a measure successful. Spain reaped the reward because at a trifling cost she had furnished the flag and a few boats. It was cutthroats like Cortés and Pizarro that Spain furnished from her sons, not discoverers.

One single ray of light broke in on Spain in the latter part of the eighteenth century. While George III was forcing his colonies to declare their independence, Carlos III, Spain's best and most liberal-minded monarch, was pacifying his New World subjects by every means in his power. The conde de Aranda, his minister, even proposed for them autonomy; but fears were entertained lest the small white population should be overturned by the natives.

Our condolences are with Spain that her time has come. We do not rejoice over the downfall of this once mighty nation, now in the hour of her humiliation. She made a noble stand for her diseased vitality and her hollow conceptions of duty. Her soldiers went bravely to their death at the bidding of vain and selfish statesmen.

Spain's colonial system long outlasted her greatness. Beginning shortly after the fall of Granada, half a century was spent under the direction of the ablest men in organizations and subjugations, then three and a half centuries of wallowings in wealth, and the tale is told. The colonies were established upon a basis of despotism and fraud, and the colonists were managed by mistrust. Especially in regard to commercial and monetary affairs no one was to be trusted. With every servant of the king sent on a mission went a second servant to watch the first, and sometimes a third to watch the others. The discoverer of new lands must be placed in chains, and the conqueror of new countries must be placed under guard lest one should fail in allegiance to the sovereign. It was from Rome that Spain inherited her system of governing colonies. The primary principle of conquest and colonization was treachery. All the methods and machinery by which Spain acquired and controlled her vast possessions were founded on chicane. The honest man was an ass. In this very island of Cuba, where we have so lately been fighting tyranny, Diego Colon deceives his king; Velazquez revolts from Diego Colon; Cortés proves a traitor to Velazquez; Olid throws off allegiance to Cortés; and Briones is unfaithful to Olid. This is one example out of many that might be cited;

lying, unfaithfulness, and treachery were the rule in Spanish colonial affairs; these characteristics are inbred in the Spaniard's nature, and are recognized as present in all official dealings.

The viceroy, viceregent of the viceregent, has a watch set upon him lest he rob the Lord's anointed. And so from highest to lowest. Of course, this system of espionage and mistrust bred rascality; no one was esteemed honest, no one was expected to be honest, no one was honest. Truthfulness and integrity are qualities never understood or practised in Spain or in Spanish countries. In commerce smuggling was expected, and though the penalty was death, there was no limit to illicit traffic. Among the recognized perquisites, recognized everywhere except among the king's officers, and even by all of these who received a share of the spoils, was a sum paid by the merchant to lessen his payment of duties at the custom house. In politics, bribery was the keynote to all preferment. Therefore to expect men in authority to regard their word or keep faith with colonists, was in the eyes of the Spanish people an absurdity.

It was the exclusiveness of Spain's commercial policy that originated and fostered all this smuggling and business buccaneering. It was difficult to find in Spain or in the Indies a revenue officer whose integrity was not purchasable at popular prices. The contraband trade was in volume equal to one-third of all the colonial traffic. Justice and injustice alike were bought and sold. There was no disgrace attached to cheating the government, or even in being caught at it, provided there had been no bungling, and provided the king's fifth, or other of the more private possessions of royalty had not been touched. All commercial, agricultural, and ecclesiastical affairs were minutely detailed as to their regulations by the sovereigns of Spain, who were the individual owners of all these islands and their people. Except such as the king chose to give them, the people had no rights, and such privileges as were given them from time to time could be withdrawn or altered at any moment. For the regulation of commerce the Casa de Contratacion, or board of trade and court of judicature, was supreme under the Council of the Indies, which latter was subordinate only to the king. A king's officer despatched from Cádiz or Seville all ships for the New

World, each with a king's officer on board. None but Spaniards were permitted to go to the Indies, and no Spaniards might go thither without a special license. The India House decided all disputes arising from shipwrecks, loss of cargo, or frauds connected therewith. One-fifth of all returns went to the king. All gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls coming from the Indies were first deposited in the India House, and later distributed to the owners. The king's share was kept in a safe, or a room, having three keys, each key committed to the care of a trusty servant of the crown, who kept a sharp eye on the other trusty servants.

Innumerable restrictions were placed upon the colonies in their dealings not only with the mother country but with each other. As to intercourse with foreign nations, that was absolutely forbidden. The products of the mines, and all surplus agricultural products must be sent to Spain, and from Spain alone must come to them all supplies, clothing, furniture, utensils, and other manufactured articles of every kind. The colonists could not own or sail a ship; all carrying on the sea must be done by or for the king of Spain. A little local ship-building was indulged in by the conquerors for purposes of discovery and conquest, but all such liberties were soon suppressed. Should a foreign vessel enter a colonial port, death and confiscation of goods was the penalty of those who traded with her.

Peru must not grow the olive or the vine, nor Porto Rico pepper, nor Chili hemp or flax, lest the growers of these products in Spain should suffer loss thereby. Furthermore the king cared nothing for the products of his colonies save gold and silver, or what could be readily turned into gold. Raw material for manufactures England might have, or any country that chose to do the work, so that Spain obtained and kept the gold. Thus the manufactures of Spain languished, dry-rot infected all industries, and when the sovereigns and nobles had squandered all their money in wars and luxurious living, more indeed than they could continue to wring from the colonies, then came yet severer taxes and retrogression. All the ten thousand millions of treasure Spain wrung from her colonies in three centuries tended in the end only to her impoverishment.

Once a year for two hundred years the fleet sailed from

Seville or Cádiz for the colonies, once a year returning. However barren the country elsewhere, these cities became rich, and their merchants princes, the king fattening on all. The colonists as well as the Spanish people were the sufferers. Warships attended the galleons, and sailing-days were great occasions. Mexico was permitted one port, Vera Cruz; the Pacific side of South America one, goods for the latter crossing the isthmus of Darien on pack animals. The Atlantic ports for the South American goods were Cartagena and Portobello. Conduct of officers and men and detail as to sailing and disposition of cargo were all regulated by law. The colonies so far as possible were reduced to money-making machines, and the colonists to pieces of mechanism. Thus by close monopoly and careful restrictions enormous profits were secured on an aggregate tonnage of merchant ships of about 25,000 tons.

On the arrival of the flotilla at each port a fair of forty days was held, when the cargoes were exchanged for the gold, silver, pearls, and other products brought from near and distant parts. After the fair the galleons met at Havana, and thence took their homeward way. Then was the time for the pirates to come forth to the harvest; and also the enemies of Spain, English French and Dutch, for the successors of Charles and Philip were never without enemies.

Spain's colonists were not children but slaves. They must serve the mother country, work for her, obey her. They must have no manufactures, no commerce, no thought polity or purpose but such as were specially permitted by the all-devouring mother.

The average Spaniard does not consider it ignoble to lie, or dishonorable to cheat, or criminal to rob the government. His moral sense is wanting in these particulars. He has been so long ruled by fear, so long under the iron sway of political and religious coercion, that the functions of conscience are employed to aid in escaping detection and punishment. Does Weyler's conscience ever trouble him for the hundred thousand innocent lives he is directly responsible for? Do the perpetrators of the *Maine* outrage now pass sleepless nights in consequence? I hardly think so. We are called upon to remember the *Maine*, though we forget the *Florida*. The *Maine* was blown up by the perfidy of the Spaniards with

well as in Cuba and the Philippines; likewise sugar can be made, and scores of other industries await enterprise there and elsewhere.

The Spanish cortes seemed quite indifferent to the loss of the colonies, persons and parties at home being of more interest to the members. The ignominy of defeat was laid at the door of one and then of another. Quite naturally Spain favored a reduction in the armament of the powers, her own armament having been recently reduced so that it was now in no wise excessive; hence the queen regent's reply to Count Muravieff's circular contained her approval of the project and promise to send a delegate to the proposed disarmament congress.

In the absence of mechanical ingenuity and aptitude Spain was never a formidable sea power. And now with money gone, credit gone, pay of troops in arrears, beggary increasing, taxes high, wages low, and strikes frequent, she is not a power of any kind, unless indeed with her inquisitorial and auto-da-fé relics and her many remaining religious memories she is one of the powers of Satan. There is little difficulty in furnishing examples to prove this. Take the affair of José Rizal in the Philippine insurrection of 1896, participated in by both church and state. For exposing and denouncing the Spanish priests and government, more particularly in reference to the system of sale of enforced labor for the non-payment of taxes, which was attended by beating, torture, and final permanent enslavement,—for this, Rizal, a doctor of medicine, was arrested, maltreated, and shot. His wife rose up as his avenger, and the insurrection of 1896 followed. The uprising was general on nearly all the Philippine islands. The insurgents flocked toward Manila intent on sacking the town. They were without organization and without a leader. The Spanish troops were in the southern part of Luzon at the time. Called quickly back, they succeeded in catching a band of natives, and thrusting them into the small fort dungeon near the river. When the door was opened next morning sixty were dead. An execution on the Luneta of ten or a hundred insurgents was a gala day in Manila, the beauty and chivalry of Spain appearing to enjoy the scene, amid the waving of handkerchiefs and the playing of the band at each volley fired, the first fire seldom proving fatal.

Nothing more horrible ever occurred in savage warfare than the frequent butcheries of insurgent prisoners in the Luneta of Manila. Pinto de Guimares writes of this in the *Paris Review of Reviews*: "The only ambition of the Spanish officials in these islands was to make as large fortunes as possible during their terms of from three to six years' service, and then return to Spain to escape the curses of the natives. The notorious General Weyler was three years governor-general of the Philippines at an annual salary of \$40,000. Weyler, after disbursing large sums for personal expenses and generous subscriptions to various public works and charities, returned to Spain with a fortune estimated by his personal intimates at from \$2,500,000 to \$3,000,000. How he obtained this great fortune in three years is indicated by the fact that on the day of the arrival of his successor, Despañol, at Manila, one of the richest Chinese merchants of the city offered him a present of \$10,000 as a 'tribute of respect and esteem.' Under Spanish law every inhabitant of the colony is obliged to carry a personal card of passport, which costs from \$2.50 to \$25, and must be renewed annually. Those who pay less than \$3.50 are compelled to give their personal labor to the government for fifteen days or pay an additional tax of \$7.50. The daily wages of workers range from five to fifty cents, and out of this pittance this severe tax had to be paid. Every native who keeps and fattens an animal for food is taxed; if he has a horse or some cocoanut trees he is taxed for each. If he wishes to make cocoanut oil he is again taxed for the privilege. There are taxes on weights and measures, on stores and shops; a tax on land, on all kinds of manufactures and on alcoholic spirits. The native tax collectors are responsible for the collection of these extortionate taxes, and forty-four of them were exiled after their houses, lands, and cattle had been confiscated, because they had not been able to make good the arrears of their collection districts. Out of this frightful state of things came the insurrection of 1896. The awful suffocation of 100 native prisoners in the dungeon, now known as the death hole of Manila, took place under the governorship of General Blanco. This dungeon was built in the foundations of the city rampart, on the river Pasig, and had not been used for 100 years. It was half-full of water, the refuge of rats, snakes, and vermin. One hundred natives

party, carlists, republicans, and a riotous populace all working in their way to wreck the interests of their country. The queen regent and her boy posed as martyrs of monarchy. Sagasta was driven hither and thither between his dolorous mistress, an angry cortes, and raging mobs, unable to act up to the full measure of his wisdom and dignity; so that the duke of Tetuan may not have been altogether just when he said, "Sagasta is responsible for all; Canovas never would have accepted war." Spain's hope throughout was to draw other nations into diplomatic entanglements with the United States, and so bring on a general war, or at least hamper the executive in his efforts to bring all issues to a quick termination by a vigorous prosecution of hostilities.

France has long been Spain's banker, and the loss of the tropical isles cuts off her most valuable securities. Wealth follows industry and natural resources, and shuns decay. French capital flows towards Russia, to the vitalization of northern Asia, while English capital prefers the securities of English-speaking men in America, Australia, and Africa.

The dynastic crisis in Spain was dolefully set forth in the *Fortnightly Review* by a Spaniard who dwelt upon the errors of the queen regent and the hopelessness of the situation. Revolution and bankruptcy seemed inevitable, and only in the end would the scandalous system of misgovernment, injustice, and mendacity be fully known. The Cuban debt, with that of the Philippines, and war expenses added, would aggregate £450,000,000, with a national revenue in flourishing times of only £30,000,000. Agriculture was dying out, and the people of the rural districts, as well as those of the cities, were famishing.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FAR EAST

THE history of China begins in fable and ends in foolishness. It has been running so long that there is little wonder its pace is now somewhat slow. Unfortunately the Tartar element intruded itself and mixed up the dynasties, so that the line from the gods is not quite so direct as in Japan, but it is longer, and therefore older, and therefore more respectable. They have almost as many gods as their neighbor, though they did not make them quite so rapidly. War, here, has not been so frequent as in Christian lands, where the gospel of peace preached in the pulpit is fought to a conclusion in the field. We find narrated in the history of China occasional rebellions, but they have arisen from temporal causes, and not from spiritual dogmas.

The history of China is very long; I shall not attempt to tell it here. Suffice it to say that the reign of Whang-ti began 2758 B C, though the first emperor, Fuhhi, had flourished 2,000 years before. So broad and so old was the land, that many gods were made, and many people with whom to feed them, and dynasties followed in quick succession, that is to say, half a thousand years apart, as the great Yu rulership, the Hin dynasty, the Shang, Chau, Tsin, and scores of other dynasties. Not to be outdone, the Japanese historian will recite you off scores of mikados to one dynasty, and as many dynasties as you may choose to have. History is plentiful and cheap on the other side of the Pacific, and though taught in the schools the students become greybeards before they reach the last chapter.

The Chinese race is of celestial origin; it had no beginning, and will have no end, that is to say if the European powers graciously permit continued existence. So the sages hold, pointing at the same time to a little indigenous band, roam-

and Asia, and who thus had gathered much wealth wherewith to purchase whatever they might fancy. Thereupon the brother merchants took all their money, and with it bought rich goods for the Orient, gold-embroidered scarfs, finely wrought metal work, and cut jewels, whatever they thought would prove most pleasing to the barbaric eye. Then they crossed the Euxine, and proceeding eastward encountered strange sights, and met with many wonderful experiences. Many years were thus employed by the Polo brothers, for such was their name, between Italy and the dominions of the grand Khan, with whom they became friendly.

Once while absent on a journey was born to Nicolo, the younger of the two brothers, a son, who was named Marco, and who on reaching the age of seventeen years, accompanied his father on his travels. In time they found themselves far from home, having wandered toward the eastern limits of Asia, and even sailing on the waters that border it. For many years they dwelt at the imperial court at Peking, favored by the emperor, who would not let them go when they begged permission to return once more to their native land.

"What do you desire?" demanded the great Kublai. "Is it further gain, you may command it. If it is aught that I can give, you shall have it. If you want nothing, then rest content where you are."

Barbarian logic, supported by barbarian will and power, is unanswerable. In vain the Venetians longed for home, and feared they never should see it.

But one day came to them deliverance in the guise of an oriental romance, which might have served as a suggestion to the author of *Lalla Rookh*. It happened in this way. Chief ruler of Persia was a Moghul-Tartar prince, grand nephew of the emperor, who having lost his principal wife, a princess of the imperial blood, and unwilling to form an alliance with any inferior family, had sent a deputation to his sovereign, and the head of his house, to ask from him a wife from their own lineage. The request was granted. A young princess of rare beauty and accomplishments was placed in charge of the ambassadors, who with a brilliant retinue set out on their journey to Persia. But such was the unsettled condition of the country that they were unable to proceed far, and were forced to return.

Seeing the embarrassment of his friends and patrons, and thinking also of Italy and home, Marco stepped forward and informed his sovereign that he had just returned from a voyage to the islands of the Indies, and he would pledge his life safely to conduct the imperial party through those same seas to Persia. The offer was accepted; and this is the first of the voyages on the Pacific of which I have an account to present.

Fourteen ships were provided, each having four masts and as many sails, and five of which carried crews of 250 men each. The vessels were provisioned for three years. The fleet, with the ambassadors, the princess, and the Venetians being ready for departure, friendly leave was taken of the emperor, who made them presents of rubies and other jewels of great value, and furnished them also with the golden tablet, which assured them of good treatment, and all necessary supplies in every part of the dominions of the grand khan. Thus in the year 1291 this expedition dropped down the river Pei-ho, from Peking, and launched itself on the waters of the great Pacific.

Out, of the gulf of Pe-che-lee, through the strait and into Hoang-hai, or the Yellow sea, they sailed, down past Formosa, through the Fo-kien strait and into the China sea, fighting off the pirates at Luzon, hiding from the terrible monsoon at Malacca, and escaping all the dangers of the deep, they continued their course for three months until they came to the island of Sumatra, or Java minor, where were eight kingdoms governed by as many kings, and whose trade was in spices and drugs. Passing through the Indian sea, for eighteen months more they continued their voyage, losing by death 600 of the men, and of the three ambassadors only one remained alive. Finally they landed at Persia, and were informed that the king was dead, but his son would welcome the princess, and make her his wife.

So great was the celebrity of the Zipangu isles, that Kublai-khan coveted their conquest, and fitted out a fleet for that purpose, having on board a large body of troops. The expedition was placed in command of two generals, between whom, though they crossed the intervening sea in safety, there arose a quarrel which defeated the king's purpose. One fortified city, however, was carried by assault; and the heads

of all the inhabitants cut off, of all but eight persons, "who by the efficacy of a diabolical charm, consisting of a jewel or amulet introduced into the right arm between the skin and the flesh, were rendered secure from the effects of iron either to kill or wound."

Kublai Khan was of medium stature, well formed, with fair complexion, black eyes, and well-shaped prominent nose. He had four wives and unnumbered concubines. His palaces were many, and in splendor beyond the power of words to describe. The better to supply Kanbalu, the city of the sovereign as the name implies, a great canal was dug, and store-houses built for grain.

The sea of China, Marco assures us, contains 7,440 islands. They are mostly inhabited and contain much gold; many trees grow there, and spices and drugs, particularly lignum-aloes and pepper. To Manji, or southern China, merchants resort from India and Arabia. There are no sheep there, but many oxen and swine, also buffaloes and goats.

In regard to thirteenth century trade between China and India, it is well known that even in later times vessels from southern China were seldom seen in the Indian ocean; nevertheless there is evidence of early intercourse aside from the statements of the great Venetian traveller, concerning whom it is now admitted by the best authorities that he sometimes told the truth. Some such assurance we need when we hear him speak of Zipangu, that is to say Japan, placing the island 1,500 miles from the coast of China, and filling it with people of fair complexion, and gold without limit, though the writer admits he never was there. For that matter neither had been any of those to whom he told his tale, nor had any one else in Europe ever before seen or heard of this quarter of the globe; hence he had no fear of contradiction when he affirmed of Japan, that "the entire roof of the emperor's palace is covered with a plating of gold, in the same manner that we cover houses with lead. The ceilings of the halls are of the same precious metal; many of the apartments have small tables of pure gold considerably thick, and the windows have also golden ornaments. So vast, indeed, are the riches of the palace that it is impossible to convey an idea of them. In this island there are pearls also, in large quantities, of a red or pink colour, round in shape and of great size, equal in value

to or even exceeding that of the white pearls." The causes given of this great concentration of wealth in this island are that few merchants visit there, and that the king will not permit any of the gold, or pearls, or precious stones to be sent away.

Franciscan friars, who had been sent on missions to the great Khan about the middle of the thirteenth century also brought back information of civilized peoples occupying the shores of a vast ocean in the farthest east. The monk Rubruquis, sent as missionary into the khan's dominions, told of the wealth of eastern Asia, their cities of silver walls and golden towers. And yet more wild were the statements of Sir John Mandeville, the narrative of whose adventures found a larger number of still more credulous readers. The stories told by these missionaries, as well as by Polo the Venetian and Mandeville the Englishman, and the specimens of the marvellous wealth of the Orient, filled Europe with amazement and envy, and but for the exclusiveness of intervening governments, protected commerce overland between eastern Asia and western Europe would have become a regulated system prior to 1343, when the Venetians obtained the exclusive privilege from the Egyptian ruler of sending trading vessels to Egyptian and Syrian ports, and succeeded in establishing agencies at Alexandria and Damascus, with factories in central and southern Asia. In due time the traffic became extensive and remunerative, spices being brought from the isles of the Indian ocean, and later from the Moluccas and Spice islands, both by way of Arabia and the river Nile, and also by the African coast and the Pillars of Hercules. Herodotus has much to say of this traffic in the days of Necho, king of Egypt, when the Phœnicians sought the Southern ocean by way of the Red sea, while Pliny speaks of an account by Hanno of a voyage of the Carthaginians from Cádiz to the end of Arabia. In a word, while yet the richly laden caravans were crossing the deserts, and long before the advent of Prince Henry of Portugal, or of Vasco da Gama, the belief obtained that India could be reached by sailing round Africa, just as it was the current opinion that the eastern side of India could be reached by sailing west long before Columbus appeared upon the scene. To the terror of christendom, within the short period of twenty-six years the Moguls advanced from Peking and the great wall of China to Cracow and Liegnitz.

The great wall, from whose summit one obtains a fine view of history, was erected by the Chinese not so much to fence themselves in as to fence themselves out. On the other side of it from their enemies, they had all time and all space for purposes of expansion. Prior to this epoch, since the creation of the world there had been but three dynasties, the dynasties of Hia, 2205-1766 B C; of Shang, 1766-1122 B C; and of Chow 1122-255 B C; then came Chin-shi, who built the wall. Entering from the northwest the valley of the Hoang-ho, these twenty centuries had elapsed before the immigrants placed foot on the south bank of the Yangtse. All this period they had in which to fight and clear the country of its savages, which was their chief occupation during the first dynasty, leaving time nevertheless to keep alive their meagre civilization, the seeds of which, with their invention of letters, they had brought with them into this far away southeast. The second dynasty was their days of feudalism, which indeed extended through the third, attended during the latter epoch by statesmen and philosophers like Confucius and Mencius, who arose to teach purer ethics and a higher culture.

During the twenty centuries following the building of the great wall, expansion continued, the celestials crossing the Yangtse, which flows down to Shanghai, and long afterward the Si-kiang of Canton, leaving imperial Peking far away in the north, and doubling the domain of the first three dynasties. A very great man was the emperor Chin-shi, not only in building so large a wall from the desert to the sea, but in founding a new dynasty, the dynasty of Chin, whence China. And although expansion continued, feudalism was abandoned, and reconstruction and centralization began. And to blot out forever the old order of things, which was written in the books, the books must be blotted out; so Chin ordered all the books to be burned, for which during these 2,000 years his name has been duly execrated; and as the learned men and philosophers whose minds had been so stored with the contents of the books that they were able to teach them and re-write them from memory, these too must be blotted out, and so the emperor Chin had 460 of them killed. Thus were planted by the builder of the great wall, twenty centuries ago, the seeds of exclusiveness which bear fruit to this day.

Following the dynasty of Chin came that of Han, covering

469 years, a period of rest and industrial recuperation, guarded as was the empire by the great wall on the north, and with no fears of inroads from the seaboard side, or from beyond the great rivers of the south. Under these benign influences learning revived, and Buddhism came and found a home. Paper was invented, books multiplied, and Confucianism, which had received a severe blow from the burning of the books, came again to the front. Poetry and the drama rose to prominence during the Tang dynasty, 618-905 A D; and with the Sung dynasty, 960-1278, speculative philosophy appeared, with profound thought and exposition. The Yuen, or Mongol dynasty, of Tartar origin, 1260-1341 marks the coming of Kublai Khan, whom neither the great wall nor the great rivers nor mountains nor deserts could longer keep out, and by whom was completed the grand canal from Hangchau to Peking, 700 miles in length, and of far more utility than was ever the great wall. Next was the Ming dynasty, extending down to 1644, during which the Manchus, a Tartar tribe occupying the country northeast of the great wall, came down upon the empire, and finally made themselves masters of all China. Wisdom as well as courage characterized the Manchus, who accepted with the country its institutions, and ruled with conservatism and moderation. Among the prominent rulers of the modern period was the emperor Kanghi, later the empress dowager Tszhi, who, after the death of her husband, the emperor Heinfung, became queen regent, ruling first for her son and afterward for her nephew. The continued policy of conservatism and centralization by the Manchus, under whose régime the inhabitants increased nine times in number, tended more and more to crystallize the old institutions and arrest progress.

Lying opposite the United States, and of about the same size, climates and conditions are somewhat similar. China is a great plain, from which rise ranges of hills and mountains. There are many rivers and canals, which constitute the highways of the country. The Hoang-ho, or Yellow river, rises in the Sea of Stars, and is subject to destructive overflows; the Yangtse Kiang, the most valuable to commerce, rises in the Min mountains of Tibet, and flows 2,900 miles into the Yellow sea. Important likewise as a commercial and irrigating waterway is the artificial canal Yun-ho, which passes through

a chain of lakes, the channel in places being at one time above the level of the surrounding country. The Han Kiang is another important river, with a narrow mouth and summer high-water line. The largest lake, the Tung-ting, is 266 miles in circumference, while the Tai, near Soo Chow Foo, 150 miles in circumference, is noted for the beauty of its surroundings. Nature here is on a stupendous scale, which tends to overwhelm man and perhaps to some extent dwarf his intellect. On both sides of the lower Yangtse are marsh and lake beds, which catch the overflow during inundation, and at other times are dry. The river is navigable for the largest steamboats for 1,000 miles, while smaller ones may penetrate the western provinces. Eastern China, north of Hongkong, is mostly level, in places low and marshy; south of Hongkong it is more hilly. Western China is mountainous, chains of highlands traversing the country southwest and northeast, having for the most part the trend of the coast. The Yellow sea takes its name from the color given to it by the washings of the plains brought down by the rivers, and which is building out the continent by slow degrees.

The yun-ho is a system of formerly dry river channels, connected by cuttings with lakes and marshes so as to form a continuous chain, which is called the grand canal. It is fed at its highest point by the waters of the Wan-ho, which divide and flow part toward the Hoang-ho and the gulf of Pechili, and part toward the Yangtse. As an artificial waterway this yun-ho, or river of transports, has not its equal in the world, and as a specimen of engineering skill it is a marvel. Its general appearance is that of a large winding river. In its palmy days, when fully fed, it afforded continuous inland water communication from Peking to Canton, and thus by crossing and connecting the great rivers formed a network of navigable waters thousands of miles in length, and uniting half the empire and hundreds of opulent towns and cities. It would be if in America somewhat like uniting the headwaters of the Columbia Colorado and Missouri, cutting across to the Fraser and Yukon, and joining Hudson bay the St Lawrence and Hudson river by way of the great lakes with the Mississippi, thus giving us not only a transoceanic canal but a continuous inland waterway longitudinally from the Arctic ocean to the gulf of Mexico. And these are the people, those

who conceived and executed and sustained a work like this, that the leopards and lions, and wild-cat powers of the world are watching, waiting to pounce upon and devour the moment a decent, or even indecent, excuse offers itself!

Kublai Khan was the author of this canal, and Marco Polo says of it: "You must understand that the emperor has caused a water communication to be made from this city of Kwachau to Cambulac, in the shape of a wide and deep channel dug between stream and stream, lake and lake, forming as it were a great river on which large vessels can ply."

The great central commercial highway from Peking to central Asia and the west leads to Sian-fu, thence northwest through the valleys of Shansi and Kansu to the Gobi desert. Animals for transportation are oxen, mules, ponies, donkeys, and Mongolians, the last named being the burden-beasts of the sedan chair. All travellers describe the roads as the worst in the world. From this we may understand why a Chinaman at home will never ride where he can walk, and in the United States will never walk where he can ride. The two-hump Bactrian camel, used in the Mongolian trade, is seen at Peking.

The native inhabitants of China all come under one of three categories, the aborigines, who were driven south, where on the islands and mainland some of them are still found; the civilized Chinese, who came in from the northwest and subdued or drove out the aborigines; and the Manchus, a tribe of Tartars of Mongolian affinities, who broke through the great wall on the northern boundary and dominated and shared the country with the Chinese. The nineteen provinces comprising China proper and aggregating 1,500,000 square miles, are somewhat less than one-third of the Chinese empire, though containing nine-tenths of the population, and nearly all the wealth. The outlying region is but little known, and much of it, like the Gobi desert, Mongolia, and the highlands of Kokonor, but little valued.

England and Russia both have their eye on Tibet, which when occupied will be entered through India. Of the nineteen provinces, one alone, the metropolitan province of Chihli, in which is situated the capital of the empire, Peking, has a population of 27,000,000. The industries likewise are in some degree divided. Thus one province is conspicuous for its silk industry, another for the production of cotton wheat and

opium, another for coal iron and salt, or gold silver copper and lead, others for pulse millet and maize, barley beans and peas, sugar tea and tobacco, straw hats and fans, fire-crackers and matting, and fifty other things.

We little realize the internal commerce of China, whose tonnage is said to be greater in amount than that of all other nations combined. The Chinese are essentially a trading people, and their myriads of boats are constantly plying the vast network of rivers and canals interlacing their million and more square miles of territory. The chief importations besides opium, metals, and furs, have been cotton and woollen cloths. Mining has been restricted by the primitive methods employed and the absence of machinery; the introduction of mills and cotton from America has a marked effect on that industry. Mercantile companies early monopolized the trade with China, and prior to 1842 Canton was the only port available, since which date Ningpo, Shanghai, and several other ports have been opened to Europeans and Americans. Upon the withdrawal of the East India company in 1834, a struggle for the introduction of India opium into China on the part of Great Britain, and which was strenuously opposed by the Chinese government, was finally successful, England succeeding in forcing the drug upon the empire at the point of the bayonet.

One of the finest provinces of China is Szechuan, in the upper valley of the Yangtse, where the foothills and the plains come together forming innumerable highly cultivated crescent terraces, on which stands the cedar farmhouse in a grove of cypress, with here and there the more pretentious country residence of a mandarin. Now and then on a rocky eminence is seen a temple rich in color, with porcelain front; and on the lower levels manufactories, as flour and paper mills and distilleries, while in the towns skilful hands are busy in many industries, as straw-plaiting and hat-making, silk-weaving, hide-dressing, iron brass and wood work, carving and gilding idols, and others similar. In this province and in Yunnan are suspension bridges of stone and iron, relics of the past, wonderful for their day, and by no means lightly to be regarded when compared with works of the present time. Consider the grand canal, for example, and the great wall, the former 2,100 miles long and connecting 41 cities, and the latter of huge dimensions and 1,250 miles in length.

The fertile valley of the Min is intersected by innumerable irrigating ditches, and is highly cultivated. A view of the Chengtu plain, with its bamboo homes half hidden in the foliage, its stately temples, and busy factories, and decorated bridges with roof in lacquer and gold, is like a chapter out of the Persian tales. Thus we may well imagine that in natural resources China is one of the richest countries in the world, and would be one of the most powerful were the people united. Until recently she has never realized how strong she is, or might be. In her former conflicts with western nations, she has not only lacked unity, but arms and confidence. The war ships of England steaming up the Canton river were to the frightened inhabitants monsters of destruction. In the recent war with her neighbor, Japan concentrated her forces, and with modern war appliances threw herself on China as on some lazy leviathan, or other inert unintelligent mass, which knew not its own or the enemy's capabilities. Famines in China, which may come from drought, vermin, or inundation, are often severe because of provincial isolation, and the difficulty of passage and the transportation of food over mountain passes, and the bad roads of the valleys.

For the origin of Peking the reader is referred to the chronicles of Asia. The city is very old; perhaps 5,000 or 10,000 years, or 20,000 if you like. At all events it fell to the Tsin dynasty 222 B C, and was captured by Genghis Khan in 1215. It is now divided into two parts, the Tartar quarter of twelve square miles, surrounded by a buttressed wall fifty feet high and forty feet thick, and within which are the imperial and official residences; and the Chinese section, containing the industrial population, with their houses, shops, and mercantile warehouses. The circumference of the dual city is twenty miles, and the population two millions. Round the imperial palace a wall encloses an area of a mile square, within which none may enter but the royal family and those connected therewith, or unless occupying some high official position. In the Tartar city is the Lama temple, which contains a statue of Buddha sixty feet in height, of wood and clay overlaid with bronze.

Peking has its printing quarter, where sellers of books and engravers live and labor, Lieu-li-chang being the Paternoster Row of the capital, and where in a narrow side street is

printed the *Peking Gazette*, containing the news and decrees of the government, and the oldest newspaper in the world. But the leading native newspaper of China is the *Shen Pao*, or *Shanghai Gazette*, published since 1870, while Hongkong has the *Tsun-wan Yat-po*, or *Universal Circulating Herald*. A Peking reform club being suppressed by government, the work was continued at Shanghai by means of the *Chinese Progress* magazine.

On the Wusung, near the mouth of the Yangtse, is Shanghai, the chief commercial city of China, with home and foreign sections, and in all a population of a million or more. Here, as probably nowhere else in the world, comparative civilization can be studied, the contrast being not only distinctly marked between the Chinese and other nationalities, but between other nationalities exclusive of the Chinese. The foreign quarter is well-built, Americans and Europeans living in comfort and luxury. All in the line of progression, and in accordance with the suggestion made by the assistant grand secretary, Sun Chia Nai, chancellor of the new national university of Peking, on the 26th of July 1898 the emperor decreed the *Shih Wu Pao*, or *Chinese Daily Progress*, published at Shanghai, to be the official journal, a copy to be presented to the emperor for his perusal, as with the official organs of Tientsin, Shanghai, Hankau, and Canton, the journal to contain an account of current affairs, and to speak the truth, which quality of true speaking if possible to be called forth by royal command in China, is indeed a new departure in journalism.

One of the most important strategic points on the coast of China is the island of Chusan, south of Shanghai, where the shore is lined with important ports and large cities. It is fifty miles in circumference, and its fertile valleys are capable of supporting quite a large population.

Hongkong is a city of palaces, ranged tier on tier up the hillsides, with a mountain on one side and the sea on the other. There are the residences of the merchants, with colonnades and verandas, parks and gardens. The spacious harbor is alive with shipping, foreign steamers of war mingling with the merchant marine of the world. The island on which the city stands is eleven miles long and three miles wide. At the time of its cession to Great Britain in 1841 for \$200,000, it was an almost worthless and altogether unattractive place. Over

this spot, wrested from barbarism by shop-keeping Europe, float the flags of all the nations. England and opium achieved Hongkong, though the nation is now not proud of the means by which it was accomplished; yet the opium infamies, though leading to worse results, were really from an international point of view no worse than was our breaking treaty with China, and the merciless way in which we did it, bringing cruel injustice on many innocent persons. Along the river banks swarm the pig-tails like ants, the small business being done mostly by women with babies strapped to their back. Policemen here are imported sikhs from India, tall dark heavily bearded fellows, who stand always ready to swallow any offending Chinaman. The large business houses become quite wealthy, and money is freely spent, this being in the fullest sense a world's commercial emporium.

Canton, partly enclosed by walls, is six miles in circumference, with a partition wall dividing the city into the old and the new, two tall pagodas being conspicuous. Formerly this was the only seat in China of foreign trade, which was restricted to wealthy merchants of famed integrity, through whose hands all cargoes passed, and who were responsible to the government for customs dues. Canton spreads a million and a half of people for four miles along the bank of Pearl river, with 100,000 living in boats. Lofty towers are interspersed among the other structures for the use of pawnbrokers. Neither horses nor vehicles are known, as there is not a street within the walls more than eight feet wide. Even the Japanese jinrikisha, or the Mexican burro, would be something of an aid in a place where freight and transportation are restricted to the shoulders of men. The house boat is an institution, a family of four occupying a craft twenty feet long and five feet wide, a small part aft alone being covered, while the cooking is done in the bow. The opium smoker here defends the divine drug, asserting that it lengthens, not shortens, life, and is not half so injurious to health and morals as the rum and tobacco of the European barbarian. The opium from India is the finer poison, and is patronized by the wealthy; the poor Chinaman's opium must be that which is raised in China.

The port of Ningpo presents a lively scene when business is good. At anchor are an endless number and variety of vessels presenting a forest of masts and rigging,—junks with

armed schooners ready to escort and protect them from pirates, for a consideration; lorchas flying Portuguese colors; foreign brigs; and above, lying lazily before the town of Changhai, clusters of the painted junks of Ningpo. But most strikingly beautiful of all is the opium clipper, trim as a yacht, with a fast sailing air; black smooth hull and taut black rigging; masts with a rake aft and spars well cleaned and varnished; brass work well polished, yards squared and sails neatly furled, and on the white deck six polished brass guns protruding their muzzles through ports with red sills.

Among Ningpo wares, always for sale in the river and on its banks, are oranges limes and dates, tea sugar yams and flour, silk and cotton goods, carved picture-frames, vases idols trinket-boxes and pagodas in soapstone; woven pictures, paper towelling, and carved bamboo; furs, joss-shells, and a hundred other things.

The Yellow and China seas are maritime cemeteries, with their periodic spasms under pressure of wind and water currents, many a ship and gallant crew having been there engulfed. Here the crews of steamships are mostly Japanese, who make excellent sailors. After a typhoon which perhaps has shivered the hull and torn the sails into shreds, comes a sunset so sweet and smiling as to give a flat denial from nature as to meaning any harm. Practically, so far as foreign commerce is concerned, China is to the world little better than a savage wilderness, and worse indeed in some respects, as there is so much for the inhabitants to unlearn.

The government though despotic is patriarchal, the emperor being the political father of his many millions of people, but with a lofty indifference to their welfare. The late emperor was ninth of the Tartar dynasty, whose first emperor was Sun-ti, of Manchuria. The Tartar dynasty succeeded the Ming dynasty in 1644. To Sin-ti the Chinese owe their cue, a political badge emblematic of fealty to the emperor. The shaved forehead is also an imperial regulation. Without the cue, the man is a rebel or a traitor. The emperor, though all-heavenly and sublime, is but the figure-head of the patriarchy; the empire is really ruled by six imperial boards, and all the higher provincial officials are appointed by them. First in each of the provinces is a governor, and under him head officials, one over each of the districts into which the province

is divided. All of these rulers and sub-rulers have judicial as well as executive powers. The salary of the office-holder is small, and as each holds office subject to the will of the one above him, bribery and corruption rule all.

Patriotism is a superstition in China, just as government is religion, and religion demonism. One might think that strong indeed must be the influence that draws them to their native land, after a lifetime perhaps of money-getting among hated strangers,—so strong that if not alive, then dead they must return. But after all this is not so much love of country as fear of the future, fear lest the soul finds no happiness unless the body rests under the celestial arc of the flowery land.

The isolation policy of China and Japan was not of ancient but of modern origin. There was a time when these nations were pleased by a visit from foreigners, and a knock for admission at their door. It was only when Europeans had found their way round the cape of Good Hope, and came in better ships and with heavier artillery than any possessed by the Asiatics, and the Chinese rulers saw the strangers capturing and appropriating the islands of the great Mogul, and parts of the mainland, that they took fear and closed their ports,—all but Canton, which thereupon became the only gate of ingress and egress in the whole empire. Japan at this time admitted the Dutch only, and the Portuguese were permitted to trade at Marcao and Canton, but as a rule China feared and suspected all foreign nations.

The Taiping rebellion was one of the few long internal wars, lasting as it did from 1850 to 1861, and resulting very nearly in the overthrow of the government. Upon the termination of this war, made to drive the Tartars from the throne and reinstate the Chinese in China, there were in authority men as wise as those who built the great wall; men so wise that they concluded that the surest way to prevent further rebellions was to decapitate all the people in China. They began at Canton, and cut off the heads of 80,000 in that one city alone. Why they stopped just at that point, and have never since continued, history does not tell us. Perhaps it was because Tung Chi fell ill; at all events in 1875 he died and went to meet that 80,000, and many a million more whom his wars and beheadings had sent hence before their time.

If the Chinese government lacks centralization, and the

people are wanting in patriotism, their gods are in China, their lares and penates in the form of a mortgaged wife with an unsold son are there, and thither wanderers must return, alive or dead. Every where the fellow goes he makes and saves money to take home with him; neither does he travel without his many bags and boxes, in which may be found his kitchen and drawing-room, utensils and raiment, with food and smoking supplies. His steamer fare from Singapore to Hongkong is \$20, John finding his own provisions. John at sea is a study. When the sea is calm, John is calm, and plays cards or dominoes for copper cash; when the sea is rough, John's face is clouded, and he scatters bits of paper to the demons of the deep. When John dies on ship board, the body is not given to the fishes, but is embalmed by the ship's doctor, and carried to China, for so it is written in the bond.

With a population of four hundred millions, China's army of a million men could easily be increased to five or ten millions, which with their frugal habits could be easily sustained permanently. But a large army is worse than useless without competent leaders. With a concentration of resources, which could be accomplished by a man of genius, China could become one of the world's leading powers.

If China will arouse herself from her ages of lethargy, as Japan has done, she may yet save herself from the inexorable clutches of a superior civilization; otherwise she is doomed. Were the Chinese worse than they are, less able, skilful, and industrious, there might be more hope for them. The little they know and can do engenders such insufferable egotism that they will not listen to proposals to change. Throughout the long centuries during which they have neither advanced nor retrograded, they have come to regard their nationality not only older than and superior to any other, but more enduring, so that change appears akin to suicide.

The one great moral obliquity of the Chinese people is their lack of respect, which enters into all their ideas and idiosyncrasies, into their ethics and actions. They have no respect for their gods or for themselves, for the attributes of the one or the composition of the other. Their religion is fear; and the subjects of fear, that is themselves, they hold in contempt. While attached to their country, as a cat to its garret, they have little patriotism, and scarcely know what love is, love

of country or love of family in the higher and holier sense. Their word in business or diplomacy is of little value; fear is the dominating element of all intercourse, and this once removed leaves a political or social vacuum. They have no such word as patriotism in their vocabulary. Their nearest approach to the sentiment is when they boast of their own country and vilify every other. Officers of the government commend loyalty, that being part of their occupation; in practice they are quite ready to sell their sovereign or any of his affairs. The Chinese are essentially gregarious; they prefer town to country, and gather themselves into communities, even in the wilderness, partly for safety and partly for sociability. Caste is pronounced; the farmer ranks higher than the merchant or mechanic.

Life to the Chinaman is an unlucky affair; religion, though always present is but a negative factor; to escape evil, to frighten away or propitiate his many demons, is his chief concern, rather than the hunting of happiness. The Chinese are not the first or only people to regard their old age with veneration, or change with contempt. Is it any more absurd for these Asiatics to look down from their forty centuries of history on other nations who cannot boast of more than ten centuries, than for old families every where to regard themselves as better than others by virtue of age alone, howsoever it may be attended by inactivity or stupidity?

None are so arrogant as the ignorant. China is proud of her chains. Progress is little more than movement in a circle. Education means some knowledge of jurisprudence, the classics, and the history of China. To know Confucius is to know all; what he said is all-sufficient, what he did not say is not worth saying.

Among prominent mandarins of the present epoch may be mentioned Prince Kung, younger brother of the emperor Hien-fung, and chief minister of the empire; Li Hung Chang, statesman, superintendent of trade, and sometime viceroy of Chihli and guardian of the throne, and who though already rich disdains not with the accumulations of honors the acquisition of further wealth; the Chinese diplomat, Tseng; and the Manchu statesman Wensiang, once virtually premier of the empire, though nominally there is no such office.

Li Hung Chang, the Bismarck of China, was of plebeian

origin, and rose from clerk in the civil service. As he forced his way upward through fierce opposition, he dragged China after him, compelling her to measures which might place her among progressive nations. Born in 1822, his erudition and ability secured him a small office at the age of twenty-five, and fourteen years later he had reached the position of taotai, or prefect, of the district of Kiangsu, then in revolt. It was in quelling this rebellion that he first attained prominence, and within a year afterward was appointed acting general of the forces about Shanghai and Sung Kiang. He soon displayed a masterful knowledge of European affairs, and advanced so far in wisdom as to acknowledge the backwardness of China and the inferiority of her arms. He enlisted the services of English and French military men, and drilled his army in the tactics of modern warfare, by which means he was enabled to put down the Taiping rebellion, and for which service he was made general of all the Chinese forces, governor of Kiangsu, imperial commissioner for foreign trade, and supreme adviser to the throne. In 1870 he was viceroy, and later became absolute dictator of the Chinese empire. Never before had a Chinese subject risen to such power. Many times his life or liberty was in danger from treachery and conspiracy, but for the most part he managed to escape the snares of his enemies.

A late incident aptly illustrates the character of this greatest of Chinamen. Li Hung Chang in the spring of 1899 was sent by the empress, as imperial high commissioner of river conservancy, to the relief of the inhabitants of the flooded districts of Yellow river. Arrived at Shangtung, Li was welcomed and royally entertained by the governor, Chang Jumei, who indulged in every extravagance, and launched into the profuse expenditure of \$1,000 a day on his illustrious guest. The empress was shocked, on hearing of it, that in the face of such destitution the man whom she had sent to relieve the suffering creatures should waste time and money in such senseless folly.

There is need of improvement in China, as elsewhere round the Pacific, and China is slowly improving. Great statesmen, like the marquis Tseng and Li Hung Chang, are coming forward, men who know the world and what is going on in it, and who know that their country, with all her boundless resources, and shrewd, hard-working people, cannot long remain

hidden or live so apart from their fellow-men in other parts of the world. The fleet of the China Merchant company was organized under the auspices of Li Hung Chang by Tang King Sing, who received his business training in the house of Jardine and Matheson.

All Japanese cities are much alike, and the shops everywhere have for sale about the same goods, namely, tea, coffee, rice, vegetables, and fruit. Specialty stores have fancy goods and jewelry. At Yokohama the business quarter is called the harbor, and the residence quarter the bluff. Passengers arriving by steamer land in boats, and may if they choose go to a good American hotel, where the chambermaids are little male Japs, as in Mexico they are *mozos*. There is a bright business aspect to shops, streets, and inhabitants, the merchandise being clean and well kept, and the men active and intelligent. There is quite a business in the manufacture of the antique, which is closely imitated. The native tradesmen are tricky, and less reliable than the Chinese. It is said if you wish to sell a horse in Japan you must begin by trying to buy a cow.

All along the Asiatic coast from Japan to Java, the chief cities, whether ancient and erected by the natives, or modern and so arranged by the Americans and Europeans for whom ports were opened, are divided into two parts, one of which is occupied by the government and aristocracy, and the other by merchants, manufacturers, and the common people. We see it in Yokohama, which was newly constructed on an island set apart to foreign trade in the treaty in 1854 with the United States; at Manila, built by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century; at Peking, built by the Chinese as many thousand years ago as you like, and at every other considerable city in eastern Asia. In some of the more important cities of China there is set apart the Manchu quarter for garrison purposes for the ruling race, which tend to keep in mind, if nothing more, that the throne will be held if necessary as it was won two and a half centuries ago.

The progress of the Japanese people is genuine and permanent. Though rapid, it has been well-considered and is conservative. Glad at first to learn from others, they soon fell back upon their own resources. There are some things left, however, for Japan yet to learn, and with closer commercial relations once established between the opposite shores of Amer-

between China and Japan has of course been continuous from remote ages, increasing from century to century until in 1684, according to Thunberg, 200 Chinese vessels, with fifty men each, came every year to the coasts of Japan, bringing silks, sugar, turpentine, incense, camphor, ginseng, and agates, which were exchanged for copper and lacquer work. The Portuguese brought silks from Macao, which were sold for silver and gold.

Upon the authority of A. de Morga, we find the Spanish-Asiatic commerce of the sixteenth century to consist largely of the trade of Manila with Macao and Japan. Ships were carried by the northerly winds from Nagasaki to the Philippine isles in March, bringing flour salt meat and tunny-fish, fresh pears, iron tools and weapons, such as fine swords; also cages, patterned silks, jewel-cases, screens, artistically lacquered articles in rare woods, some silver, and sometimes horses. The return cargo consisted of Chinese raw silks, hartshorn shavings, Spanish wine, honey, wax, brazil-wood for dyeing, Tibetan cats, large tea jars, clothing, and glass. These vessels sailed from Manila for Nagasaki to catch the southern monsoon winds in June or July. Something of a damper was thrown on this profitable intercourse in 1595 by Taiko-sama, the lord of all Japan, who in the arrogance of ignorance demanded from the governor of Manila recognition of his superiority, with tribute.

Nevertheless commercial relations continued unbroken between the Philippines and Japan until 1630. Japanese enterprise meanwhile extending in other directions, along the coasts of Korea and China, as well as to more distant isles and farther India. Japanese seamen took service in foreign ships, made distant voyages and learned more of the art of navigation, and finally fitted out their own junks for foreign trade, or for preying as pirates on the trade of others.

In a memoir by E. Satow on the trade of the Asiatic isles in the seventeenth century, mention is made of Japanese colonies in Ayutthia, then the capital of Siam, and at Patani the commercial metropolis, where the men-hardest of Asia found a market, and European goods were found for sale.

Since the opening of Japan to the commerce of the world, which followed the Perry expedition, and particularly the downfall of the shogunate and the restoration of the mikado

in 1868, free ports were established and treaties made with the leading powers of America and Europe. Kanagawa, now Yokohama, Nagasaki, and Hakodate were made free ports in 1859, Niigata in 1860, and Kobe and Osaka in 1863. In each of these cities ground was assigned on which foreigners might build and transact business by paying a regulation tax, and a tariff of five per cent on imported and exported goods.

Yokohama, then a fishing village, is now a large and beautiful city, with a port having good anchorage, and of convenient distance alike from the capital, and from the principal tea and silk districts. While for over 1,000 years Kioto as the capital was the centre of national affairs, Osaka was the commercial emporium, where were the chief banking-houses and the largest dealers in silk, tea, and rice. The foreign settlement of Kobe is like Yokohama, a new city, with a large harbor, and a good trade in rice and tea, also in sumach-tallow copper and camphor, importing petroleum and sugar, cotton and woollen goods, and gold and silver bars for coinage at the mint.

Nagasaki has regular steamer service with Korea and the coast of China, shipping hence, besides coal from the adjacent mines of Takashima, camphor, tea, rice, sumach-tallow, and dried marine animals, quantities of tobacco going from here to Yokohama and Kobe. Hakodate, on the island of Yezo, exports deer skins and antlers, sulphur wood algæ and marine animals, importing a few foreign articles. Niigata does a small business in rice, tea, and fish guano.

At all these free ports, as well as at the free ports of China and the principal cities of the Asiatic isles, are business firms from all the nations of the earth, American British and German, Portuguese French Dutch and Scandinavian, Swiss Spanish Italian and Austrian. In Japan and the Philippines are hundreds of Chinese business firms and manufacturing shops.

In the temples of Tokio the priests drive a good trade writing pretty prayers on slips of papers which the purchaser presses to his forehead and breast, then fastens them to the temple wall, there to stand as a perpetual petition. We can see how this holy correspondence might assume large proportions when we consider that there are 30,000 deities who honor one of these temples with their idols. In keeping with this

are the streetsfull of mountebanks, acrobats, and conjurers which characterize this town.

The barbarism from which during the last half century Japan has emerged was no less dense than her enlightenment has been brilliant and intelligent. Never has a nation made such giant strides in self-education and civilization. Not so very long ago the coast people of eastern Asia killed all strangers thrown upon their shore, all shipwrecked mariners, or those who visited them in distress; for in Japan the penalty was death to hold intercourse with foreigners. The mikado was spiritual emperor, with his court at Kioto, while the temporal authority was held by the tycoon at Yeddo, and the affairs of the realm administered by daimios, each with his own armed retainers. Revolution came; the mikado assumed the supremacy in all things pertaining to the welfare of his people, and to-day there are in this outpost of Asia, railways and telegraphs, schools newspapers mint and dry-dock. All this was due primarily to the influence and agency of the United States, the visit of Perry and the treaty which followed being the inauguration of the new régime.

Japan is not always successful in her imitation of the financial methods of more experienced centres. Many failures have occurred among the joint stock companies, owing to gigantic frauds in which the Asiatics equal Americans and Europeans as adepts. The Hiogo Soko Kaisha, or Tokio Warehouse company, according to the officers of the Japanese liner *Riojun Maru*, issued fraudulent storage receipts to the amount of 500,000 yen. Says *The Jiji*, a leading Japanese journal: "For some years past various joint stock companies have come into existence throughout all parts of Japan. Indeed, so much has this been the case with those undertakings requiring a considerable capital, that they are now almost invariably carried on by the joint stock company system. The coming into fashion of such a system is a matter for congratulation, but there can be no doubt that the majority of the directors and auditors of these companies are far from being qualified to carry on the duties appertaining to their posts. The result is that corruption is eating out the very vitals of the companies they are supposed to control, and it is not surprising to hear that constant and unexpected losses are incurred by the shareholders."

Siberia, or Asiatic Russia, with 7,200,000 square miles, 1,200,000 square miles of which are habitable, and occupied by 12,000,000 people, can easily support and make well-to-do or wealthy twenty times that number. Quantities of tea are drunk here, the favorite being caravan tea, brought overland from China via Peking and Kyachta, but often displaced by vile black tea brought from London over the Polish border. This tea is paid for in silver, woollen cloths, and Yakutsk and Kamchatka furs.

The Kamchatkans are a hardy race, eating besides their fat and fish, berries, mushrooms, and the bulb of the martagon lily, and sleeping in earth-covered pits, descent into which is made by means of a ladder. Their sledges are the pride of arcticdom, highly trained dogs being preferred to reindeer. The Kamchatka river, 310 miles long and emptying into Bering sea, flows through the most fertile and populous part of the peninsula. Japan has many lakes and rivers, Tonegawa, the largest stream, however, being but 170 miles long. On this and a few other streams, traversing large tracts of rice-land, ply small steamers and flat bottomed boats.

The Japanese, formerly a quiet, *dolce far niente* people, with few exciting or open air sports, have lately taken up athletics, seemingly so good to Englishmen and Americans, to whose virtues they ever aspire. Tokio now plays Yokohama, and Sendai plays Tokio, just as Harvard and Yale or as Cambridge and Oxford play, while Japan further aspires to challenge America to matches of baseball and rowing. All of which has a marked influence on the national character; we can hardly yet imagine the pigtailed of progressive China flying about universities of learning in sports copied from the English and Americans.

Japan is fast becoming a manufacturing instead of an agricultural country, and in this as in many things she displays wisdom. The genius of her people no less than the quality of her soil; the increase of population and the restricted limits of her territory; all point to commerce and manufactures as the road to honor and wealth. It is to be feared that while the people of the United States lie dreaming of their greatness that Japan will take the foremost position in manufactures as well as in transportation in the Pacific. Unless, however, the Japanese put more honesty into their manufactures than

they do of integrity into their commerce, their competition in any line will not long be formidable. While yielding supremacy in those mechanical manufactures which require peculiar patience and expertness of the fingers, and in which they show marked proficiency, as in the manipulations of tea, silks, and articles of Asiatic art, there is little danger that any of the transpacific nations will ever be able to compete successfully with the United States and England in the more substantial and staple commodities.

The commercial morality of the Japanese is inferior even to that of the Chinese, as I have said. Successful enterprise has made them self-confident, leading them to place too high an estimate on themselves and their abilities, and giving them the impression that they can successfully compete with any nation at any thing. But the Chinese are still their superiors in many ways, to say nothing of nations of the more advanced civilization. It is difficult to hold a Japanese to his contract with the market against him. He is eminently fertile in excuses to break engagements, and he does not hesitate to break his word without any excuse. "You said you would do so and so" the victim to a promise argues. "Ah, yes! I say so; I tell lie" the grinning heir of heaven replies.

Japan's best customer is China, whence, as well as from India, she draws much of her raw material. But if the time ever comes when the Chinese wake from their lethargy and avail themselves of their opportunities, they will surpass the Japanese in almost everything. Already the Chinese are invading Japan to some extent with their arts and industries, even Chinese coal having a tendency in that direction.

Internal commerce is considerable, when the primitive means of transportation is considered, which is by men and beasts of burden, no vehicles being in use. Among the chief articles of traffic are silk and cotton stuffs, which they manufacture, and porcelain tea and rhubarb, which they import from China, and some manufactured goods from Russia.

Khordadbeh, an Arab geographer, wrote of Korea in the ninth century. The people are of the pronounced Mongolian type, with bronze skin and true obliquity of eye, though with good physique and intelligent features. They are quick witted, cunning and suspicious, and like all oriental people, together with some of the Latin race, are great liars.

Under the universal spread of intelligence and the general advancement of learning China is turning her attention earnestly to the cause of education, rubbing up her old civilization and embellishing it with modern thought, but with a care that in ethics and religion the orthodox Chinese shall be preserved. So in Korea, where Russian and Japanese unite to promulgate loftier ideals, we find that the cause of education is indeed not neglected. Let us read a few lines from one of their text books, say the *Confucianist Scholar's Handbook of the Latitudes and Longitudes*, which must mean geography; at all events it was printed at Seoul, in 1896, at government expense, under the auspices of the learned and veracious Sin Ki Sun, minister of education, for teaching the youth of eastern Asia the truth concerning this world and the people thereof.

"How grand and glorious is the empire of China, the middle kingdom! She is the largest and richest in the world. The grandest men in the world have all come from the middle empire.

"Europe is too far away from the centre of civilization, which is the middle kingdom; hence Russians, Turks, English, French, Germans, and Belgians look more like little beasts than men, and their language sounds like the chirping of fowls.

"According to the views of recent generations, what westerners call the Christian religion is vulgar, shallow, and erroneous, and is an instance of barbarian customs, which are not worthy of serious discussion.

"They worship the heavenly spirits, but do not sacrifice to parents; they insult heaven in every way, and overturn the social relations. This is truly a type of barbarian vileness, and is not worthy of treatment in our review of foreign customs, especially as at this time the religion is somewhat on the wane.

"Europeans have planted their spawn in every country of the globe except China. All of them honor this religion; but we are surprised to find that the Chinese scholars and people have not escaped contamination by it.

"Of late the so-called christianity has been trying to contaminate the world with its barbarous teachings. It deceives the masses by its stories of heaven and hell; it interferes with the rights of ancestral worship, and interdicts the custom of bowing before the gods of heaven and earth. These are

the ravings of a disordered intellect, and are not worth discussing."

Japan is the natural and hereditary enemy of China, their lands being adjacent and their interests often conflicting, while America and England are her natural allies, as there are no ancient wrongs, or present jealousies, or fear of future encroachments that are likely to arise. Naturally, these two great Asiatic nations have been always jealous and often at war. The conquest of Japan was seriously considered by the wall-builder, Chin, and Kublai Khan despatched for the subjugation of the islanders an armada with 100,000 men, of whom none ever returned. After this the Japanese ravaged the mainland coast so fiercely that China drew back and closed her doors, shutting out with the Japanese all the rest of the world. Japan was just as exclusive until the coming of Commodore Perry on behalf of the United States, when she was brought to consider a more enlightened and genial policy, and better for China had she profited by her example, and saved the empire perhaps from dissolution. Instead of that, China's hatred increases as Japan progresses. Japan regards China as insensate and blind; China despises Japan as recreant to their common traditions.

In war, China is the whale and Japan the harpooner. First in this latter-day epoch Liuchiu, one of China's dependencies, was made to divide her allegiance. Then a move was made on Formosa, the cause alleged being the killing of Liuchiuan fishermen on her eastern coast; the real object of course was spoliation. After that, in 1878, came difficulties in Korea, the destruction of the Japanese consulate at Seoul resulting and being followed by a diplomatic victory for Japan which gave her a political foothold on the peninsula. In the rebellion of 1894 the Korean king appealed to China for aid; Japan also sent soldiers to Seoul, and finally brought on the war with China which yielded the victor no small profit. It is easily seen how completely the Russians are masters of the situation, neither China nor Japan being able to make a move toward hostilities in any direction without their sanction. If Japan conducts herself to Russia's satisfaction, she may be allowed in time to acquire Borneo, first purchasing the interests of the North Borneo company. Terms might perhaps be made also with Rajah Brooke and the sultan of Brunei. Other isl-

ands Japan may be allowed to gain, but nothing on the mainland, as may be seen by her enforced evacuation of Liaotung.

As in all recent conflicts between civilized nations, the war between China and Japan was short, lasting eight months from July 25, 1894, the latter soon proving her superiority on both land and sea. It was in the superior energy and ability on the part of the Japanese which enabled them to win in this war against greater numbers. In the naval battle off the Yalu river the Chinese fleet was badly defeated; four of their warships were sunk, and though the Japanese lost none of their vessels, one of them was disabled and three badly damaged, while in all of them was considerable loss of life.

One of the greatest of Japan's statesmen was Count Inouye, who in a measure created the new Japan, and ruled Korea and her king during the transition days following the war. In the treaty of peace signed at Shimonoseki in May, 1895, besides securing independence to Korea, Japan received a large indemnity and the island of Formosa, thus becoming a formidable power in the Far East. It was the desire of Count Inouye and the emperor of Japan, while giving Korea independence from China to strengthen the royal house of Korea, and reorganize Korean affairs on a more honest and economical basis.

By the treaty between Russia and Japan made at Seoul in 1896, the king of Korea must ever have moderate men as ministers, and show clemency to his subjects. Japanese guards may be placed to protect the telegraph line between Fusan and Seoul, fifty men at Fusan, fifty men at Kaheung, and ten men each at ten intermediate posts between Fusan and Seoul. For the protection of Japanese interests at Seoul and the open ports against possible Korean attacks, companies of troops of 200 men each, might be stationed one at Seoul, one at Fusan, and one at Wonsan, and the Russians might have an equal number of troops at the Russian legation and consulates. The Korean government must retrench expenditures, and so far as possible make revenues cover expenses. In case of a loan becoming necessary, the consent of both Japan and Russia must be obtained.

One thing there was which came about in the evolution of Korean progress which touched the hearts of the people more sorely than the loss of allegiance to China and the intermeddling of a detested neighbor, or the assassination of their queen,

or the imposition of independence; this was the royal edict of December 30th, 1895, enforcing the cropping of the hair. The top-knot of the Korean was as the queue of the Chinaman; it signified respectability, and more; it was a badge of loyalty to one's self and to the nation; it was a mark at once of integrity, patriotism, and religion. As the Korean is more sensitive than the Chinaman, so the loss of the hair, which had been for a thousand years sacred to him from its antiquity and associations, was indeed a calamity. But off it must come, for Count Inouye had so willed, and the king had so ordered. With all the rest the Korean top-knot was an emblem of manhood; it was not given to the boy, as in the case of the Chinaman's queue, but was assumed usually with marriage, when the child became legally and socially a man, was clothed for the first time in the raiment of the man, and took a new name by which he was ever afterward known; it came at this turning-point of life, and showed to all the world that he was now indeed a Korean, pride of antiquity uniting with pride of person, of family, of country, to invest this sacred emblem with high distinction. Therefore there was mourning in Korea, and wailing in the household, as the sacrificial shears were placed at the roots of this worshipful tuft of hair.

The removal of this emblem of barbarism was warmly advocated by the more intelligent Koreans, particularly by those who had travelled in America and Europe; these supported the Japanese in having it abolished, and the king was forced, not only to sign the decree, but to begin its enforcement by having his own hair cut. "The present cropping of the hair," so runs the decree, "being a measure both advantageous to the preservation of health and convenient for the transaction of business, our sacred lord the king, having in view both administrative reform and national aggrandizement, has taken the lead in his own person. All the subjects of Great Korea should respectfully conform to his majesty's purpose."

Now if the Chinese would but bow their stiff necks to the prejudices of civilization, and cut off their queues, perhaps the powers of Europe would forego in their case the pleasures of partition.

The enforcement of the hair-cropping edict was not unattended by riot. What rendered it the more obnoxious to the people was the fact that priests cut the hair short; and be-

sides being disgraced, were they all to be turned into odious priests? Throughout the country the people were profoundly moved. First of all the issue was forced on the officials, who if they cut their hair were mobbed by the populace, and if they disobeyed the edict were discharged from office. The disciples of the top-knot desired no monk magistrates to rule over them. Country merchants would transact no business in the city until the offending tuft was removed, and with cut hair they dare not return to their homes. So matters continued, until the 11th of February, 1896, when the king, who had been kept in his palace in state confinement by Japanese influence, escaped to the Russian embassy, and there to the delight of his millions of loyal subjects cultivated his tuft again. A new edict was issued restoring the top-knot, in which the king thus reasoned. "As to the cutting of the top-knots, what can we say? Is it such an urgent matter? The traitors, by using force and coercion, brought about the affair. That this measure was taken against our will is no doubt known to all. Nor is it our wish that the conservative subjects throughout the country, moved to righteous indignation, should rise up as they have, circulating false rumors, causing death and injury to one another, until the regular troops had to be sent to suppress the disturbances by force. The traitors indulged their poisonous natures in everything. Fingers and hair would fail to count their crimes. The soldiers are our children. So are the insurgents. Cut any of the ten fingers, and one would cause as much pain as another. Fighting long continued would pour out blood and heap up corpses, hindering communication and traffic. Alas! if this continues the people will all die. The mere contemplation of such consequence provokes our tears and chills our heart. We desire that as soon as orders arrive the soldiers should return to Seoul, and the insurgents to their respective places and occupations. As to the cutting of top-knots, no one shall be forced in this respect, nor as to dress and hats. Do as you please."

On the same day, while the people were eagerly devouring the printed repeal of the hair-cropping edict, the members of the king's cabinet who had favored the obnoxious law, all of them that could be caught, were publicly beheaded, the dead body of the premier being insulted and mutilated in the streets.

The king of Korea is friendly to foreigners, and is not averse

to progress, though it was with reluctance that he took the oath renouncing the suzerainty of China and political reform on receiving from Japan the gift of independence. This compulsory oath was taken by the king at the sacred altar of Pukhan, in the depth of a dark pine forest, surrounded by the royal family and nobles and high dignitaries of the court, on the 8th of January, 1895.

Prior to the late reorganized government of Korea, the system which prevailed was similar to that of the Ming dynasty of China. The sovereign was absolute, though assisted by a cabinet. The eight provinces of the peninsula were each under a governor and his magistrates, who controlled the local governments, and the land tax, which was paid in kind. The government was fast falling into decay, the land was scourged by officialism and corruption. Then came Japan with her chastisements, her infliction of independence from China, and her reforms, which perhaps saved this portion of the Asiatic coast from European greed.

In Korea, Chinese ascendancy came naturally from nearness of territory and the intercourse of centuries; the Japanese are now exercising a mild superintendence, while ascendant over all is Russia. Japan's excuse for making war on Korea, and through her on China, was the misrule and corruption of a country so near as to exercise a demoralizing influence upon her own people. Her real object is seen in the results: Korea has undoubtedly been benefited and is now independent, for which thanks are due to Japan, and Japan secured Formosa, a liberal indemnity, and much prestige. Japan felt that she had moral and commercial rights in Korea, and that it was her province to abate a nuisance at her door. She had colonies at Fusan, and for centuries her fishermen had secured rich returns from that direction. Japan always had resented the interference of China in Korean affairs.

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not advanced enough to permit of such a course? And this too when Romulus and Remus were sucking the wolf while the inhabitants of the Far East were studying the stars of heaven? Is isolation a crime? If not why is China punished for it? If so, how much of isolation may the anti-imperialists of the United States be permitted to indulge in before England has the international right to come thundering at our portal, demanding the door to be opened? Is exclusiveness a crime? If not, why is China punished for it? If so, why are not Australia and America punished for excluding the Chinese? Old men and old women and old nations are a nuisance and deserve obliteration; how old or weak or useless must a man or woman or nation become in order to justify extermination? Could some of these questions, round which the diplomats keep up their war dance, be settled for the benefit of the simple, how much clearer to the mind would be the studies of international ethics and economics!

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But long before this, in 1514, the Portuguese had found themselves in a Chinese port, and three years later Andrada had made a trading voyage to Canton. And while at one time Formosa was under their sway, only Macao became a permanent dependency of the Portuguese in the Far East. Macao, once the seat of commerce in this region has fallen into decadence. Of the port and town the Portuguese obtained control in the latter part of the sixteenth century; merchants became wealthy as the town rose to be one of the chief commercial marts of the East, and well-filled storehouses and sumptuous dwellings followed. The Spaniards were on the coast of China soon after the Portuguese, trading there from the Philippines since 1543. Afterward, when Spain and Portugal were under one crown, they had two forts in Formosa.

Queen Elizabeth of England made unsuccessful advances to the emperor in 1596 to open trade with China, and another futile attempt was made in 1637, when Captain Weddell was sent with an English fleet to Canton. Holland found her way to the Far East, after securing independence in Europe, through war with Spain, attacking her Asiatic possessions and capturing Malacca. But repulsed at Macao in 1622, the Dutch gained a foothold in the Pescadores and in Formosa. Then in 1624 the Dutch appeared farther up the coast, and two years before the Spaniards came. The Spaniards were driven away by the Dutch in 1642, and the Dutch were driven away by the Chinese pirate, Koxinga, who proclaimed himself king. In 1683 Koxinga's successor was expelled by the emperor of China, who first made the island a dependency of Fukien province, and in 1887 erected it into a province of the empire. At the end of the war which broke out in 1894, the island was ceded to Japan, and the flag of the rising sun floated over Formosa.

The Dutchman De Vrees discovered the Kuriles in 1634, the Russians knowing nothing of these islands until 1711, when Kamchatka was visited by Japanese traders. After that the fur tax was collected there, and in 1795 the Russian American company established a factory at Urup.

The world, when first it became known to Europe in its entirety, was partitioned among the powers, the pope finally dividing the unclaimed remnant between Spain and Portugal. After some three centuries the American colonies for the most part achieved their independence. After a period of rest England turned her attention to modern territorial expansion, securing vast additions to her domain in Africa and in Asia. Russia, already possessor of a large part of the world, likewise began to add territory, so that most of the available lands of the temperate zones were in time secured by these two powers. Then France and Germany, perceiving somewhat late that they must have somewhere more lands or become second or third rate powers, set out in search of territory, and the struggle between them all has been fierce for a foothold in every part of the earth.

The policy which Count Goluchowski would have Europe enforce in Asia is the policy of foreign influence for the advancement of home interests, the policy of selfishness, of mo-

nopoly, repression, and closed ports. Great Britain has ever contended for free commercial interchange for all the world, with local self-government, and the taxes of colonists to be imposed by themselves and for their own benefit.

Obviously the inhabitants of equatorial regions are not such as rise to culture and self-government, and are destined therefore to be ruled by some power stronger than themselves. In pursuance of the law based upon the tendencies of the race to the gratification of its ever-increasing necessities, the bountiful food-producing areas under the equator are fast falling into northern hands. Now that so much of this so greatly to be desired domain has been unexpectedly added to our republic, what folly it would be to relinquish it either to those too weak to hold it, or to those whose passion and policy it is to grasp and hold too much.

Western civilization has the ascendancy the world over, and were the nations united they might easily parcel out and possess the remainder of the earth among them. But robbery must have a reason; there must be present always some moral, political, or commercial necessity to serve as an excuse for the commission of national crimes; otherwise the remaining portions of weak and unappropriated Asia would soon be taken. Eternal justice has found its way thus far, but seems unable to abolish international crime altogether. Apart from Africa, the world's tropical lands are finding rapid partition. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, five millions of square miles of tropical lands were secured by continental Europe, while to the United States fell also some square miles. In the conquest and partition of the world, it is not difficult to understand the principle on which the plan is worked in cases where the occupants of valuable lands are naked savages. It is the right of the strong to despoil the weak; and so the aboriginal Americans are killed off almost to a man, Australia is burned over, and Africa is divided. But why China next? The celestial empire has returned to earth and is now rapidly enrobing in the new civilization, which Europe says she must wear or die. Awhile ago it was European religion that defenceless savages must adopt; now it is European culture, the sincerity of the French, the integrity of the Italian, and the honor of the Spaniard must be imitated in order to be saved. Certain beasts of the forest, when one of their number becomes old

and disabled, rush upon it and tread it to death. Let the powers look at their neighbor of the Peninsula, and then, if they will, have at him. If chronic revolution and unrest, without half the progress that China is making, are sufficient excuse, there are Central and South America, whose lands are rich and whose people are weak and ignorant. While the European powers to some extent deem it essential to their position in the world to secure, each for itself, as much as possible of such portions of the earth as have not yet been seized by civilization, there have been many leading statesmen, particularly in England, who regard territorial extension undesirable, and who would refuse fresh accession of domain even when offered free—among others Lord Palmerston, Mr Disraeli, and Mr Gladstone. The possession and protection of undesirable countries are a source of weakness to a nation; and this has led to refusals on the part of England and the United States of annexations on any terms. Yet it is found necessary at times to annex or assume protection over distant lands which may be necessary to our interests, or lest they fall into unfriendly hands.

The influence of Anglo-saxon rule over Asiatics is aptly illustrated at Hongkong, where the government is British and the people part white and part yellow. The Chinamen here not only become good citizens but successful merchants and manufacturers, sometimes rising from the coolie state to high positions. The coolies are not only common laborers, but sometimes pedlars or petty artisans, until by virtue of thrift and ability they lift themselves up, Englishmen helping rather than deterring them. The Chinaman is a natural speculator, and makes daring ventures, whether in commerce or on the gambling table. When he sets himself up in the attitude of respectability, with the Englishman present for patron and example, he can be as honest shrewd and energetic as any one. Much of the wealth in the colony of Hongkong is in the hands of the Chinese. When the gold fever first raged in California, in 1849; when the Panamá railroad was being constructed in 1852; and again in 1865 when the Central and Union Pacific were hurrying forward their overland railway, thousands of coolies, and many of a better class, poured from every quarter into Hongkong to find passage, and employment as contract laborers or otherwise. The contracting for and transportation

of coolies became a profitable business, and materially assisted the Hongkong colony to gain a foothold on the Asiatic coast at the most critical period of its history. The coolie traffic which before this was mainly with Singapore, Peru, and the West Indies, was thus diverted to the United States, and Central and South America, and later to British Columbia and Australia, the Malay peninsula and the Pacific islands. There are few places on earth, be they wet or dry, hot or cold, healthful or reeking with malaria where the Chinaman will not go when invited by what seems to him his interests. And he makes the best of colonists, being patient, adaptive, and industrious. He lives on little and seldom complains. He makes himself equally at home in Siberia or Burmah, in Alaska or in the Hawaiian or Philippine islands. If fairly treated by contractors and employers, these migrations might become beneficial to all concerned. The British treatment of the Chinese is a matter of policy, and dealings with them have been no less successful at the Straits and Rangoon than in China.

Nothing shows more clearly Anglo-saxon influence in Japan than party government. Thinking that German institutions would better fit the Japanese mind, the constitution of Japan was largely modeled on that of Russia, while codes of procedure, army organization, and educational administration are essentially German. But the Russian system as embodied in the constitution of Japan was found to be not altogether practicable, and so was modified from time to time, and made to fit emergencies, the new workings leaning decidedly to the English system. Fifty Japanese speak English where one speaks Russian, and the English language and American law are prominent in the open ports.

The political weakness of China is due primarily to physical causes, which indeed may all be referred to one cause, the absence of facilities for easy and rapid intercommunication, all the more necessary where the empire is so vast and the emperor so exclusive. True, they have waterways, but civilization and commerce never have reached the stage where long distances can be traversed in regular traffic by either men or merchandise. The various near and distant provinces, separated by great rivers, mountains, and marshes, with dialects many of them so different that they cannot be understood one district by another; the ignorance, superstition, and des-

otic rule which attends their poor development; the imposition of burdensome taxes, the poverty of the people, and the absence of inspiriting songs, books, and speeches promoting patriotism, all have a tendency toward provincial autonomy on the part of the ruling class, and for the people at large a selfish disregard of others, near or far, lack of any conception of public duties, hatred toward rulers, and utter indifference as to the country at large, whether it be at war or peace, tributary or independent, prosperous or otherwise, whether the emperor is well or ill, wise or foolish, the empire united or broken, or whether or not there be any emperor or empire.

China's safety, if she has any, lies in the avariciousness and greed of her spoilers, who jealously watch lest one of them should get the better of the others. Were the crowned heads of Europe and their ministers all to read the Chinese classics, and practise the teachings of heathen diplomacy, there would come a reign of righteousness such as has never yet appeared in christendom. To quote the words of one Chinese diplomat only, Viceroy Tseng of Nanking, who said, "What is beneficial to us and not injurious to you, I demand; what is beneficial to you and not injurious to us, I concede."

Restricted in their limits at home by lines which those who have the balancing of power will not allow to be broken, the nations of Europe feel that they must have territory abroad at any cost. As Curzon says of English commerce: "How vital is its maintenance, not merely for the sake of our empire but for the sustenance of our people, no arguments are needed to prove. It is only in the East, and especially in the Far East, that we may still hope to keep and to create open markets for British manufactures. Every port, every town, and every village that passes into French or Russian hands is an outlet lost to Manchester, Bradford, or Bombay."

Two agencies are offered the powers of the world with which to break the barriers of Chinese exclusiveness, namely, war and diplomacy, both of which are employed, the former frequently with the more decisive results. The great obstacle to diplomatic intercourse in the first instance was the conception the Chinese had of themselves and others, that there was but one celestial and civilized people on earth, and to this all nations must bow. Until Europeans thundered at the door in the name of friendship, China had no friend or equal among

nations, but only dependencies and tribute-payers, whose sovereigns must enter the sacred presence, if at all, in such attitudes of grovelling subjection as no European plenipotentiary would by any means assume, even before offsprings of heaven. They are just now learning the lesson that there exist elsewhere their equals, and perhaps in some things even their superiors.

Western civilization signified in China warships, christianity, opium, railways, telegraphs; they wanted none of these, and did their best to stamp them out as soon as they appeared. In opposing opium, they encountered disastrous war. The first telegraph line, established about 1858 by an English merchant to operate between Shanghai and Wusung, was destroyed by a mob with the secret approbation of the authorities, who feared with the true instinct of weakness the presence of foreign influence. The first railway, begun at Shanghai, was purchased by the authorities and destroyed. No progress could be made toward the enlightenment of the Chinese save by war; and to protect themselves from the attacks of foreigners, they were forced to adopt foreign devices, as a telegraph in Formosa to give information of the movements of the Japanese, the purchase of warships, and the construction of a railway from Tientsin toward the northeast, to frustrate if possible Russia's Siberian scheme.

The day of China's deliverance from herself is long in coming, but let us hope will come at last. Let us recall how interest in the west was first awakened by the travellers Polo and Mandeville, and what Europe was then, and what Asia was. When Vasco da Gama rounded the cape of Good Hope and Yernak crossed the Ural, two paths were opened to eastern Asia, which were soon filled with lovers of lust and power, and pilgrims to the shrine of mammon. First were the Russians, themselves a tribe of Tartars, and conquered by a son of Genghis Khan. They were then feeble, and far away, and China was not afraid of them. Their agents and emissaries found entrance to Peking, and in due time they obtained the cession of the region watered by the lower Amur, with a thousand miles of seacoast, including part of Manchuria. When China saw to what a colossus her pigmy had grown, saw military and naval fortresses erected near her border and within easy access of her capital, she was indeed troubled. Yet Russia

to progress, though it was with reluctance that he took the oath renouncing the suzerainty of China and political reform on receiving from Japan the gift of independence. This compulsory oath was taken by the king at the sacred altar of Pukhan, in the depth of a dark pine forest, surrounded by the royal family and nobles and high dignitaries of the court, on the 8th of January, 1895.

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CHAPTER XIV

EUROPE IN ASIA

Now that the tsar has brought to the attention of the powers of the world the palpable absurdity of each maintaining a large number of its people as trained fighters, at the cost of the producing classes, for the purpose now and then of gladiatorial display, would it not be well for some one to call a convention to pass upon a few simple points which would make easier the duties of teachers? It would greatly simplify the course of education if a few questions were answered by those who determine the fate of nations, as, Is it settled that one people may seize and possess themselves of the property of another people if strong enough to do so? If not strong enough alone, may nations rightfully unite to despoil another nation? If so may they rightfully unite to despoil any nation? Call it settled as good politics that trained men-slayers may be turned into the forest to kill the inhabitants, or huddle them in corners to die, on the ground that these wild lands are required for purposes of civilization, and that civilization has a right to them; does this right of superior strength and culture apply as well to the half savage, or to the quarter savage; and if so how civilized must be the civilization, and how savage the savagism before the Author of all peoples, and all power, and all justice and humanity may be invoked to witness the righteousness of the robber's cause? Is Germany sufficiently civilized to capture and partition Central America on this hypothesis? May the powers unite and demand the division among them of Russia, where there is more waste land than in Africa? Spain wants a piece of China; suppose China were to demand the partition of Spain, or Italy, among the powers of Asia,—that is to say the emperors of China and Japan, and Aguinaldo, emperor of the Philippines,—could the plea be justly set up that Spain and Italy were too advanced and the powers of Asia

not advanced enough to permit of such a course? And this too when Romulus and Remus were sucking the wolf while the inhabitants of the Far East were studying the stars of heaven? Is isolation a crime? If not why is China punished for it? If so, how much of isolation may the anti-imperialists of the United States be permitted to indulge in before England has the international right to come thundering at our portal, demanding the door to be opened? Is exclusiveness a crime? If not, why is China punished for it? If so, why are not Australia and America punished for excluding the Chinese? Old men and old women and old nations are a nuisance and deserve obliteration; how old or weak or useless must a man or woman or nation become in order to justify extermination? Could some of these questions, round which the diplomats keep up their war dance, be settled for the benefit of the simple, how much clearer to the mind would be the studies of international ethics and economics!

Coming up from the south coastwise in 1590, Portuguese navigators sighted on their right high mountains covered with green foliage, and down whose sides fell silvery cascades on which danced the bright moonlight, while feathery bamboo fanned the terraced foothills below. "*Ilha formosa!*" they cried, "*Beautiful isle!*" And the Malayan or aboriginal name of Pekando was dropped, among foreigners at least, the island becoming known to commerce as Formosa. The Portuguese settled there, and for a time were unmolested by any of their friends from Europe.

But long before this, in 1514, the Portuguese had found themselves in a Chinese port, and three years later Andrada had made a trading voyage to Canton. And while at one time Formosa was under their sway, only Macao became a permanent dependency of the Portuguese in the Far East. Macao, once the seat of commerce in this region has fallen into decadence. Of the port and town the Portuguese obtained control in the latter part of the sixteenth century; merchants became wealthy as the town rose to be one of the chief commercial marts of the East, and well-filled storehouses and sumptuous dwellings followed. The Spaniards were on the coast of China soon after the Portuguese, trading there from the Philippines since 1543. Afterward, when Spain and Portugal were under one crown, they had two forts in Formosa.

nopoly, repression, and closed ports. Great Britain has ever contended for free commercial interchange for all the world, with local self-government, and the taxes of colonists to be imposed by themselves and for their own benefit.

Obviously the inhabitants of equatorial regions are not such as rise to culture and self-government, and are destined therefore to be ruled by some power stronger than themselves. In pursuance of the law based upon the tendencies of the race to the gratification of its ever-increasing necessities, the bountiful food-producing areas under the equator are fast falling into northern hands. Now that so much of this so greatly to be desired domain has been unexpectedly added to our republic, what folly it would be to relinquish it either to those too weak to hold it, or to those whose passion and policy it is to grasp and hold too much.

Western civilization has the ascendancy the world over, and were the nations united they might easily parcel out and possess the remainder of the earth among them. But robbery must have a reason; there must be present always some moral, political, or commercial necessity to serve as an excuse for the commission of national crimes; otherwise the remaining portions of weak and unappropriated Asia would soon be taken. Eternal justice has found its way thus far, but seems unable to abolish international crime altogether. Apart from Africa, the world's tropical lands are finding rapid partition. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, five millions of square miles of tropical lands were secured by continental Europe, while to the United States fell also some square miles. In the conquest and partition of the world, it is not difficult to understand the principle on which the plan is worked in cases where the occupants of valuable lands are naked savages. It is the right of the strong to despoil the weak; and so the aboriginal Americans are killed off almost to a man, Australia is burned over, and Africa is divided. But why China next? The celestial empire has returned to earth and is now rapidly enrobing in the new civilization, which Europe says she must wear or die. Awhile ago it was European religion that defenceless savages must adopt; now it is European culture, the sincerity of the French, the integrity of the Italian, and the honor of the Spaniard must be imitated in order to be saved. Certain beasts of the forest, when one of their number becomes old

and disabled, rush upon it and tread it to death. Let the powers look at their neighbor of the Peninsula, and then, if they will, have at him. If chronic revolution and unrest, without half the progress that China is making, are sufficient excuse, there are Central and South America, whose lands are rich and whose people are weak and ignorant. While the European powers to some extent deem it essential to their position in the world to secure, each for itself, as much as possible of such portions of the earth as have not yet been seized by civilization, there have been many leading statesmen, particularly in England, who regard territorial extension undesirable, and who would refuse fresh accession of domain even when offered free—among others Lord Palmerston, Mr Disraeli, and Mr Gladstone. The possession and protection of undesirable countries are a source of weakness to a nation; and this has led to refusals on the part of England and the United States of annexations on any terms. Yet it is found necessary at times to annex or assume protection over distant lands which may be necessary to our interests, or lest they fall into unfriendly hands.

The influence of Anglo-saxon rule over Asiatics is aptly illustrated at Hongkong, where the government is British and the people part white and part yellow. The Chinamen here not only become good citizens but successful merchants and manufacturers, sometimes rising from the coolie state to high positions. The coolies are not only common laborers, but sometimes pedlars or petty artisans, until by virtue of thrift and ability they lift themselves up, Englishmen helping rather than deterring them. The Chinaman is a natural speculator, and makes daring ventures, whether in commerce or on the gambling table. When he sets himself up in the attitude of respectability, with the Englishman present for patron and example, he can be as honest shrewd and energetic as any one. Much of the wealth in the colony of Hongkong is in the hands of the Chinese. When the gold fever first raged in California, in 1849; when the Panamá railroad was being constructed in 1852; and again in 1865 when the Central and Union Pacific were hurrying forward their overland railway, thousands of coolies, and many of a better class, poured from every quarter into Hongkong to find passage, and employment as contract laborers or otherwise. The contracting for and transportation

of coolies became a profitable business, and materially assisted the Hongkong colony to gain a foothold on the Asiatic coast at the most critical period of its history. The coolie traffic which before this was mainly with Singapore, Peru, and the West Indies, was thus diverted to the United States, and Central and South America, and later to British Columbia and Australia, the Malay peninsula and the Pacific islands. There are few places on earth, be they wet or dry, hot or cold, healthful or reeking with malaria where the Chinaman will not go when invited by what seems to him his interests. And he makes the best of colonists, being patient, adaptive, and industrious. He lives on little and seldom complains. He makes himself equally at home in Siberia or Burmah, in Alaska or in the Hawaiian or Philippine islands. If fairly treated by contractors and employers, these migrations might become beneficial to all concerned. The British treatment of the Chinese is a matter of policy, and dealings with them have been no less successful at the Straits and Rangoon than in China.

Nothing shows more clearly Anglo-saxon influence in Japan than party government. Thinking that German institutions would better fit the Japanese mind, the constitution of Japan was largely modeled on that of Russia, while codes of procedure, army organization, and educational administration are essentially German. But the Russian system as embodied in the constitution of Japan was found to be not altogether practicable, and so was modified from time to time, and made to fit emergencies, the new workings leaning decidedly to the English system. Fifty Japanese speak English where one speaks Russian, and the English language and American law are prominent in the open ports.

The political weakness of China is due primarily to physical causes, which indeed may all be referred to one cause, the absence of facilities for easy and rapid intercommunication, all the more necessary where the empire is so vast and the emperor so exclusive. True, they have waterways, but civilization and commerce never have reached the stage where long distances can be traversed in regular traffic by either men or merchandise. The various near and distant provinces, separated by great rivers, mountains, and marshes, with dialects many of them so different that they cannot be understood one district by another; the ignorance, superstition, and des-

potic rule which attends their poor development; the imposition of burdensome taxes, the poverty of the people, and the absence of inspiring songs, books, and speeches promoting patriotism, all have a tendency toward provincial autonomy on the part of the ruling class, and for the people at large a selfish disregard of others, near or far, lack of any conception of public duties, hatred toward rulers, and utter indifference as to the country at large, whether it be at war or peace, tributary or independent, prosperous or otherwise, whether the emperor is well or ill, wise or foolish, the empire united or broken, or whether or not there be any emperor or empire.

China's safety, if she has any, lies in the avariciousness and greed of her spoilers, who jealously watch lest one of them should get the better of the others. Were the crowned heads of Europe and their ministers all to read the Chinese classics, and practise the teachings of heathen diplomacy, there would come a reign of righteousness such as has never yet appeared in christendom. To quote the words of one Chinese diplomat only, Viceroy Tseng of Nanking, who said, "What is beneficial to us and not injurious to you, I demand; what is beneficial to you and not injurious to us, I concede."

Restricted in their limits at home by lines which those who have the balancing of power will not allow to be broken, the nations of Europe feel that they must have territory abroad at any cost. As Curzon says of English commerce: "How vital is its maintenance, not merely for the sake of our empire but for the sustenance of our people, no arguments are needed to prove. It is only in the East, and especially in the Far East, that we may still hope to keep and to create open markets for British manufactures. Every port, every town, and every village that passes into French or Russian hands is an outlet lost to Manchester, Bradford, or Bombay."

Two agencies are offered the powers of the world with which to break the barriers of Chinese exclusiveness, namely, war and diplomacy, both of which are employed, the former frequently with the more decisive results. The great obstacle to diplomatic intercourse in the first instance was the conception the Chinese had of themselves and others, that there was but one celestial and civilized people on earth, and to this all nations must bow. Until Europeans thundered at the door in the name of friendship, China had no friend or equal among

nations, but only dependencies and tribute-payers, whose sovereigns must enter the sacred presence, if at all, in such attitudes of grovelling subjection as no European plenipotentiary would by any means assume, even before offsprings of heaven. They are just now learning the lesson that there exist elsewhere their equals, and perhaps in some things even their superiors.

Western civilization signified in China warships, christianity, opium, railways, telegraphs; they wanted none of these, and did their best to stamp them out as soon as they appeared. In opposing opium, they encountered disastrous war. The first telegraph line, established about 1858 by an English merchant to operate between Shanghai and Wusung, was destroyed by a mob with the secret approbation of the authorities, who feared with the true instinct of weakness the presence of foreign influence. The first railway, begun at Shanghai, was purchased by the authorities and destroyed. No progress could be made toward the enlightenment of the Chinese save by war; and to protect themselves from the attacks of foreigners, they were forced to adopt foreign devices, as a telegraph in Formosa to give information of the movements of the Japanese, the purchase of warships, and the construction of a railway from Tientsin toward the northeast, to frustrate if possible Russia's Siberian scheme.

The day of China's deliverance from herself is long in coming, but let us hope will come at last. Let us recall how interest in the west was first awakened by the travellers Polo and Mandeville, and what Europe was then, and what Asia was. When Vasco da Gama rounded the cape of Good Hope and Yernak crossed the Ural, two paths were opened to eastern Asia, which were soon filled with lovers of lust and power, and pilgrims to the shrine of mammon. First were the Russians, themselves a tribe of Tartars, and conquered by a son of Genghis Khan. They were then feeble, and far away, and China was not afraid of them. Their agents and emissaries found entrance to Peking, and in due time they obtained the cession of the region watered by the lower Amur, with a thousand miles of seacoast, including part of Manchuria. When China saw to what a colossus her pigmy had grown, saw military and naval fortresses erected near her border and within easy access of her capital, she was indeed troubled. Yet Russia

and China have managed to live of late without much fighting. Overstepping their boundary during the reign of Kanghi, the Chinese captured the garrison at Albazin, but the Russians took no lasting offense. War was threatened in 1880 over the recovery of Ili, which territory Russia had occupied during a Mohammedan revolt, but China's superior diplomacy, and the pacific influence of General Gordon, averted bloodshed. No small anxiety has come from the building so near the Chinese border of the transsiberian railway, not so much on account of its agency in war, as a means of peopling the contiguous country in times of peace. Though Russia is quiet and friendly, she is watchful, and doubts not in the least the ultimate ownership of northern China, with imperial Peking as its capital.

Give her time enough and China will drop into line among the progressive nations of the earth. But the time required is not a little. Having been so long half-civilized, as it is called, while nations who imagine themselves now wholly civilized were yet man-eating savages, and with an egotism far more rank and insufferable than any possessed by her superiors, the time enough required by China to emerge from her present idiocy, and begin to see things as they are, will it is to be feared be indeed long. As elsewhere remarked, the empire fills the north temperate zone, on the same lines that mark the latitudes of the United States and Europe. No wonder the powers bend on this piece of earth the evil eye, for there is no more like it remaining which is available for looting; that is to say inhabited by weak and vain peoples feeble with age or fresh with savagism. And however the Chinese may love isolation, and hate the contaminating presence of foreigners; however opposed they may be to imperialism and expansion, it was not always so, in regard to themselves at least. There are here the territory, the people, and the wealth to become a great nation. And although Europe has no more right to seize and partition China than China has to seize and partition Europe, yet it is the destiny of the weak to fall before the strong; therefore China would do well straightway to strengthen herself, not by the multiplication of men and gods, but by centralizing the strength and resources of the nations under more concentrated authority. China just now wants a man for chief ruler, not a god.

Among the many reforms which western civilization is inflicting on the eastern is that of enforced cleanliness, political, moral, and municipal. The bribery of magistrates, the peculations of officials, the immorality and criminality of all those who live by grinding the poor, all these and like evils are severely rebuked by foreigners, and under their influence are gradually diminishing. The filth of a thousand years is being removed from the streets of cities, and the political slums are also becoming somewhat renovated, that is to say where American or European influence obtains.

We do not find in the governments of Europe now the same disposition as formerly to snatch from each other territory once clearly possessed, though the feud between France and Germany over the Rhine provinces might seem to point that way. There must be some show of weakness, of incapacity, or cruelty as a pretext for intervention on the part of the stronger power. The tendency is somewhat so now abroad, and let us hope it will become more so, and also that the Asiatics themselves will become a little more decent, according to European standards. Meanwhile there is little wonder that in the immediate juxtaposition of western civilization and the oriental type there should be wry faces made and prejudices to overcome. Each thinks his own way the best, at all events is perfectly satisfied with the existing state of things, and desires no change.

What is the inherent force which has so long held the Chinese nation together, when all the other nations of the earth have been falling in pieces? Is it a force for good or for evil? The temper of the people is pacific, and the government has never been aggressive; are these qualities which tend to national longevity; and is national longevity desirable or otherwise; and if desirable why is the system which produces such results so much more reprehensible than a system which tends to disruption and decay? While all the other nations of the earth have been coming and going, rising and declining, fighting and annihilating each other, China has been quietly attending to her own affairs, in her own way, most of the time in advance of other nations, much of the time in advance of the nations which are now so far in advance of her.

Prior to the consolidation in 240 B C, the empire had been but a union of principalities, when diplomacy was a fine art as in Italy in the days of Machiavelli. But when all became

one, and that one without an equal, there was little room for diplomatic discussion, and the empire lapsed into a silence, which western Europe with their better guns alone could break. In 1866 Pinchun, a Manchu prefect, was induced to visit foreign parts as a diplomatic scout. The following year Anson Burlingame, formerly United States minister to China, was given an imperial commission to the treaty powers, and with two native officials visited the United States and Europe on behalf of China, with a view to gain time for further reflection rather than hasten into distasteful diplomatic relations. After this Chunghau was sent as envoy to France, and later, in 1878, on a mission to Russia; Kuo Sungtao was sent as minister to England and Germany, Chenlanpin and Yung Wing to the United States, and Hojuchang and Changluseng to Japan. Thus legations were established in the west, and for the first time in her history nations were visited and plenipotentiaries received on terms of equality. This was pronounced by a Chinese statesman, the "greatest political revolution that has taken place since the abolition of the feudal system, in the days of the builder of the great wall."

Perhaps the defunct civilization of the Far East can never be vitalized within, if so let improvement come from without. Superstitions and sovereign power must be in some degree restricted while the light of a more intelligent culture is made to penetrate the dark places. But spheres of influence, and all that, are too shadowy a title to exclusive rights in large areas of barbaric lands. This bold, bald trickery is but the fresh hold taken of his victim by the strangler preparatory to the final catastrophe. In Africa, boundary lines of possession and spheres of influence are by mutual arrangement of the powers marked out and allowed, though the same euphemism is employed to cover the crime. Still longer in Asia this process of cutting up and allotting has been going on, in Turkey and Afghanistan, in Persia Siam and China, until scarcely a nation there is independent of Europe, whose governments strike their talons deep into the flesh of any weaker people whose possessions are worth the taking.

The contentions of the great European powers are for the most part childish in the extreme, therefore selfish and silly as appearing in any person or power pretending to greatness. Thus when in 1898 a petition from his people to construct

a railway from Tientsin to Shanghai was granted to the emperor, the German minister protested, and the permission was withdrawn. Commenting on which the *China Gazette* says: "We stated in our issue of the 24th of February that a taotai named Yung had memorialized the throne for permission to construct a railway through Chihli and Kiangsu, to which several governors, viceroys, and other high Chinese officials for various reasons objected. It was first proposed that the railway should run from Tientsin to Chinkiang, touching Shantung at one or two points along its route. The native press now reports that the German minister in Peking also protested against the enterprise, alleging that the German rights to railway construction in Shantung were involved. Taotai Yung proposed that he should obtain the aid of American capitalists and engineers to carry out the undertaking, and the German minister says that Germany has obtained the sole right to invest capital and supply engineers for railway construction in every part of the province of Shantung, on which grounds he strenuously opposed the scheme proposed by Taotai Yung. The latter, therefore, altered his scheme so far as to provide that the proposed railway should not clash with the interests of the line which the Germans say they are going to build from Kyao-chau to Ichow, with which alteration the German minister professed himself satisfied."

The empire is making some progress, and will make more. Burlingame in his time spoke of the extended business and reformed revenue system; the change in the naval and military organizations; and the establishing at Peking of a university where modern science and modern languages were taught. A railway line was opened from Shanghai to Wusung in 1876, and was so largely patronized by the natives as to excite official jealousy, and was closed in consequence the following year. A railway was ordered built, in 1886, from Tientsin to Tungcho, to be continued to Peking, but was countermanded because a fire broke out in the palace, and the Temple of Heaven was struck by lightning. According to an imperial decree issued at Peking in March 1899, the Chinese government decided to hasten forward the construction of railways, building trunk lines first and branch roads afterward, the first being the Lu Huan and Hankau-Canton railway, the Tientsin-Chinkiang line next, and then the Shan

Haikuan, the Nieuchwang, beyond the Mounden, and others. A company capitalized at \$40,000,000, under the leadership of Calvin S. Brice, obtained a concession to build the railway from Hankau to Canton, and to the sea opposite Hongkong, traversing one of the richest districts in the Chinese empire. The political significance of this enterprise is apparent when we consider that it originated at Hankau, near the so-called Russian sphere of influence, passes through a section where English influence predominates, and reaches Canton on the northern boundary of French interests, as previously mentioned. The material for the construction of this road was to be drawn largely from the American coast.

The construction of the railway from Peking to Hankau, half of the distance from Peking to Canton, was given to the management of Belgium, that nation being neutral as a military power, though industrially active. As the Belgian syndicate obtained a large part of the necessary funds from France, the jealousy of England and Russia was aroused, as thereby the French would gain undue influence in this quarter. The Chinese had long wanted a railway from Peking to Canton, though certain Europeans who seek to rob them of their country, their religion, their civilization, say that they are not progressive, as if that were a crime. The Chinese preferred the Belgians to build this road, because the celestials supposed that the Belgians were not in a position to take over the whole country for their trouble, on some murdered missionary or other pretext. The distance is 780 miles, the road to be completed in 1903.

The first railway in Asiatic Russia was in the lieutenantancy of Caucasasia, and completed in 1872. There is now in operation part of the great overland Siberian railway, which with the seventy steamers and hundreds of other craft on the Amur, supersede the old-time camel caravans. It required 50,000 dromedaries for the tea service alone across the plains of Mongolia, and the railway to Vladivostok places China and Japan within twenty-one days of western Europe. The tsar is greatly interested in his Siberian railway, and in order to accomplish more work of this kind he would like to lay aside war for a time. The road is solidly built, with steel bridges, track well ballasted, fine offices, and stations, of stone and brick, extensive workshops, all neat and substantial, and

more like an English than an American railway. The towns are full of life and enterprise. The lands through which the road runs for some distance are well occupied with thrifty people, who if not possessing great wealth have among them no poverty. Grain is extensively grown in this region, and there are several large flouring mills along the first 400 versts of the railway. Great military stations are likewise frequent. On the 15th of December 1898 the French chamber of deputies adopted a bill loaning 200,000,000 francs for the construction of Indo-Chinese railways.

The United States furnished China with her first steamboat, which was built by Russell and company and placed on the Yangtse river, coasting also between Canton, Shanghai, and Tientsin. In 1862 the Shanghai Navigation company was formed, and the American steamers transferred to it. Under government authorization, and composed entirely of Chinamen, the China Merchants Steam Navigation company was formed in 1877, with all the old and several new American boats. A network of railway and steamboat lines throughout the Chinese empire would indeed bring about a transformation; and there are native men and native resources on the ground for its accomplishment, but whether or not when it is done there will be any thing left for Chinamen, or indeed any Chinamen left, is a question.

China's first knowledge of England was when the latter began the acquisition of part of the former empire of the great mogul, and the expansion of the Bombay colony set in which was destined to overspread the Indian peninsula. Though humiliated and defeated in two wars with Great Britain, the Chinese have given clear evidence that they will fight further for their rights and traditions. England has always declared that all she wants in China is trade; and some proof indeed has been given of the truth of this assertion in her declining to take more ground than port and commercial necessities required when she might as easily have demanded a large extent of territory.

The East India company appeared upon the scene in 1613, establishing a factory in Japan, with agencies two years later in Amoy and Formosa. The Portuguese succeeded in defeating an attempt made by England in 1627 to establish trade with Canton through Macao; but by the treaty of Crom-

well with Portugal some time later, participation in the trade of the Far East was secured. With the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1664 the Chinese affected a contempt for foreigners and for trade; and in 1681 the factory at Amoy was destroyed; but learning that the Manchus would protect trade provided their government was properly recognized, British vessels were sent out to Macao, the Amoy factory was restored, and an agency established on the island of Chusan. It was the custom at this time, as in almost all oriental and Latin countries, to present the chief in authority, in this instance an officer of the imperial household, as well as of the hoppo, or native customs, with some valuable consideration, which should materially lessen the amount of duties demanded.

In early times the East India company's chief supercargo was an important personage, being on the Chinese coast ex-officio king's consul and minister. This becoming known, an emperor-merchant was appointed by the Manchu government to supervise for China in the foreign trade, who in 1720 was superseded by a board of Chinese merchants called cohong, responsible to the governor and viceroy, with power to levy four per cent duties on both imports and exports. Out of these offices and emoluments evolved intricate commercial systems, relics of which remain to this day.

The trader was held in contempt, not only by the nobility but by the literati; they might house themselves for short intervals in the suburbs of Canton, but foreigners could not enter the city gates nor penetrate the interior.

Indeed, extremes meet when the bluff John Bull comes in contact with the obsequious celestial,—instance the arrival of Commodore Anson in the *Centaur*, in 1741, the first British man of war in Chinese waters. The Chinese officials were astounded at the audacity of this stranger, who dared so unceremoniously not only to enter the Bogue and pass on to Whampoa, but to call in person on the viceroy. Another Englishman who in this quarter attempted high-handed proceedings was Captain Maxwell of the *Alcest*, who in 1816, was fired on from the forts; he returned the fire and continued his course to Whampoa. Then there were Lord Macartney in 1792, and Lord Amherst in 1815, who had trouble on the score of barbarian etiquette.

Upon the approaching extinction of the East India company, the viceroy of Canton, who had been informed of the fact, intimated that the presence of a British officer to control trade would be acceptable to the Chinese authorities. Thereupon in 1833 an act of parliament, passed to regulate trade in the East, declared it expedient to establish British authority in China. Three superintendents of trade were appointed, Lord Napier, Mr Plowden, and Mr Davis, one of whom was to act as judge, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction in matters pertaining to English subjects. Lord Palmerston's instructions were, "to foster and protect the trade of his majesty's subjects in China, to extend trade if possible to other parts of China, to induce the Chinese government to enter into commercial relations with the English government, and to seek with peculiar caution and circumspection to establish eventually direct diplomatic communication with the imperial court at Peking; also to have the coast of China surveyed to prevent disasters; and to inquire for places where British ships might find requisite protection in the event of hostilities in the China sea."

Lord Napier's mission failed. After his death at Macao, coercive measures were recommended, and the necessity of an island in the vicinity, which could be occupied by the British as a colony, became apparent; and in 1841 a cession of the island of Hongkong to Great Britain was made, and ratified by the treaty of Nanking in 1842, five ports being at the same time opened to British trade, Canton, Amoy, Fuchau, Nimpo, and Shanghai. Hongkong was proclaimed a free port in 1842, and the following year was constituted a crown colony.

Although sovereign absolute as regards his people, the emperor of China lies under a crushing weight of ponderous machinery and traditional form, and England has always been somewhat brutal in her dealings with such personages. Englishmen visiting Macao in 1635 opened intercourse by amicable trading, and closed it by fighting, as has long been their way. Obtaining a foothold at Canton in 1684, for over a century the East India company monopolized the foreign trade of China. A fruitful source of trouble between foreigners and the Asiatics and islanders has been the turbulent conduct of seamen, who were too apt to express their contempt

in words and blows for customs and opinions which differed from their own.

The Chinese customs service as managed by Sir Robert Hart evolved from the rebellion of 1853. When the city of Shanghai was taken by the insurgents, neither they nor the Chinese government were able to collect customs dues from the merchants, who refused payment to the former because they had not taken the forts, and to the latter because they had lost the citadel. The government threatened, and then invested the city. The merchants offered bonds to make payment when government rule should be reinstated, which offer was accepted. Meanwhile each of the nations concerned appointed a collector, and together an inspector general. The system worked so well that it was continued after peace was restored, and was extended to other cities, until 800 Europeans and 4,000 Chinese passed under autocratic rule as customs employés.

See the absurdity of Europe's position before Asia, which is about where England was in the early part of the century. Until a comparatively late date China had never held herself aloof, as exclusive or isolate. But when, while in the enjoyment of prosperity and happiness, strangers came with teachings she did not want, naturally she closed her doors to them, just as the United States closes her door to unwelcome Chinese. "Take away your horrible drug and your religion. If your drug is good, eat it yourselves; if your religion is good, practise it yourselves," said China. "Friend", replied England, "this medicine you must take, if not for your good, then for ours."

The story is well told by C. C. Coffin in *Our New way Round the World*: "In 1773, about the time that the people of Boston were throwing British tea into the harbour, the East India company were disposing of their first small venture of opium at this port. From the topmasts of their vessels the sailors had looked out upon these fertile valleys, and beheld them white with poppy blooms, from which opium was manufactured for the wealthy classes. A chest of opium in the market of Canton was worth \$500; but the banks of the Ganges were more fertile than these mountain slopes, the climate more genial, and a chest of the drug could be produced for \$100. Here was a chance for speculation. No

other product of India would yield four hundred per cent profit. The trade rapidly increased, and in 1800 amounted to two thousand chests per annum. Up to that year no action had been taken by the Chinese government against its introduction; but the withdrawal of coin from the empire, and the demoralization of the wealthy classes and public officials who had the means of indulging their appetites, induced the emperor to prohibit its manufacture and sale. Confiscation of property and death were the penalties, not only for those who cultivated and sold, but for those who smoked the drug. Notwithstanding these prohibitory measures, the consumption still increased. Armed English vessels were stationed in the Canton river, which supplied smugglers boats, also well armed and ready for battle with the Chinese war-junks. Officials were bribed, mandarins conciliated, the imperial laws set at defiance. The government at Peking used every effort to stop the sale, while the East India company employed every means to stimulate it. The Chinese authorities, when fortunate enough to catch smugglers or dealers, strangled them in front of the English factories; but the death of a Chinaman now and then did not deter the English from violating the laws of a weaker nation, and the illicit sale increased from year to year, till in 1840 it amounted to forty thousand chests per annum.

"In 1839 the Chinese government determined to break up the traffic at all hazards. Lin, the imperial commissioner at Canton, pushed matters so vigorously that the trade for a time nearly ceased. The emperor demanded a surrender of all opium in the hands of the English, which at the command of Admiral Eliot was given up, and twenty thousand chests destroyed, at a cost of six million dollars to the imperial treasury. The English merchants who had dealt in the article signed an obligation not to reëngage in the traffic, and then immediately violated it. The trade being revived the Chinese officials became insolent, over-bearing, and the merchants were subjected to humiliating exactions, exceedingly galling to high-spirited Britons. The result of it all was the war of 1840, waged ostensibly to avenge insult to the British flag, but in reality to force opium upon a government laboring to suppress the traffic. It was an easy matter for the British fleet to knock down the Bogue forts at the entrance to the Canton

river, and to take possession of Canton, and all the other maritime cities. Avarice, supported by fleets and armies, accomplished its end. So Christian England dealt with heathen China!

Said the emperor when asked to license the sale of opium at Hongkong, "It is true I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." Englishmen have often commented on this infamy in terms by no means complimentary to England. Said the British treasurer at Hongkong, Martin, "The records of wickedness since the world was created furnish no parallel to the wholesale murders which the British nation have been, and still are, hourly committing in China. What has been done on the subject? Have we simply remained passive, and allowed the crimes and the murders caused by the opium trade to go on silently, unnoticed and unopposed by her majesty's government? We cannot even allege the poor, miserable plea of winking as a government against a crime which it is pretended could not be checked. On the contrary, the representative of Queen Victoria has recently converted the small barren rock which we occupy on the coast of China into a vast opium-smoking shop; he has made it the Gehenna of the waters, where iniquities which it is a pollution to name cannot only be perpetrated with impunity, but are absolutely licensed in the name of our gracious sovereign, and protected by the titled representative of her majesty! Better, far better, infinitely better, abjure the name of christianity, call ourselves heathens, idolaters of the golden calf, worshippers of the evil one. Let us do this, and we have then a principle for our guide, the acquisition of money at any cost, at any sacrifice. Why, the slave trade was merciful compared to the opium trade. We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive; we did not debase their natures, corrupt their minds, nor destroy their souls. But the opium seller slays the body after he has corrupted, degraded, and annihilated the moral being of unhappy sinners, while every hour is bringing new victims to a Moloch which knows no satiety, and where the English murderer and the Chinese suicide vie with each other in offering

at his shrine! No excuse can be offered for the conduct of England in forcing opium upon the Chinese. It will ever stand forth in history as the high handed barbarian act of a nation which puts forth the highest claims to Christian civilization."

Even after the enforcement of the drug upon China by the English, the opium evil might have been exterminated had the mandarins acted together. Some of the governors did indeed prohibit the cultivation of the poppy; others were indifferent. This is China's most dangerous weakness, lack of unity in purpose and action. The foreign opium is now becoming less and less, while native production is rapidly increasing. Japan is wise indeed in prohibiting it, not only at home but in Formosa. Some excuse there may have been for the opium war, attended by the heat of passion and the action of unwise agents, but there was no excuse for a continuance of the wrong, other than the loss of money this exercise of right and morality would have entailed. As great a loss to themselves, the loss of £1,700,000 per annum import duties, the half-civilized unchristian Chinese would gladly have suffered, but even the pathetic appeal of Prince Kung to the British minister in 1869 had no effect. "That opium is like a deadly poison;" he said, "that it is most injurious to mankind and a most serious provocative of ill-feelings between the two countries is perfectly well known to your excellency. The officials and people of this empire all say that England trades in opium because she desires to work China's ruin. For if the friendly feelings of England were genuine, since it is open to her to produce and trade in everything else, would she still insist on spreading the poison of this hurtful thing through this empire?"

The Taiping rebellion, coming ten years after the treaty of Nanking, was but another link in the chain of events which was to destroy Tartar prestige and give Europe the ascendancy over the Manchu dynasty, then occupying the throne. A native convert to christianity, Hung Sin Chuen, in the year 1852, gathering about him kindred spirits in the mountains of the south, proclaimed himself emperor, and took up his march toward the sea with an ever increasing following. Defeating the imperial armies on the way, he captured Hankau, and with the spoils freighted a thousand junks, and descended

the river 850 miles to Nanking, choosing the southern city as his capital because the Ming dynasty had been there established in 1388, after the expulsion of the Mongols by Hungwa. The capture of Nanking by the insurgents was followed by the butchery of the entire garrison of 25,000 men. Yangchau, Chinkiang, and other opulent cities in the vicinity fell also after brief investment, and with no small satisfaction Hung Sin Chuen seated himself in the old imperial palace as a worthy successor of the Ming emperors. The day of reckoning came, however, when to the neglect of the coast provinces he sent his armies into the north, leaving open the door for the western governments, which would make a more profitable use of a Taiping rebellion could they have one to-day. Upon the recovery of Nanking, planned by General Ward, and carried out under the auspices of the taotai of Shanghai, and whose efforts were continued by Colonel Gordon, a massacre occurred similar to that which attended the capture.

Thus one after another fell the blows which were in the end to demolish the mediæval wall of isolation. And another was now at hand. It was the custom for Chinese vessels, for a small consideration, to obtain permission from the authorities at Hongkong to fly the British flag, and in 1856 the *lorcha Arrow*, sailing under these auspices, was seized by the Chinese government and the crew imprisoned as pirates. A protest was made by the British consul, whereupon the viceroy sent the prisoners to the consulate, but the consul refused to receive them, arbitrarily demanding that the crew be restored to the deck of the vessel. Upon the return of the prisoners to the now infuriated viceroy, he ordered them all beheaded. Sir John Browning, governor of Hongkong, then took the matter up. War ensued, in which the French took part, offering the already stale excuse of murdered missionaries, her real purpose being to share in the spoils. The emperor left matters to take their course; Canton was captured the following year, and the viceroy was taken to Calcutta, whence he never returned. Meanwhile, though still neutral, Russia and the United States took this occasion to have their treaties revised.

The same policy of exclusion was maintained by the young emperor on his accession to power in 1850. In answer to a congratulatory letter from Queen Victoria he replied:

"Foreigners are under obligations to be grateful for our generosity; but their recent proceedings in forwarding despatches direct to ministers of state can be looked on only as contumacious and insulting." Hence it was that attempts made in 1854 by the British and American ministers to reach Peking by way of Taku proved unsuccessful, and a letter from President Pierce sent from Fuchau was returned with word that to receive attention it must come through Canton. The opium war, the Taiping rebellion, and the *Arrow* war, with their attending inroads and influences, were long strides into the realms of isolation, but the emperor still remained invisible to ministers accredited to him, and they were forced to transact their business with a provincial governor.

It was through the injudicious conduct of English representatives of foreign commerce and diplomacy, that the animosities were stirred up in 1834 which led to the opium war. The emperor, seeing the evil effects of the drug upon his people, had issued an edict against opium as early as 1800, and the government was no less determined now to put it down. But India made opium, and England must see it sold. Hence the Chinese were told to choose between opium and war. And war it was, as we have seen. Nanking, the ancient capital of China, should be seized and held for the settlement of the difficulties.

"Why can you not deal fairly with us?" the Chinese asked. "Why do you not prohibit the growth of the poppy in your dominions, and stop a traffic so pernicious to the human race?" "Ah!" said the sapient Englishman, "our laws forbid the arbitrary exercise of power over those who cultivate our soil; besides, you know, if we didn't furnish you with opium, some one else would do so."

Seventy-two steamers and transports in five divisions, with an advance squadron, were sent up the river, to the terror of the inhabitants. After some fighting a treaty was made, which was ratified in 1842, the Chinese government agreeing to pay England six million dollars for opium, twelve million war expenses, and three million debts,—this, together with the cession of the island of Hongkong, and the opening of the five ports to British trade residence and religion. Two years later treaties were made with the United States and France, in which the opium question was not discussed. The treaty of

Nanking created a sensation among the more commercial nations of the world. The governments of the United States, Prussia, Holland, Belgium, and Spain sent out agents to look after their interests, and secure like advantages. The island of Hongkong when ceded to the British in 1841 was the resort of native fishermen and smugglers. It is now one of the most beautiful and unique of oriental cities, with stately buildings, clean streets, and usually 200 or 300 vessels in the harbor. Besides 400,000 Chinese, the population, displaying every costume and color, is made up of American English and French, Portuguese Indian Malay Arabian and Persian merchants, many of them intelligent and wealthy.

It was not the intention at first to create a colony at Hongkong, but merely to hold the island as an emporium of commerce and a point of military occupancy. It was long before its value was appreciated or success attained, so long that the advisability of its abandonment was seriously discussed. It is now one of the most prosperous places in the world, the harbor full of shipping, fifty ocean steamers at anchor there at one time, besides hundreds of sailing-vessels and sea-going junks; and on shore docks, wharves, and granite esplanade, public buildings and private dwellings, stores and warehouses of imposing and costly proportions. Its 17,000,000 tons of shipping entering and clearing in 1897 makes it third in importance of all the ports in the British empire.

"The aggregate burden of shipping is greater than that of the four leading Australian colonies" says Colquhoun of Hongkong, while *des Vœux* remarks on the "long line of quays and wharves, large warehouses teeming with merchandise, shops stocked with all the luxuries as well as the needs of two civilizations; in the European quarter a fine town hall, stately banks, and other large buildings of stone; in the Chinese quarters, houses constructed after a pattern peculiar to China, of almost equally solid materials, but packed so closely together and thronged so densely as to be, in this respect, probably without a parallel in the world,—100,000 people live within a certain district not exceeding half a square mile in area,—and finally streets stretching for miles, abounding with carriages, drawn for the most part not by animals but by men, and teeming with busy population, in the centre of the town chiefly European, but towards the west

and east almost exclusively Chinese." A lease for ninety-nine years of the islands and mainland opposite Victoria, embracing 200 square miles, was granted to Great Britain in 1898, thus giving the islanders room for further development.

Opium-testing has become a profession. From each chest offered for sale a small piece is selected and put into a thin shallow brass pan containing a little clear water, and the pan placed over a charcoal brazier. When thoroughly dissolved it is strained through paper filters, resting on wicker baskets, into porcelain cups. If the solution passes quickly through the paper the opium is good; if slowly, and leaving a sediment, it is of inferior quality. Best of all is that which, boiled to the consistency of molasses, shows red on being removed from the fire, and lifted to the light on a small stick.

Hear an English admiral in China discourse on the drug forced on China by an English admiral a few years previous. "It is strange what a fascination is attached to the smoking of opium. To obtain the means of gratifying his taste for this enervating and demoralizing habit, the Chinaman would pawn his shoes, coat, hat, or anything he possessed. In some of the back streets of Shanghai there are a number of opium shops. Passing through a narrow street, and being attracted by the smell of burning opium, I was induced to enter one of these veritable hells. The room was dark and dismal, and the occupants one might say were in the lowest state of degradation. Along the wall on one side of the room, some covered sofas were placed; a small table with lamps stood before each, affording sufficient light to expose the squalid faces and persons of the smokers. They were in different stages of intoxication; some slightly exhilarated, others talkative, their eyes wild and bright and their faces red; others becoming drowsy, their limbs relaxing into an easy posture for sleep. One, completely overcome, lay prostrate and asleep; near him were his opium pipe and low-crowned hat with broad brim.

"A well dressed Chinaman entered, and depositing the necessary sum, took his place on a lounge; having obtained the pipe and opium, he commenced operations by taking a long needle and stirring the point of it in the small opium box, whence he drew forth a piece the size of a small bead, which he placed over a minute hole on the head of his pipe. The lamp was now brought into requisition; holding the head of

the pipe to the flame, he inhaled the smoke from the bamboo stem. He evidently relished the luxury, as he again and again replenished the pipe. Now he appears pleased with himself and all the world; a few whiffs more and his eyes grow bright, his face is jolly, red, and laughing; still more, and the pipe becomes too heavy for his hand, and his head for his shoulders; he becomes forgetful of the world and of its cares, and sleeps, to dream of elysian fields, paradise, or Soochow."

There are those who predict that within one or two generations there will be but four great powers in the world, Great Britain, the United States, Russia, and Germany; that as Rome died so will die all Latin peoples, Spain being already practically defunct, Italy a third-rate power, and France fast following their footsteps.

While England has Hongkong and Singapore, while France has Saigon, and Germany Kiaochau, and Russia Port Arthur, it was necessary that the United States should have some large commercial metropolis in Asia before we could be upon an industrial equality with other nations in the Far East.

Though the United States has never manifested any disposition to interfere in the affairs of Asia, nor to acquire territory there, her influence in the Far East has not been far behind that of others, and it has always been for good. To disillusion Japan, and place upon their feet among civilized nations a barbarous people, without war and within so short a time, was an achievement such as the world had never before witnessed. And in the interests of peace and political well-being, America has always been a true friend to China as well as to Japan, many times through her ministers exercising disinterested and beneficial influence in her affairs. Nor is the obligation all one way. America owes something to Asia. In the upbuilding of United States commerce, and the rise of opulent cities on the Atlantic coast, China played her part. In the achievement of our first continental railway the influence of this commerce was felt, and the aid of Chinese laborers was not scorned. So with regard to the wonderful unfolding of the New Pacific which now is and is to come, all the nations contribute, to the better glory and prosperity of all.

Nine years ago Spain offered to sell the Ladrones to Japan, and viscounts Enomoto and Aoki favored the purchase. But the project being opposed by Count Inouye, the offer was de-

clined. Now Japan would like to buy, and would pay for the islands a good round sum, not for the construction of a naval port, nor for the acquisition of prestige and power in the south Pacific, but for the extension of her fisheries. So she says.

When the war with Spain was ended, the powers requested the United States government to define its policy in regard to China. If the empire was to be dismembered, let all share in the booty and then none could complain. Europe's first recognition of the United States as one of the world's powers was when Italy asked what would be America's attitude in regard to the seizure of San Mun bay, and was told that the attitude of the United States would be one of indifference and non-intervention. All the powers, particularly England, would like to have the United States join them in the partition of China; but aside from the ethical aspect of the question, America has all she wants of Asia at present in the Philippine problem.

The motives and purposes of the several powers are quite different. Thus Russia desires territory, absolute ownership; not being content with half the world she would now like the other half. With the machinery of her despotic government in good running order, she would not feel the burden of responsibility like England, with her more liberal policy. England wants customers for her manufactured articles, rather than more Asiatics to govern, but she stands ready to govern any thing for its trade, if it has any. England prefers the integrity of China with open door trade.

A coolness between England and Russia arose over the New Chwang railway loan by England to secure the £2,500,000 Japanese indemnity loan, the Russians claiming that the Chinese foreign office was not to give any other power the control of any railway in Manchuria, and that if a loan was required theirs was a prior right. "To understand the present situation", writes Colquhoun in his *China in Transformation*, "the natural sequel to 1895, it is first of all necessary to recognize the fact that Russia is actually the protector of China against all comers, and that France supports her solidly, while Germany, having taken the decisive step of placing herself alongside Russia, is likely to follow the Russian lead, for two sufficient reasons,—for fear of displeasing Russia, the ally of France, and because concessions are not likely to be got in

China by Germany in direct and open opposition to Russia. Russian influence has for some time been all-powerful at Peking, mainly through the timely assistance rendered to China in 1895, followed up by a persistent policy, cemented by an understanding, offensive and defensive. The fundamental fact of a close understanding between Russia and China has for some time been patent to all the world except ourselves, the chief features being, (1) an alliance offensive and defensive, (2) branch railways through Manchuria, (3) the refortification of Port Arthur and Taliénwan, and the fortification of Kiaochau, all to be paid for by China, any or all of the three war harbors to be placed at the disposal of Russia whenever desired."

England's dependencies in Asia comprise, besides the Indian peninsula and the adjacent islands, the Straits settlements and islands, the Malay peninsula and island, Hongkong and the Keeling islands. The Maldive islands are nominally connected with Ceylon, and the islands of Singapore and Penang with the Straits settlements, while Burmah is the southern entrance to China. All these possessions are peninsulas and islands, and most of them in the tropics; for unlike Russia, England has not gained large accessions of inland territory, her object being trade and strategic stations rather than colonization. Thus Aden, on the way to India, serves commercially Arabia; at Singapore unites the commerce of the Malay peninsula, Australia, and India; the military-commercial station of Hongkong guards the British interest of northern and western China. The Englishman in Asia is merchant and dominator, not a settler.

England can enter China through India as well as by the eastern ports. The British gateway to China is Burmah. A railway from Burmah to the navigable waters of the upper Irrawaddy and Yangtse will place western and southern China and the vast interior under British control. The British possessions adjoin the Chinese empire on the southwest, as the Russian possessions adjoin on the north. Here then are the two great dominating powers in China, Russia on the north and Great Britain in the central and southern parts. The railway from Mandalay, in upper Burmah to Kunlon ferry, on the Salween river, is a move in this direction. The route from Bhamo, as the commercial highway from Burmah to

western and central China, was long held by the Indian government in high esteem.

Following the acquisition of California by the United States, public attention was drawn to the new field for enterprise thus offered by the enlargement of our domain on the Pacific and closer relations with the opposite shores of Asia, and in 1852 M. C. Perry was sent with a government squadron on a mission of investigation to that quarter. Several scientists accompanied the expedition, elaborate reports were made, and important results ensued. Eastern Asia was reached by way of the cape of Good Hope. A letter from Millard Fillmore, president of the United States, to the emperor of Japan was brought by Commodore Perry, in which friendly relations between the two countries were advised, the opening of commercial intercourse suggested, and the proper treatment of our shipwrecked seamen demanded. Arrived at Uruga, Perry was informed that this letter must be delivered at Nagasaki. This the commodore refused to do, and the Japanese authorities waived custom and received the president's letter. And in so doing they were wiser than they knew. A treaty between the tycoon and the United States was signed opening two ports to trade. Not long afterward several of the European powers sent thither representatives to secure whatever of good might fall in their way, among others the French admiral in the frigate *Jean d'Arc*, the Russian admiral Poutatine, and the English admiral Sir James Stirling.

Korea preserved her isolation until 1876, when a treaty was forced on her by Japan, followed by trade and frontier regulations by China in 1882. Treaties were negotiated by the United States in 1882, by Great Britain and Germany in 1884, by Russia and Italy in 1886, and by Austria in 1892. By these conventions the ports of Chemulpo, Fusan, and Wonsan together with Seoul the capital, and later Mokpo and Chinnampo, were opened to foreign intercourse and commerce, and diplomatic representatives of the several powers took up their residence at the capital. In 1895 the independence of Korea was recognized by China, whose long-held suzerainty was formally renounced. So long dependent on China for language, religion, and guardianship, the peninsula became little more than an imitation of her neighbor, who

gave her first Buddhism and then Confucianism, and even since her independence Korean sympathies are still with China. "It is into this archaic condition of things" says a late visitor, "this unspeakable grooviness, this irredeemable, unreformed orientalism, this parody of China without the robustness of race which helps to hold China together, that the ferment of western leaven has fallen, and this feeblest of independent kingdoms, rudely shaken out of her sleep of centuries, half frightened and wholly dazed, finds herself confronted with an array of powerful, ambitious, aggressive, and not always overscrupulous powers, bent it may be on overreaching her and each other, forcing her into new paths, ringing with rude hands the knell of time-honored customs, clamoring for concessions, and bewildering her with reforms, suggestions, and panaceas of which she sees neither the meaning nor the necessity."

The Russians were early in China, two cossacks appearing at Peking in 1567. Russian incursions were made in 1643, while the Manchus were acquiring dominion over the Chinese. An envoy sent by the tsar Alexis in 1653 was denied access to the court because he refused obeisance. Toward the end of the seventeenth century the Manchu-Chinese army repelled a Russian invasion, and so disputes arose and continued regarding settlement on either bank of the Amur. Then came the treaty of Nerchinsk, in 1689, which established a boundary line between China and Siberia, giving China the valley of the lower Amur, later to fall to Russia. Commercial relations were established between the Amur valley and Peking in 1567, and in 1689 the first Chinese treaty was signed, and for the past several centuries the relations between the two countries have been for the most part friendly. Yet Russia will never permit China to pass out entirely from her influence and control, particularly in the valley of the Yellow river, and ports on the Yellow sea, which she may feel herself called upon to occupy at any time.

Before the end of the seventeenth century, the Russians were in Kamchatka, Vladimir founding Nizhne-Kamchatsk in 1696. Thence rapid progress was made southward. Yet it is not long since China extended north to the Yablonoi mountains and the sea of Okhotsk, the Amur province falling into the hands of Russia in 1858 and the coast province in

1860. With her war ports of Vladivostok, Port Arthur, and Talienwan, Russia still further dominates the northeast Pacific.

Russia was once a part of the Mongolian empire, which extended from the Baltic to the Pacific, and from the Indian to the Arctic ocean, and from whose ruins she is now rising. Thus for the maintenance of her preëminence in China she has geographical position and race affinity. Russia's water frontage on the Pacific will prove more and more valuable to her as the centuries go by, and besides influencing her destinies in the east, will in some degree make good the narrowness of outlet in the west. She has the advantage over the other powers of Europe in several ways. First, the whole northern line of provinces lies contiguous to her own territory. Second, with the same facilities of approach from the sea that the others possess, Russia has an all rail overland line straight across Asia and down to China, all of her ownership and on her own soil.

Foreign immigration to southeastern Siberia is not encouraged, but Russians are liberally dealt with by the Russians. Families without means receive free passage, and to all families are given on arrival 200 to 300 acres of good land, and a loan of 600 roubles for 32 years without interest, while agricultural implements are furnished by the government at cost, and the men exempted from military service. Truly the little father is becoming a great benefactor, and it is really a pity that he cannot abolish war, and save himself and others the half of their money which now goes to support the study and practice of killing men, of killing many hired men quickly. The transsiberian railway brings London within 6,000 miles and sixteen days of the Far East.

Russia and England have lately come to an understanding by which England concedes Russia's supremacy in Manchuria, all northwest of the old wall, including the Liao-tung peninsula, while in return Russia concedes England's authority in the Yangtse basin, the heart of China, with a population of 150,000,000, and limitless resources. While sphere of influence is differentiated from ownership, this is practically partitioning the empire, as at the same time France and Germany come in each for a small slice. Questions will all the time arise which the new powers will decide, which is equiva-

lent to a protectorate, which is the next thing to annexation.

Naturally, should a partition of China among the powers of Europe occur, Russia would prefer territory contiguous to her own; France would like to make larger what she has in the south; England, perhaps, might not object to the Yangtse valley; while Germany would take the remainder, that is to say the provinces of Fukien and Chekiang. It is a pity that these great nations, the high and mighty of morality and righteousness, champions of christianity and civilization, should have always to hunt about them for some low and lying pretext, some mean and paltry excuse for war, instead of the open and chivalrous ways of old in which men rode forth to the plundering of their neighbor.

As Russia dominates Japan, naturally she dominates whatever Japan dominates. Owing to the protest of the Russian minister, the Korean government felt obliged to cancel the engagement of thirty foreigners who arrived at Seoul in September to serve in the imperial body guard. This great polar power, with her advanced peace proclivities, continues active operations in organizing into a cavalry army some half million of the Turcoman horsemen of Asiatic Russia, which may prove serviceable in the Far East. Russia's 135,000,000 have a square mile of territory for every 25 inhabitants. The sexes are nearly equal in number, but the quality of the people is low, and physical conditions to some extent unfavorable for the fullest moral and intellectual development. While the Asiatic dependencies of Russia contain 6,575,000 square miles with a population of 23,000,000, England's area in Asia of 1,617,000 square miles has a population of 292,000,000. And in the extension of her dominions, a purpose she pursues with quiet though relentless intent, Russia prefers diplomacy, but will accept war if necessary.

In his journey from St Petersburg through Siberia, and voyage down the Amur, in 1857, Perry Collins speaks of the gold and silver mines of Nerchinsk, Zarentunskie, and the Onon, where were flourishing towns with shops well filled with merchandise from China and Europe. The people of the Amur were mostly Mongols and Tartars, and on the river were many Chinese junks. At Nikolaivski, a short distance above where the Amur enters the strait of Tartary, at a dinner party

in the house of the Russian governor, although Collins was the only foreigner present, eight of those at table spoke English with fluency. There were indeed in the town several American merchants, all of whom carried on a profitable business. Their storehouses were of varied material and construction; one a log house with iron roof, one a frame house brought by a San Francisco firm from the Hawaiian islands, and other log houses with zinc or shingle roofs. The Russian-American company also had an agency there, dealing in Russian merchandise and controlling the fur trade.

From Nikolaiivski, at the mouth of Amur river, to de Castries is about 100 miles, and yet Collins was nineteen days in making the voyage, on account of calms and adverse winds. There is drift ice here in winter, and the bay freezes. The coasts of both Tartary and Sakhalin are rugged and mountainous. In the vicinity are good mines of coal, the quality of which has been tested by the China steamers, the *America* then using it. A week more, after touching at Emperor harbor, brings him to the beautiful city of Matsmai, Japan, fronting the strait on the slope between the mountains and the sea, and the residence of a prince. Coasting and passing many junks, he comes to Hakodadi. We are told that the Japanese are a polite nation; coast officials however present quite a business front.

"What you want here?" is the first question. "Trade, provisions, and water," is the reply. "What have you to trade, what provisions do you want?" "We have silver, lumber, and furs. We want rice, tobacco, fruit, vegetables, lacquered-ware, and silks." "How muchee lice?" "One thousand piculs, say sixty tons." "No, no have so much." "Give us what you can." "God is great."

The conversation is carried on in English by means of an interpreter. The Japanese, like the Chinese, stumble at the letter *r*, turning it into *l*, not always to the improvement of the conversation. Unfortunately for him, the name of the United States commercial agent at this port was at this time Doctor Rice.

The town was full of little shops, mercantile and manufacturing, and exported fish, furs, lumber, sea-cabbage, besides other produce of sea and land, and the manufactures of the country.

While the Paris commissioners were deliberating, it became evident that owing to Russian intrigue a reaction toward extreme anti-foreign conservatism had taken place in the government at Peking, though the immediate designs of the tsar in Asia did not appear. At the same time, the inference drawn from a significant change in the attitude of Lord Salisbury, and the large quantity of British war stores sent to Hongkong, seemed to indicate a better understanding between Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and Japan, if not indeed a British counter move to offset Russia's advantage; though it was difficult to see how a fresh *coup d'etat* could be effected without producing anarchy, which would compel the powers to seize and divide the country among themselves. To this partition, it was said, England seemed more and more inclined, as sooner or later it was deemed inevitable.

If in China we see the largest aggregation of men under one government since the world began, in Russia there are the largest number of white men ever ruled as one nation. There are more English-speakers than Russian-speakers in the world, and although all Anglo-Saxons are nearer akin than the various tribes of Russia and China, they are not politically bound together as one nation.

If there is a new epoch of industrial development opening for the Anglo-Saxon, there is none the less prosperity in store for the Slav. The tsar and his advisers see this, and specially desire that Russia may develop her material resources with the development of the moral and intellectual, and so all parts grow into strength together. Then Russia will dominate the world, unless at the same time the Anglo-Saxon peoples unite under some kind of compact such as will give them strength as the strength of one nation, and enable them to grow in power and wisdom even as the Russians grow.

At present, few of the 120,000,000 ruled by the tsar know little and care less of what is or happens beyond the limits of their horizon. But this will change. Americans for the most part are well received in Russia, and they will be brought more and more to the front, particularly in Siberian enterprise, and such as will most vitally affect the countries bordering on the Pacific, that is to say the agricultural prairies and mineral mountains through which runs the eastern part

of the 8,000 miles of railway which the tsar and Prince Khilkof are now constructing.

American engineers are to-day everywhere in Russia; one is constructing steel works near St Petersburg, another dredging the Volga, Don, and Dnieper, another laying 200 miles of 8-inch pipe for the Rothschilds' oil concession, while several are engaged in the gold mines of northern Siberia and the copper mines in the Khirgi steppes.

The Russian laborer, like the Chinese, is a purely mechanical man; he is docile and quick enough to learn, even where no small skill is required, but he has not the faculty of imagination or invention; he does as he is told but never makes a suggestion. He has yet to emerge from the patriarchal despotism which so benumbs his faculties, and breathe the electric atmosphere of modern progress. A few thousand bright Americans scattered through western Russia would soon find channels for the inflowing of this vitalized air from the Pacific.

Germany, like France, is greatly concerned because of her restricted room for colonies. The theory is becoming current in Europe that no European nation can long endure without colonial expansion, that is without room for national growth beyond the present narrow limits. What a breeding-ground has Russia! Equal to half the world, almost, leaving out the Americas. To obtain a piece of China, Germany feels she must cultivate the friendship of Russia, and not too greatly offend England. Prior to the occupation of Kiaochau, Germany had no interests in the Far East, though there had been a Prussian expedition in 1861 by Count von Eulenberg, and later an attempt was made by German traders to induce their government by some means to get possession of a piece of China or Korea. Germany like England covets the trade of the Far East, while Russia and France desire lands and domination. Thus Russia and Germany can fraternize, their aims being not precisely the same, and France and Russia can maintain friendly relations, because France is not strong enough to fight.

When Germany assumed control of Kiaochau and Russia of Port Arthur and Talienwan, many thought the partition of China had begun. Others said, there will be no partition of China, or if there is, it will be the worse for the Caucasian

race. The Chinese are great imitators. Though superficially mild, they are fierce fighters when roused and well officered. Let European colonies occupy the coast of China, and European civilization will permeate the interior, and the weapons thus be placed in the hands of these millions of Mongolians to retaliate, and not only sweep clear their seaboard, but invade Europe and America as well.

The young emperor has declared Germany a world-power, which implies further possessions under home rule. These can only be found in South America, in Holland, or in Asia. The attempts at colonization in Africa and the south Pacific have failed; German emigrants prefer the United States. Germany wants land to colonize, where the colonists will ever remain German; but alas! the world is small. The attitude of Germany in the Far East, and her acquisitions in China, indicate as I have said a desire to influence if not to control trade in that quarter. Under the customs service of Sir Robert Hart the products of all countries are admitted on equal terms. The young emperor must therefore obtain a Germany in Asia by spoliation, or some other equally honorable and efficient means, before he can obtain his heart's desire. And if no more is necessary to become a world power than so to declare oneself, why should not we of the United States, who are twice or thrice as strong as Germany, so declare ourselves? Without colonies, and with limited commerce and coastline to protect, what use has the young emperor for so many ships as his naval appropriation would seem to call for,—\$118,000,000, the new battleships to be all finished by 1904. The tsar, who has no beyond-seas colonies, and but little commerce to protect, still continues to order battleships. And so with France. How absurd it all is, as the caustic Carlyle has shown, that the world's destinies should be determined by iron, saltpetre, and cheap humanity, bought for so much money, and pitted one side against another like fighting cocks in a pit.

The Germans cannot longer be regarded as preëminently a nation of thinkers. Madame de Stael travelling through Germany would scarcely be impressed with the country as a land of thought, or the people as specially distinguished by reflection and meditation. They are indeed far in advance of the Latin races, who may be said scarcely to think at all, but Englishmen, and offshoots of England are in mind as well as man-

ners fast becoming superior to them. From mind force, since the beginning of the century, the Germans have descended to physical force. They depend now for greatness on military organizations, and the strength and skill of war. Instead of Kants and Humboldts, Germany now breeds Moltkes and Bismarcks.

One would think that French and German priests could find something better to do than to force their way into foreign parts, and stir up strife among the people in order to get themselves maltreated, and so give an excuse to their governments for robbing the people of their country. A late German outrage, instigated by priests, was an assault on the magistrate and the desecration of the birthplace of Confucius, which the Chinese hold in special sanctity. In their trying situation the Chinese turned for aid and sympathy to their old enemy the Japanese, all semblance of justice having fled from continental Europe. Piracy is forbidden by civilized nations, also slave-stealing, and the grosser forms of swindling. As wrong, as infamous as any of these, was the demand of France of a large and valuable mining concession of 1,200,000 taels in the province of Zre Chuan as indemnity for the imprisonment of a French missionary. The price of missionaries seems to have advanced, French missionaries in particular, a half dozen of whom, scattered about China and making themselves obnoxious to the rabble so as to have shelter given them in a prison, might suffice France as an excuse to pocket the entire empire.

If Christ had come to China, and if Buddha had reigned in Europe, how different it all might have been, proselyting and partitioning!

France has in the Far East Cochin China, Cambodia, and Annam, including Tongking, amounting in all to 22,000 square miles, with a population of 1,800,000, and a total trade of some \$45,000,000. Her Asiatic possessions lie mostly within the tropics and are unsuitable for white colonization. They are totally unfit for what she most desires their use, that is lands for the occupation of the French people. Commerce is not wanted, but the expansion of France, which requires the money and the coherent ideas and action which are not present. With natives of the tropics Frenchmen seem less at home than she was formerly with the natives of North

America. French colonies are expensively administered by incompetent officials, are non-commercial and conducted at a loss. Why she desires more of that kind of expansion, it is difficult to understand. In occupation of one-third of Indo-China, she aims at political as well as commercial power, which she means to secure by railways into the southern provinces. Here might be a race for empire in the south were France sufficiently strong.

At one time the prestige of France in Asia was equal to that of any other nation. Eastern peoples were impressed with her prowess as displayed by her knights during the crusades; but when her possessions in India were wrested from her by England, she was held in lighter esteem, and she is now regarded with aversion and suspicion. In neither of her two wars with China did France gain for herself much credit, while China in the second war won the admiration and respect of christendom by her wise diplomacy and liberal conduct.

The killing of certain missionaries by an exasperated populace was the pretext on the part of France for the first war. And as excuse for a second war some ten years later more martyrs were found. Indeed, murdered missionaries have often served civilization a good turn in furnishing an excuse for war sure to result in rich spoils of gold and lands to the aggressor.

Joining the Spaniards, the French came down on Annam, to wrest from Gialung a rich province which was the entrance to Cambodia, and of which Saigon was the capital. An attack on Tonquin followed. The king of Annam appealed in vain to his suzerain. But when the French demanded sixteen million dollars because two strategic forts were not immediately abandoned, the empress regent refused and prepared for war. Then, first of all she sought to know the rules of European warfare that she might conform to them, and so make innocent people, French non-combatants as well as those of other nations, as little trouble as possible. Failing to take Formosa, and repulsed with heavy loss in an incursion from Tonquin, hostilities came to an end, neither side paying indemnity nor yielding territory.

France and Germany are both sore because while wanting so much they get so little, or what they deem little where the

plunder is so large, and to which they seem to think they have a right. In vain they send over priests to be insulted; the insult is so small and the apology in the form of lands and concessions demanded so great as to assuredly exalt religion above principalities and powers. Long have they been jealous of England, and now they are jealous of the United States and the unwritten alliance between English-speaking peoples. To the Anglo-saxon race territory which they find so hard to get comes so easy, unsought, undesired frequently; it exasperates them, and they feel like fighting somebody with their great armies which cost so much and have so little to do.

As the Tonquin boundary matter was not satisfactorily settled in 1884, a French fleet appeared in the China sea, and without warning began the bombardment of Fuchau and other fortified places. The inhabitants became greatly excited, and made reprisal on the churches and property of the missionaries. Among other places Kelung, on Formosa island, suffered severely. After the French had retired, the missionary in charge, George Leslie Mackay, submitted a statement of losses by the Chinese rioters amounting to \$10,000 to the commander-in-chief of the Chinese forces, Liu Ming Chuan, who without delay, and without submitting the claim to the Peking authorities, paid the amount in Mexican dollars as indemnity. It was only when it became apparent that she could acquire preëminence in Tonquin that there appeared evidence of a French policy in China, based on "the force of circumstances and the weakness of the Chinese", as Louis de Carne admits, while appealing to his chivalrous people that in the coming dismemberment of China they should be prepared to secure a portion for themselves.

The more intelligent French statesmen have long held the opinion that with 120,000,000 of the Anglo-saxon race on one side, and the same number of Russians on the other, it became a matter of the utmost importance to find room for expansion somewhere, either in Africa or Asia or both. Says the economist Beaulieu, "Colonization is for France a question of life or death; either France must become a great African power or she will be in a century or two but a secondary European power; she will count in the world scarcely more than Greece or Roumania counts in Europe." In the colonial policy of her possessions in Africa, southeastern Asia, and

Madagascar, France leans somewhat closely to the mediævalism of Spain, in forcing the inhabitants to buy only of her, a practice certain in time to result in the loss to France of her colonies, just as Spain lost her boundless possessions in the west and in the east, and, as was her boast centuries before England or France had stretched forth their grasping hand upon unprotected parts, on which the sun never set.

When Italy demanded from the Chinese government a coal-ing station at San Mun bay she was flatly refused. Promptly the British minister to China sent a note to the Chinese government supporting Italy's demand, and stating that Italy would take possession of San Mun bay with or without China's consent. It was apprehended by the Chinese government that Italy was acting for England in the matter, and that the partition of China was near at hand. And still China held off. And when the United States government declared its position in the matter as one of disinterested neutrality, though it was nothing but the simple truth clearly stated, it was considered by the foreign offices clever diplomacy, as satisfactory both to China and Europe. As San Mun bay is a southerly port of China, and important to the commerce of Manila, the position taken by the United States government was deemed important as significant of its future policy.

It is now the mission of the powers to lie in wait for oriental opportunities. The mind of the German emperor is bent on expansion, and if he cannot find place for his people in the Far East, Asia Minor and Palestine may suffice; the country between Tigris and Euphrates and Syria is good for German rule and German trade. The late imperial pilgrimage to the Holy Land, it was thought, had other significance than the outpourings of a devotional heart.

For some time prior to our war with Spain it had been Germany's determination to gain possession by some means of some part of the Philippine islands; when therefore the Paris commission claimed them all for the United States, Germany was naturally disappointed, and indulged in a little harmless abuse. The German emperor in his speech opening the Reichstag in December 1897, recommended the building of more warships, as the navy had not kept pace with the growth of transoceanic interests. He called to mind the murder of two German missionaries in China, on which even a religious

journal comments with appropriate sarcasm as follows: "The emperor declares that he ordered the eastern Asia squadron to proceed to Kiaochau bay, the point nearest the scene of the outrage, and to land troops in order to obtain full reparation. He does not add that the reparation already demanded included, first, the discovery and execution of the murderers, the punishment of implicated officials—among whom must be the governor of Shangtung province—and the reconstruction of the missionary buildings; secondly, the payment of a 600,000 tael indemnity to the relatives of the victims, and of another indemnity sufficient to cover the expenses of the German naval expedition, the permanent occupation of Kiaochau bay as a German coaling station, and the railway monopoly of the province Shangtung. To the first demands China promptly acceded; to the last the Chinese monarch is reported to have replied that he would forfeit his crown rather than be so bullied. The German monarch will doubtless have an appropriate reply in turn, but it can hardly create more amusement than did the extemporaneous remarks which he addressed to the Reichstag on the conclusion of his written speech. He ended with an apostrophe to 'the honor of the empire abroad, which I have not valued too low to give my only brother in pledge for it.'" Not that the fraternal affection is so overpowering in the breast of the emperor, or that he really cares for one or two missionaries more or less, but the poor fellow is dying of hunger for land in China.

Because China is old, and disunited, and exclusive, and above all because she is weak, the powers of Europe regard her as lawful prey. How long will statesmen and diplomats continue to draw such marked distinctions between international fraud and individual fraud?

Following in the wake of the civilization it imitates in lootings as in other things, Japan thinks if China is to be broken up and given away that she is entitled to a share. If little Italy may take San Mun without any by your leave, a province or two would not be too much for China's late conqueror. Wherefore Count Okuma advises the government "to so conduct itself as to induce China to rely solely upon the gallant assistance of Japan for the maintenance of independence."

The time and purport of the division of China, if the em-

pire is ever dismembered, will depend on circumstance, and the wisdom and energy the Chinese government displays in centralizing its strength and developing its resources. Russia cares nothing for territory not lying contiguous to her own; that is why she valued Alaska so lightly. Hence Russia may have her strip across the north, while England will confine her diplomacies to the Yangtse basin, comprising one-half of China proper, and the best part of the empire, leaving France and Germany and the rest to such crumbs of comfort as they are able to pick up in the south and southwest. England's late acquisition of Wei-hai-wei, and the country back from Hongkong, is all in this direction, and she gives fair notice, "that there can be no question of the territory in the valley or region of the Yangtse being mortgaged or leased or ceded to any power", other than herself. "Still another evidence of British enterprise", says an able review writer, "is seen in the long-termed concessions secured for an Anglo-Italian syndicate to work the coal and other mines of the provinces of Shansi and Honan, and build railroads there. The coal fields of Shansi cover an area of more than 14,000 square miles, and are estimated to contain enough coal to supply the entire world, at the present rate of consumption, for 2,000 years or more. A large proportion of it is anthracite, equal in quality to the best found in Pennsylvania. Of it there are believed to be at least 630,000,000,000 tons, or more than 1,200 times as much as all the coal of all kinds now mined in the whole world in a year. There is also nearly as much bituminous coal, of a fine coking quality. Lying close by, in fact, mingled with the coal seams, are billions of tons of the choicest iron ore, while petroleum abounds in many places; and apart from its mineral wealth the country is the most fertile, especially for wheat growing, in all China. The province lies on the bank of the Yellow river, which under civilized management may readily be transformed from the woe of China into one of its most beneficent highways of trade."

The aggregate population of the six nations to which China has fallen a prey is but three-fourths of that of China; but as President Krüger says, "China is not a state but a people, headless like a flight of locusts, but lacking the community instinct which makes of locusts a great people though they have no king."

The edicts of reform issued by the emperor show a realizing sense of the danger which threatens the empire, and the proper means of averting it. There must be a centralization of the strength of the empire and the admission and exercise of modern methods and development. Hence the emperor now encourages the construction of railways, and forbids his subjects interfering with them, as they were at first inclined to do. So with regard to steam navigation on the interior waterways, the opening of mines and the introduction of manufactures, the establishing of schools where English and science, and the ways of westerners, are taught. China is awakening.

To turn the balance of European power we do not now go to the Rhine or the Danube, but to eastern Asia. And as the people of the United States are as intelligent, as wealthy, and as enterprising as are any of those of the other world powers, though we do not want any of China's people or property for nothing, yet it is as clearly our duty to exercise for good the influence God has given us in China as it was in Cuba. The war, and the Asiatic domain it secured, give the United States an influence at Peking which should be second only to that of Great Britain, an influence which might always be used in behalf of justice and humanity, in preventing the seizure and partition of China, in holding open the door to commerce, or at the least in securing access on the most favorable terms for American manufactures.

But for England's jealousy, and I will add sense of decency, and her policy of an open door for commerce, and the necessity of preserving the world's potential equilibrium, with herself as first and strongest, China would long since have been partitioned among the cormorants of the continent. Though England's sins are many, she has long ago repented of her opium infamy, and can now be trusted better than any of the others to do about the fair thing in regard to China.

China, too, is behaving very well under the infliction of enforced civilization, and if allowed the opportunity will develop under her own rule as Japan has done. And it is not only the policy but the duty of the United States to come squarely to the front as one interested in the affairs of China, and not afraid of responsibility. Let congress be not quite so parsimonious; it has done and can do worse than to spend

money for the advancement of the best interests of the people. What is to be done with the immense wealth which the people of the United States are rolling up for themselves? What better can be done with money than to develop the resources of the Pacific, where fame and fortune invite. Not that taxation need be increased so as to become a burden; few have felt the cost of our war with Spain. But give to the encouragement of commerce and manufactures on the Pacific at least one short line government railway across the midcontinent desert, thus delivering the Pacific from the power of monopolies; give to this latest and greatest of progressional evolutions one-tenth of the time devoted to the selfish scheming of statesmen, one-tenth of the money drawn from the people and spent by politicians and office-holders on themselves and for useless purposes, and the shores of the Pacific will soon bloom with manufactures, and her waters swarm with an American merchant marine.

CHAPTER XV

THE PACIFIC OCEAN AND ITS BORDERS

FIRST the Mediterranean, then the Atlantic, and now the Pacific. For as culture ever crystallizes round some sea, great or small, since our civilization has become so great, it must needs have a great ocean for its use and pleasure. For four thousand years we have known the first; the last knows us scarce four hundred; and yet three of these four centuries, passed under the dreamy influences of Spain and far Cathay, make the place seem to us old, very old, only the present being new. Seems to us long ago since Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, on the 25th of September, 1513, with uplifted face and drawn sword, strode into Panamá bay, and pompously laid claim for Spain to the rest of the world, to all not previously taken, all that ocean sea, all that it held or bordered on. Yet fifty other years and it was asleep again, and indeed is but just now awakening.

If Balboa's claim held good,—and practically it proved valid enough until quite recently,—then by virtue of this call to winds and waves Spain became owner and possessor of the western part of all the two Americas, of Australia and all the islands of the Pacific, besides half the eastern coast of Asia, only Japan and China being then known to Europe, and those by no means well or definitely known. Never before or since were made or expressed human pretensions so vast and varied, or if made so nearly realized. Spain thus claimed by rights at that time regarded valid, and held as long as she was able, loosening her grasp on piece by piece of it as her strength gave way, the whole Pacific ocean, or nearly all of it.

In the uplifting of the primeval mists which had kept this region hidden from the eyes of Europeans, there stood revealed another world, another sky, a new earth and a new heaven. And there were fresh souls to save, if peradventure

these naked dark-skinned things had souls; and there was ready pay for the work, pleasant work and good pay, the fun of killing, with double compensation, an earthly reward and an heavenly; gold and glory here and a blessed immortality. Long enough time they had for this holy contemplation, and for the many dastardly deeds which accompanied it; for it was more than 200 years after the performance of Balboa at Panamá that the Russians found Kamchatka, and 250 years before Cook encountered Australia and the Hawaiian islands.

The economic centre of the civilized world, along with civilization itself, has ever been moving westward. There were the successive changes from Carthage to Italy, from Italy to Holland, and then to England; receding eastward for the moment on the continent from France to Germany and Russia; but from England crossing the Atlantic, and continuing overland to the Pacific ocean. Thus the United States war with Spain, which helped and hastened the opening of the Pacific, proves itself a factor in bringing about the industrial equilibrium of the world. And now this Pacific sea is destined to assume its natural supremacy. Once all the nations clustered round the Mediterranean; then the Atlantic became the theatre of commerce and international intercourse; but the world is not now too large to take into its consideration the greatest of its seas, and sail its ships and send its commerce over and around it, as formerly the Golden-Fleece searchers sailed the mighty Mediterranean.

This ocean gives us breathing space which the world has never had before. It shows if God be good how much better water is than land. This ocean with its pearl-lined bottom and jewelled sides comes in at this juncture of the world's history as a new fighting ground, a broader field for the display of naval athletics than we have ever had before. The chivalrous doings of the *Alabama* to merchant vessels pale before Dewey's smiting of Spain at the Philippines.

The influence of the ocean on man is marked. The savages who live by the sea are different from those who live inland; if not so cunning they are bold, and seem to have more breadth of brain. The small classic Mediterranean had at an early date its classic inhabitants; thus far the Atlantic is more symbolical of wealth and strength; the Pacific of romance and adventure. The Northmen lived by the sea, as did the

Phœnicians; but they were different seas and different people. Mexican culture blossomed in the middle of a lake, like Venice by the sea, and Rotterdam in the ocean; the Peruvians were a maritime people like the Carthagenians. The waters of the Mediterranean were quite broad enough for the quality of civilization planted on its borders.

With expansive environment the mind of man is forced to expand. With the enlarged knowledge of the Pacific came further knowledge of physical forces, the distribution of heat, the courses of atmospheric and marine currents, and the luxuriant organic phenomena thus brought to light. It was the sea that made Holland and England. It was the sea that destroyed Spain, protesting, perhaps, like the sensible thing it is, that Spaniards are not fit to live. The sea gave England her navy, her merchant marine, her colonial possessions, each the greatest of its kind in the world, and the last the greatest the world will ever see again.

Amidst the evolutions of nations the sea is regaining supremacy. When the Mediterranean was the world, and its borders the boundary between time and sense, an eternity of supernatural frost and fire rose on either side. From out the waters came the land, where there was no land, and from chaos the kosmos. Since the time when the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters, the ocean has exercised a paramount influence on the destinies of man.

Then comes an order under a new dispensation, the dispensation of the New Pacific. And it says, The sea dominates commerce but man dominates the sea. The circulation of oceanic waters from currents, counter-currents, and tides is the life of the body. Not that oceans grow from small Mediterraneans to large Pacifics, but man's ideas and capabilities are ever enlarging, so that to the mind of to-day the Pacific is no larger than was the Mediterranean to the Carthagenians. Around the shores of the Pacific, the greatest of the world's waters, are now circling the world-currents of progress, instinct with thought and energy. All the elements, earth air and water, breathe of activity and life. The civilizations of the future will cluster here, and become merged into one civilization, with this ocean as a common centre, across and around which swift intercourse will bring the various parts into near relationship.

And should the sea need further eulogy, let the reader turn back to that noble and prolific old chronicler, Samuel Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, who thus declaims: "Man should at once lose half his inheritance, if the art of navigation did not enable him to manage this untamed beast, and with the bridle of the winds and saddle of his shipping to make him serviceable. Now, for the services of the sea, they are innumerable; it is the great purveyor of the world's commodities to our use; conveyer of the excess of rivers; uniter by traffic of all nations; it presents the eye with diversified colours and motions, and is, as it were with rich brooches, adorned with various islands. It is an open field for merchandise in peace, a pitched field for the most dreadful fights of war; yields diversity of fish and fowls for diet, materials for wealth, medicine for health, simples for medicine, pearls and other jewels for ornament, amber and ambergris for delight, the wonders of the lord in the deep for instruction, variety of creatures for use, multiplicity of natures for contemplation, diversity of accidents for admiration; compendiousness to the way, to full bodies healthful evacuation, to the thirsty earth fertile moisture, to distant friends pleasant meeting, to weary persons delightful refreshing, to studious and religious minds a mass of knowledge, mystery of temperance, exercise of continence; a school of prayer, meditation, devotion, and sobriety; refuge to the distressed; portage to the merchant; passage to the traveller; customs to the prince; springs, lakes, rivers, to the earth; it hath on it tempests and calms to chastise the sins, to exercise the faith, of seamen; manifold affections in itself, to affect and stupify the subtlest philosopher; sustaineth movable fortresses for the soldier; maintaineth, as in our island, a wall of defence and watery garrison to guard the state, entertains the sun with vapours, the moon with obsequiousness, the stars also with a natural looking glass, the sky with clouds, air with temperatures, the soil with suppleness, the rivers with tides, the hills with moisture, the valleys with fertility; containeth the most diversified matter for meteors, most multiform shapes, most various, numerous kinds, most immense, difformed, deformed, unformed monsters; once—for why should I longer detain you?—the sea yields action to the body, meditation to the mind, the world to the world, all parts thereof to each part, by this art of arts, Navigation".

Thus an ancient Englishman; and now a modern Frenchman: "The sea", says Alphonse Esquiros in *La Neerlande et la Vie Hollandaise*, "has been for modern nations, but more particularly for Holland, a grand theatre of moral development. The influence which this mass of water has exercised on civilization has hitherto been too little considered; without it man had never fully recognized the extent of his powers; he had not turned his eyes towards heaven with intrepid perseverance to observe the planetary motions; the physical sciences, industry, and the useful arts had never advanced a step beyond the limits of the middle ages. Holland is the child of the ocean, and has marched upon the ocean to the conquest of boundless wealth".

And now for a sun-picture of this Pacific. Place before you a map of the world while I fill in the details. Not the map of Hipparchus of Nicæa, nor the map of Marinus of Tyre, nor even Ptolemy's map of the world, made in the second century of our era, for these men knew little of the world, and still less of the Pacific. Some say that Ptolemy's Magnus Sinus represents this greatest of waters; but if so why should the first of cosmographers, and those who came after him, have placed it near the gulf of Siam in the Indian ocean? Neither knew Christopher Columbus aught of this vast liquid expanse, which covers one-quarter of the globe and comprises one-half of its water surface. In the mind of the Genoese the world was smaller than it is, and where stands the Pacific, all was blank, save that somewhere thereabout was the Terrestrial Paradise of Dante, the India to the west being but the other side of the well-known India to the east. No attention had been paid by the map-makers of the pre-Columbian period, or by any of the earlier geographers, to the wild tales told by Sulaiman, the Arabian merchant, who lived in the ninth century, and affirmed that he had seen and sailed upon great waters beyond China, or by Marco Polo, the Venetian traveller, the importance of whose discoveries were seemingly in proportion to the extravagance of his stories concerning them.

Those alone who had lived upon its isles or along its shores, coming and going with the centuries, stolid savages for the most part, had ever seen this ocean, or seeing had scarcely more conception of its nature and extent than the rocks and trees around them. Let us glance round the arena, from Pata-

gonia to Australia, and see what manner of men are these who come no one knows whence and pass on no one knows whither. For the question was early settled by the cardinals in solemn conclave that these were men, and not brute beasts merely, but animals with souls, and so subjects for christianization by the Spanish process, thus giving honor and emoluments to both church and state. Thus unknown to all then known to history stood this ocean sea, on that memorable day when Europeans first beheld it, gazing with rapture on the sun-lit waters from the hill of Quarequá.

See now what these steel-clad specimens from Europe did after taking a good look at this water. First, they all knelt down and thanked God. For what? For giving them this ocean sea, as they called it, signifying thereby a large sea and not a small one,—for giving them this immeasurable ocean of wealth and opportunity; which was taking much for granted. The manner in which they manifested their gratitude to the Almighty for his alleged gift, was to go down to the beach and rob and burn some villages of the natives. Then seizing some boats, they compelled the owners to paddle them over to some islands where they had been told were pearls, and called the Pearl islands, off Panamá, to this day. Panamá was a native fishing station, the word signifying “A place where many fish are taken”. Capturing the village at the Pearl islands, they secured a basin of pearls, 240 of which were of extraordinary size and value. This was almost Cathay; as with the gold and pearls they found women.

After Balboa came Pedrarias to the Pacific, and established a Spanish town at Panamá, and then went to govern Nicaragua, where Gil Gonzalez had been before him baptizing and looting the natives. Vasco Nuñez had built some boats in the Darien hills for a sail on the Pacific, but was charged with treason and beheaded, the king pretending to fear that it was really the intention of the cavalier to pocket the entire Pacific. The winds and the waves to which Balboa had discoursed so eloquently, claiming the mastery over them, the king seemed to fear would really obey him, and thus royalty be cheated of its rights.

Finding Balboa's boats, Gil Gonzalez coasted northward, and presently came to the gulf of Nicoya, the chief there living as well as the bay being then so called, as the latter is

called to-day. Then to Nicaragua's town and lake, of whose chief Nicoya had assured the Spaniards: "He is wise and valiant, and your little army will melt before his warrior host." Into Nicaragua's fresh-water sea Gil Gonzalez rode his horse, and took possession of it under the very eye of the wondering chief, not with wet feet like Balboa in the Pacific, but still with sword-shaking, and drinking and spouting out the water. From Mexico came two captains of Cortés, Alvarado to Guatemala and Olid to Honduras; and so this country became colonized.

From Panamá southward, after Andagoya had found Biru, went Pizarro and a cutthroat crew after the treasures of the incas. It was in 1524 that they set sail in a small caravel, 100 men and four horses. Passing the spot where afterward was placed Trujillo, Pizarro came to Tumbes and Cuzco, discovering and taking possession of the coast and towns of Peru. Already Magellan had coasted Chili, before turning off for the Philippines, and so South America was encompassed.

In every quarter an ardent desire prevailed to discover a shorter route to the Spice islands. Cortés was urged to this by Charles V. Alvaro de Saavedra was despatched from the coast of Mexico to the Moluccas, and in 1527 we find the Spanish conqueror of Mexico writing letters from his capital of Tenochtitlan to the kings of Zebu and Tidore in the Asiatic island world.

Before the coming of Magellan, whose voyage was one of the most important in history, nothing further than what I have told was known of this ocean, or that on it one might sail straight as the crow flies from south to north, and from east to west, 10,000 miles without touching land, or that it was the same ocean as the south Pacific which, when first encountered from India was regarded as the continuation of the *sinus magnus* of Ptolemy, with an eastern boundary not far distant. Balboa, Pedrarias Dávila, and Cortés all held the opinion that the Pacific was part of the Indian ocean, whose shores and islands were rich in rare woods and spices, and in gold pearls and precious stones. By each subsequent discovery the mind was more and more wrought into excitement as the wonders of knowledge increased, still leaving so much as yet undiscovered and so many marvels unexplained. No one had imagined such a world as this. And when half

known, which indeed is the worst form of ignorance, never was there a Don Quixote more wild in his wind-mill vagaries, according to the tales of them that were told, than some of these knights of antipodal adventure, who sought for straits through continents, for Amazonian Californias, picturing meanwhile in their new geographies the sea-monsters and hobgoblins of the past in truthful and orthodox colorings. And it was so much better, they thought, filling up the blank spaces in charts from imagination than to leave bare white paper. There was no room in the geography of the time for a Pacific ocean. The great cosmographer, Paul Toscanelli, still held to the opinion expressed in Ptolemy's *Almagest*, that the continent of Asia extended west over half the earth, or 180 equatorial degrees from Spain to eastern Sinæ. Other cosmographers extended this area to 240 degrees, bringing the coast of Asia to the meridian of San Diego, and leaving no space for the Pacific ocean. Hence the opening of eyes that followed the discoveries of Balboa and Magellan, and the loosening of tongues that talked the world into beliefs in Anian straits and other northern mysteries.

That the first discovery of America by the Northmen should have produced so little effect upon progress was because the world was not ready for it. The world was yet too ignorant; the human intellect was not sufficiently advanced to properly comprehend the nature and extent of this great wonder, or its effect on their destinies. Besides, it was not generally or adequately or precisely known outside of Scandinavia. The knowledge thus obtained was immediately locked in sagas away from the world, and the value of the discovery was not realized until centuries after when the sagas revealed the facts with new and striking force and vividness. The influence upon the world of science, and upon intellectual development, of the discovery and exploration of the Pacific ocean, was if possible even greater than that of the discoveries of the Northmen and of the Genoese. For not only were the extent and configuration of the world thus determined, the relative water and land surface, the atmospheric and oceanic currents, the distribution of animals and plants, but many other things hitherto not understood were accounted for, humidity and dryness, influence of mountains and vegetation on moisture, effect of cosmic forces on man, and a hundred other like subjects.

The world was unfolding her secrets, and to Europe knowledge of the Pacific ocean came as a surprise, and a not altogether pleasing one. It made the world larger, too large; it was large enough before. To get round it, or on to the other side, and back of India, going west, after crossing the Atlantic and doubling the horn of America there was this other great ocean to traverse before reaching the famed Zipangu, Cathay, and the Spice islands, with all their great riches, their mountains of metal, and islands of pearls and precious stones. What was the use of such a waste of water, only to distress the poor sailors?

On the one side of this great ocean sea is the newest of the New World, on the other side the oldest of the Old World, that is to say the oldest still existing of the old world civilizations. The borders are for the most part mountainous, volcanic ranges rising behind low narrow seaboards, some of whose highest peaks stand sentinel in perpetual snow under the equator. Round the amphitheatre of water runs a circle of fire, some of these volcanic mountains, in lateral or parallel ranges, others in a line along the shore, and others again in inland lacustrine basins, this volcanic ring being about 22,000 miles in circumference. Beginning in the south at New Zealand and the Fiji islands, as an early centre of volcanic activity, round which are hundreds of extinct or active craters, and proceeding on the one side to and beyond the basaltic islands of Juan Fernandez, and on the other to Australia and the Solomon isles, we find ourselves at what has been called the focus of the lava streams of the planet.

Off the Indo-Chinese peninsula are a hundred volcanoes vomiting ashes lava and mud, bursting forth now and then in terrible explosions which destroy villages and cover with dust and debris areas hundreds of miles in extent. Every large island, and nearly every small one, is punctured with one or more outlets for internal fires. Java alone has forty-five volcanoes; while from beautiful Sumatra to Borneo, and on to Mindanao and Luzon, there are two gigantic tracks of fire. North of the Philippines the volcanic line curves eastward, following the trend of the coast,—Formosa and the Liou-Kieon archipelago first, then the isles of Japan, where stands conspicuous the sacred Fujiyama, whose gods look down on Nippon; the Kurile archipelago, with a dozen vol-

canic orifices, and then the peninsula of Kamchatka, where a dozen more are usually active.

With a graceful curve thirty-four cones swing southward round the Bering sea to Alaska, on the peninsula Ounimak standing conspicuous, and further eastward St Elias and Fairweather, pouring forth venom, the former at a height of 17,716 feet, and the latter of 14,370 feet. And so on, from Edgecumbe in Lazarus island, all along the volcanic region of British Columbia, along the Cascade-Nevada range of Washington Oregon and northern California, there are notable peaks, Hood, Shasta, Helena, and others, from 9,000 to 16,000 feet high. In southern California and northern Mexico the basaltic and trachytic coast elevations have fewer outlets, but on the high plateau of Central Mexico, Colima, Jorullo, Popocatepetl and the rest stand proudly forth. Central America has some famous volcanoes, as del Fuego and del Agua in Guatemala; the Phare d'Isalco, which at night lights up the broad plain of Salvador with its jets of molten stone and red smoke; Coseguina, whose late eruption is counted among the greatest of modern times; and Momotombo and other mountains, worshipped in a propitiatory way on account of the evil they do. Crossing at Panamá by the isthmus which bridges the continental break to South America, and we find ourselves at once in a nest of enormous equatorial volcanoes, —Tolima, 17,716 feet high; and to the south the Pasto group of sixteen, some smoking some extinct, among them Cotopaxi, Tunguragua, Carahuizo, and the rest, and towering over all the proud dome of Chimborazo. Then Sangay, one of the most destructive of all the burning mountains, and after that, still pointing southward, a subterranean rest in the cordilleras for a distance of 930 miles to southern Peru, where volcanic peaks and domes of trachyte again appear. The volcanic chain of the two Americas, coming from the north, may be said to terminate in the three smoking peaks Antuco, Villarica, and Osorno, in Chili, though subterranean action breaks out in milder form all the way to Tierra del Fuego.

Within this Pacific basin are myriads of charming isles of volcanic origin, some still spluttering, some quiescent, chief among them being the far-famed Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea of Hawaii. In the Marianne and Gallapagos groups are many active orifices, and some 2,000 extinct craters.

This much may we behold upon the surface of things, but who shall say as to the craters and crevices of ocean, the submerged peaks and domes, mountains burning beneath the waters, over their crests perhaps islands of scoriæ, or the flattened sea-mountains themselves upheaved by the mighty powers of unrest. Thus have arisen within recent times two mountains of the Aleutian isles, and if the ancient chroniclers may be believed several cases of volcanic emergence from waters which wash the coasts of Japan, China, and Korea have occurred within historic times.

The American side of the Pacific is bluff, the Asiatic side has low fertile shores. Alaska's borders are low and swampy. We notice on the eastern side comparatively few islands, while on the western side, and at the northern end are islands innumerable. Nowhere on the globe is found so many groups and such an innumerable number of islands, in size from the up-shooting rock to the island-continent of Australia. The American Pacific seaboard has fewer indentations and sea-ports than the littoral line of Asia, broken by earthquakes and ocean currents into various forms of bays peninsulas and continental fragments.

North of the equator there is more land than water; south of it there is more water than land. The lands of the northern hemisphere are largely in the temperate zone; the lands of the southern hemisphere lie chiefly in the tropics, become hot, and engender great animal and vegetable vitality, regulate the action of winds and rains, and give rise to hurricanes.

Once an unbroken basin save at the southern side, the now disjoined isthmus between Australia and Asia and the Bering passage from the Arctic being closed, and all encircled by fire, molten rocks with torrents of gas shooting forth from inner combustion, where were forged the metals that seamed the mountains, of a truth the Pacific, eras past, as now, was full of wonders.

The rivers emptying into the largest of oceans are not the largest of rivers, nor are they as numerous here as in some other quarters. The Andean range runs too near the shore to permit of large streams in Pacific South America, while in western North America there are only the Colorado, Sacramento, Columbia, and Fraser, which may be dignified by that term, until we reach the Yukon, whose waters enter the Pa-

cific by way of Bering strait. On the Asiatic side are the Amur, Hoang-ho, Yangtse, and Mekhong, only the large continent having large streams.

In their hydrographical systems the oceans differ widely, most of the great rivers of the world flowing into the Atlantic, and lesser ones into the Pacific. That is to say, as against the Columbia, Fraser, and Yukon, the Amur, Hoang-ho, the Yangtse, and the Cambodin of the Pacific, there are the Uruguay and Parana, the Amazon and the Orinoco, the Mississippi and St Lawrence, not to mention the Congo Niger and Gambia, and by way of the Mediterranean the Nile and the Danube. No country so mountainous is so poorly supplied with rivers as the west coast of South America. Australia is remarkable for its small streams and the periodicity of their flow, a few only like the Murray being navigable at all times.

The commerce of the United States is rapidly extending in Asia, and it was a piece of special good fortune that the war with Spain should carry us at once where conquest would prove of the greatest service. The states of the Pacific are now in position to compete with the world for industrial supremacy. On the north Asiatic coast, and along the shores of the two Americas, all except the tropical part, might be set up wheat granaries.

Still following in the wake of that basest of discoverers, the swineherd Pizarro, we will look along the southern coast, then turning to Panamá follow the seaboard northward from where we left Gil Gonzalez and Cortés.

Panamá was once the richest city in America, and next to Cartagena the most strongly fortified, the walls being in places 60 feet wide and 40 feet high. These walls, and the massive granite ramparts of a new fortress, were erected just after the capture of old Panamá, which was six miles distant from the site of the present city, by the pirate Morgan, who, in 1671, after three weeks of horrible atrocities perpetrated upon the defenceless inhabitants, burned the city, carrying away 175 mule loads of plunder from private persons, government, and churches, and 600 prisoners. So complete was the destruction of the ancient city, with its cathedral, its monasteries, hospitals, 200 richly furnished Moorish houses, and 5,000 ordinary dwellings, and which had been up to that time the entrepôt for the products of the Spice islands, and the gold

and silver of Peru, that it was never rebuilt on that spot, but was abandoned for other ground,—this, and because of the unwholesome site. Panamá is a free port, and exports gold-dust, tobacco, hides, india-rubber, manganese, shells, vanilla, sarsaparilla, whale-oil, and cocoa-nuts. At the Pearl islands, off the bay of Panamá, the pearl fisheries continue as in the days of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, though in lesser degree. The Panamá railroad, 48 miles in length, built in 1850-4, was the first to span the continent. After this followed the Central and Union Pacific; the Southern Pacific; the Northern Pacific, and others in Canada, Mexico, and Central and South America.

Peru extends from latitude $19^{\circ} 10'$ south nearly to the equator, and with Ecuador and Colombia reaches the isthmus of Panamá. The prevailing wind is from the south. The absence of rain is owing to the influence of the snowy mountain tops on the southeast trade winds from the Atlantic, which wring from it all moisture, leaving it thus arid to descend the western slope to the warmer regions below. There are three distinct longitudinal zones, the coast, the sierra, and the montana, the first lying between the ocean and the maritime cordillera, mostly a sandy desert twenty miles wide, and crossed by rivers flowing through fertile valleys; the second, 250 miles wide, in which stands the Andean chain, with its high plateaus and warm fertile ravines, the home of the potato, the abode of the vicuna and the alpaca, and rich in metals; the third, the eastern slope and valley of the Amazon, covered with dense tropical forests. Nature in the sierra, which is the heart of Peru, is on a stupendous scale, where within short distances appears every variety of scenery and climate, from tropical to alpine.

Monumental remains in South America show a high aboriginal civilization, as the cyclopean stone edifices at Tiahuanacu in Bolivia, the huge structures of carved stone at Cuzco, in Peru, and the ruins at Vilcamayu, Titicaca and Coati islands, Chiru, and elsewhere. Besides buildings, the vast reservoirs for the storage of water and the expensive systems of irrigation are among the grandest monuments of the old Peruvians. The resources and commerce of the ancient Peruvians were rich and extensive, silver gold and copper, vicuña and alpaca, maize and cocoa, potatoes and quinquas, medicinal plants, cot-

ton and maguey fibre, fruit vegetables and guano being conspicuous. To these native products the Spaniards added horses, asses, cattle, swine, goats, and sheep, which rapidly increased and overspread the land. Bullocks were yoked to the plow on the plain of Cuzco in 1550, and in 1554 a Spanish cavalier turned stock-raiser, buying ten cows at Lima for \$1,000. Sheep were introduced from Europe in 1556; and also about that time wheat barley and grapes from the Canary islands; oranges figs and pomegranates, peaches apples pears and quinces. The first sugarcane was grown at Huanuco; all the European vegetables were growing in Peru prior to 1560. In the coast valleys cotton is indigenous. In the montana the missions founded by the Franciscans grew into settlements as in Mexico, Texas, and California.

The public works of Peru, ancient and modern, are by no means insignificant. Aside from such structures as the temples of the Sun, the temple of Cacha, the fortresses and palaces of Cuzco, Vilcamayu, and Titicaca, and the reservoirs, aqueducts, canals, roads, and bridges of the ancients, there are the government buildings, the cathedrals, monasteries, hospitals, railways, and boulevards of modern times equal to any upon the shores of the ocean. The wealth which Peru is now giving to the world is mainly the product from the growth and manufacture of sugar and cotton, with the cultivation also for commercial purposes of wheat, corn, grapes, and alfalfa for stock-grazing. These and the mines; the barren deserts and rocky islands even largely contributing, the former in various salts and the latter in guano.

Paita has a good harbor, which was once the resort of whalers. Considerable cotton, grown in the interior, is shipped from this port, much of it to Mexico, and some to Europe. Wood and water once were scarce, and were brought in by burros, and sold, the former at two reales per cargo of 24 sticks, and the latter at four reales for 20 gallons. Tumbez, the town of Peruvian antiquity and civilization, is built largely of bamboo, on account of the abundance of that material, and notwithstanding the presence not far distant of mighty ruins, and example of such structures as the temple of the Sun. Trujillo was founded by Pizarro in 1535, and has now a population of about 15,000. An oval adobe wall with fifteen bastions, built by the duke of Palata, viceroy, encircled the city

in 1686, and was the only walled town in Peru except Lima. Squier found the best hotel in Trujillo kept by an association of Chinamen, each having his special work, and all performing their duties with the best results. They had burned their ships, that is cut off their queues, and one of them had married a native of the country.

The chief port and capital of Peru, Callao, eight miles from Lima, where the Pacific Steam Navigation company have their works, affords fair anchorage and outfitting accommodations. There is a floating dock, harbor works, forts, government offices, hospitals, shops, and banks. French and German steam lines have also quarters there. Callao exports silver, gold, sugar, cotton, wool, and hides. Callao harbor, the commercial gateway of Peru, is a circular basin, six miles in diameter and of good depth. Adobe and stone houses of one or two stories, bordering streets twenty feet wide paved with cobble stones, with churches and public buildings constitute the city. A railway connects this port with Lima, the capital, built upon the model of all Spanish-American cities, with plaza, alameda, cathedral, public buildings, and dwellings with low roofs and thick walls. The more pretentious residences occupy a square, with a patio in the centre. Any where else Callao would be but a poor harbor, but as the only winds here are from the south and southwest, the island of San Lorenzo, and the projection of land marking the site of old Callao, suffice for protection.

Lima, the city of the kings, as it was christened by Pizarro when he made it the capital of his conquered domain in 1535, was for a time the haughtiest, as well as the most luxurious and profligate of all the viceregal courts. The church and the inquisition flamed brightly here, as no where else in America, the cathedral rivalling in costly adornments the sacred edifices of Europe, and even the old Peruvian temple of the Sun. Lima is a city of many institutions and much culture. There are churches and colleges, museums and libraries, military and naval institutes, hospitals and halls of legislation. The city has a botanical and a zoological garden; a panteon, or general cemetery, where the dead rest in mural niches, of which there are many thousands prepared. The houses, built on the usual Spanish-American plan, with flat roof and inner court, are elegant, and the women beautiful.

An ecclesiastic city, it has ever been aristocratic. In 1873 many house-walls were demolished to make room for trees and boulevards. The old plaza of the Inquisition became the plaza de la Independencia, and what was University chapel became the legislative hall of the chamber of deputies, the senate occupying the old tribunal hall of the Inquisition. With wealth and aristocracy presently came nobility, 29 Peruvian noblemen being created in the seventeenth century, and 54 in the eighteenth; so that when independence and republicanism came there were no less than 46 American marquises, 35 counts, one viscount, and one duke.

Every afternoon about five o'clock, particularly on Sundays and Thursdays, the beauty and fashion of Spanish America are seen displayed in the drives and promenades of all the cities. Wealth is there, and likewise poverty in the garb of wealth; for these people love to make a display, and will starve themselves six days in the week to sport a gaudy garb on the seventh. Some of the equipages are equal to any in Hyde park; blooded horses in harness of silver and gold, with elegant carriages and liveried coachmen and footmen.

Cuzco, the city of the Sun, and seat of the Peruvian empire, is situated in one of a cluster of valleys 11,380 feet above the level of the sea. Wheat, corn, barley, and potatoes grow there, but twenty miles distant are deep hot gorges where thrive semi-tropical fruits. The splendid highways of the incas radiated thence in various directions, the ruins of which are now seen, as well as those of temple edifices, ancient smelting-works, bridges, baths, and aqueducts on arches. Under the Peruvians, Cuzco was connected with Quito, now the capital of Ecuador, by a paved highway, portions of which still remain. Quito stands 9,520 feet above sea level, and consists mostly of one-story adobe houses. Among the notable places in the Andes of Peru under the old régime were Tiahuanuco, the centre of Peruvian civilization and the Baalbec of America, and Titicaca, the sacred island and lake.

The war between the republics of Peru and Chili in 1879 to 1882 was wholly uncalled for, and productive of no good results. It was over a question of boundary regarding territory to whose inhabitants it made no difference to which commonwealth it might be said they belonged. However, men and dogs will fight for even less issues than this, and indeed for

no issue at all. Peru was badly beaten, and long remained prostrate under the heel of the conqueror. Large sums of money were extorted from the private citizens of Lima, many of whom were imprisoned or transported to Chili for refusal to pay. Besides thousands of lives and millions of money, the Peruvians lost the guano and nitrate trade, and the war vessels *Huascar* and *Independencia*. But all this is nothing for a country whose mountains are of metal, whose sands are of precious salts, and whose soil and sterile rocks even supply so profusely so much of what all the world wants. Two or three hundred millions of dollars have been invested in Peru in railways, mostly by the government, the ties coming from the United States and the rails from England. Silver mines are worked all along the Peruvian cordillera, Cerro Pasco being an important point, 1,500,000 ounces being sometimes annually there produced.

Upper Peru in 1825 became Bolivia, a lofty isolated region, including the old province of Charcas and half of the basin of Lake Titicaca. Here also are the gold mines of Tipuani and the silver mines of Potosí. Bolivia has two outlets for her products, the one a long land transit to the port of Arica attended by heavy dues, and the other over a still longer road to Buenos Ayres. Yet the best coffee and chocolate in the world are grown here, and chinchona bark rich in quinine.

Chili is a strip of seaboard from 40 to 200 miles wide, running northward from Cape Horn 2,270 miles. There are many passes over the cordillera into Argentina, the highest being the Dona Ana, whose altitude is 14,770 feet. The largest lake, the Llanquihue, 22 by 30 miles, is 197 feet above the sea; and the largest river, the Biobio, 220 miles long and navigable for 100 miles. Chili abounds in mineral waters, and has some fine wooded islands. Timber is the principal product of the south, but grain flax and potatoes are also exported thence, while from the north figs, olives, peaches, grapes, and maize are sent abroad. The Chilean Andes present an imposing sight, with their clear white summits overlooking the variegated green of the valleys, while beyond is the blue ocean. The transandean railway and telegraph route connecting Chili and Argentina is through the Uspalata pass, 13,000 feet high.

The Araucanians who once occupied the greater part of

Chili, and who so bravely fought the invaders, attacking Spanish cities and destroying Spanish forts, killing Pedro Valdivia, founder of Santiago, still preserve their national identity as well as their hatred of Spaniards. Driven southward during the three centuries of Spanish rule, the remaining 50,000 inhabitants affect some degree of civilization, owning lands through which runs a government railroad.

Valparaiso, the chief city of Chili, is one of the prominent ports of the Pacific, and has always been conspicuous in commerce. It was founded by Juan de Saavedra in 1536, and captured by Drake in 1578, and again by Hawkins in 1596. After pirates came earthquakes, giving the place other severe shakings up, and in 1866 it was bombarded by a Spanish fleet, which demolished once more a large part of the city. And yet it lives, and has its forts, and government palace, and warehouses, and hospitals, and theatres, naval academy, and many industrial establishments, among which are railway shops, sugar refinery, and wagon works. Valparaiso takes its form from a crescent-shaped harbor, with a background of hills, some of which are terraced and adorned with residences. The population which in 1820 numbered 5,000, in 1860 had reached 80,000. Many of these are foreigners, the professional and business men of the higher grade being mostly English, Americans, French, and Germans.

Santiago, the capital of Chili, cut in twain by the river Mapocho, has many fine buildings with picturesque surroundings. In the soft air of evening the wealth and fashion of Chili congregate in the plaza de la Independencia, a common name for the principal square in these republics, and here filled with foliage and statuary. Government, educational, and benevolent institutions abound, and patriotism and progress predominate. The houses are mostly of one story, and cover seven square miles of ground. Santiago has an astronomical observatory and mint.

Tongoy is a small port serving the coasting trade, and supplying the rich copper mines of Tamaya. Talcahuano has a fine harbor and a flourishing agricultural trade, with good coal near by. Coronel and Lota mark a large coal district. Valdivia has a good harbor, and is surrounded by a fertile agricultural country. A colony of Germans was some time ago established there. Caldera has a good bay with a long pier

and every facility for shipping. There are the Copiapo and other railways to rich silver districts. Huasco, though only an open roadstead, is a port of entry. It exports copper ore and supplies the mines of Atacama. Coquimbo is a fairly good port, with the advantage of the Serena railway.

An important point on the Pacific coast of South America is Concepcion, eight miles from the fine harbor of Talcahuano. Half a dozen lines of foreign steamers call here regularly; there is a good naval dry dock, and every accommodation for refitting and coaling. It is the centre of the Chilean coal region, and screenings from the mines for generating electricity can be bought for 35 cents a ton American money. Not far distant are rich copper mines, which only require capital for profitable development. English companies cover a good part of the nitrate fields with an aggregate capital of \$100,000,000.

Chile has 1,300 miles of government railways, 1,000 miles of private lines, owned chiefly by the English, 25,000 miles of public roads, and 2,875 miles of waterway. Steamship communication is regular and direct along the Pacific coast from Valparaiso to Panamá, where connection is made to New York, Liverpool, Central America, Mexico, and California; and also by steamers and sailing vessel via Magellan strait to the eastern American coast and Europe.

Along this stretch of Pacific American seaboard is a variety of aboriginal humanity, with decided differences, yet exclusive and enough alike to mark them different from all the rest of the world. There are the big-headed giants of Patagonia, who hunt the ostrich with a sling; the Araucanians, and other intelligent and war-loving tribes of Chile, who assume superiority and delight in drunkenness; the truly cultivated Peruvians, with all the paraphernalia of civilization and the only American domesticated animal; the dark-skinned naked inhabitants of the malarious seaboard of the Mayas and Nahuas of civilized Central America and Mexico; the houseless root-diggers and vermin-eaters of California; the nobler Chinooks and Haidahs of Oregon and British Columbia; and the cunning Aleuts.

Doubtless some day Alaska and Patagonia will be connected by coast line railway and telegraph along the Pacific, part of the distance being already accomplished. So on the Asiatic

side, which in the race for development will not be far behind the American. Nearly a decade ago an intercontinental railway commission was organized, twelve republics being represented, to examine and report on the feasibility of connecting North and South America by rail. The report of the commissioners advocated a road from New York to Buenos Ayres, 10,228 miles in length.

As Hammerfest, in Norway, is the northernmost town in the world, so Punta Arenas, on the site of the old Spanish colony in the strait of Magellan, is the most southern. Situated opposite Tierra del Fuego, and environed by mossy plains and low hills covered with stunted trees, Punta Arenas presents by no means a pleasing picture. The place was founded in 1843 as a penal settlement of the Chilian government. The houses are of one story, standing irregularly, and in the harbor are usually a fleet of coal ships, this being the leading industry. It is no longer the official rendezvous of criminals.

The region round Cape Horn is not a thickly inhabited portion of the world, the nearest neighboring town to Punta Arenas being 2,000 miles away on either side. Representatives from the world's refuse of population seem to have drifted in and lodged here, almost every type of humanity, and every language, being seen and spoken,—wrecked seamen and wandering Jews, convicts and men of commerce, all of every shade of color and every nationality. For sale here, besides coal gold-dust and silver ores, are native goods, turtle-shells, snake-skins, sea-lions' tusks, armadillo tails, ostrich and seal skins, and rugs made from the soft downy breast of young ostriches, the plumes adorning them being plucked from the wings and tail of the live bird.

Nor is the great island of Tierra del Fuego the altogether cold and barren land of desolation one might imagine. It is true that snow rests perpetually on the higher peaks, but there are fertile valleys and grassy plains, mountains lakes and rivers affording beautiful scenery, and a climate far less rigorous in the main than that of northern Canada. But the savages who call this place home—better leave them unhonored and unsung. Yet they are no worse than the Fijians and Tahitians, or even than the dusky denizens of fair California.

Back to the Isthmus, as before said. The Panamá railway had been fifteen years in operation when it was said of it that

there was no work of ancient or modern times which had accomplished so much in so short a time, and which still promised such great benefits to the commercial world. Connecting with it, on both oceans, were lines of steamers which with their connections reached every quarter of the globe. Besides the Panamá railway, both Americans and English have several short lines in Colombia, the latter being from Santa Marta to Savilla; the Dorado, from Yeguas to Honda; the government also own and operate railways. On the Magdalena river and its tributaries are a score of small steamboats operated by various companies.

The so-called republics of Central and South America are in reality governed by no one; rulers and people alike are given up to revolution and anarchy, the dominating influence of the land really emanating from a few foreigners, coffee-growers, merchants, bankers, and transportation officials. A republican form of government is suited only to a people of advanced intelligence and integrity. The fundamental idea is a government by the people, and if the people are ignorant and debased a nominal republic is worse for them than pure despotism. The governments of Spanish America are no more republics than are the black republics of the West Indies and Africa. They lack the first principles of republicanism, a strong self-contained, and progressive people. With admirable codes and constitutions they are totally devoid of political morals and official honesty. Corruption in public affairs is the rule, and their commercial ethics are not much better. Here as elsewhere the inexorable laws of progress will in the end prevail. Every people must either advance or fall backward, and where people of low development, whether African or European, whether Asiatic or American, continue for any considerable time to decline, they are certain in the end to be swallowed up by some stronger race.

Many times the Central American republics have attempted federation, but have failed, owing to selfishness and jealousy, and lacking the political consistency to hold together. The more immediate impediment, after the solution of the great question, Who shall rule? has been the collection and disposition of duties, Salvador claiming that with one-fourth the area of either, her imports and exports exceeded those of Hon-

duras and Nicaragua combined. When those who would rule have grown up to the occasion, the Greater Republic of Central America will be an accomplished fact, provided in the mean time the hand of the United States does not appear in their affairs. Canals at Panamá and Nicaragua require construction and will demand protection. One of the several births of the new republic, the United States of Central America, took place on the 1st of November, 1898, when the republics of Nicaragua, Honduras, and Salvador disappeared, and a new map was required for the middle America. The new republic had an area of 110,000 square miles, and a population of 2,000,000. Its industrial advantages were great. Centrally situated, with a good soil and good interior climate, a long stretch of seaboard on both the Atlantic and the Pacific, and the site of the canal through which will pass the world's western commerce, a great future is assured. In due time Guatemala and Costa Rica might perhaps find it to their interest to join a federation. Amapala was the present, and perhaps would be the permanent capital. The constitution was modelled on that of the United States of America, a president elected for four years, who was commander-in-chief of the army and navy, a congress of two houses, the senate consisting of six senators from each of the three states, and three from the federal district, and a house of representatives having one representative for every 30,000 inhabitants. Then as usual it collapsed.

The interior of Central America is picturesque, while nature there is charming, but the people are not in keeping with the country. Mexico is slowly becoming somewhat civilized, and may in time even become republican, but as for the rest of Spanish America, with the large native and mixed populations, the tendency is downward rather than upward. Guatemala, Honduras, and Tehuantepec have or soon will have each a railway from sea to sea. The bay of Fonseca, on which Salvador Honduras and Nicaragua all have frontage, is highly important as a commercial port.

Nicaragua is a beautiful bit of earth, and in proper hands would become a garden, healthful though tropical. But ever since it has been free from the tyranny of Spain it has been subject to a worse tyranny, the tyranny of chronic revolution, the kind of tyranny that Aguinaldo would, if he could,

inflict on the Filipinos. Walker, who went with a handful of California adventurers in 1852 to rule this fair land, was a filibuster, as Maximilian of Austria, who with French soldiers went to rule Mexico, was a filibuster; they both died for their adopted country, as let us hope Aguinaldo will some day depart, he who has caused thousands of others to die for the gratification of his base ambition. Back of these were the filibusters from Spain, who took the country from the natives three or four hundred years ago, and held it because they were the stronger. But whether held for chronic revolution by sons of the soil, or for a ship canal by a Chicago syndicate, or by the United States whose congress has been playing with the subject through the century, and can do nothing even now when it really desires a canal because the railway men and politicians are greater than the United States, Nicaragua is a beautiful and healthful country.

On a large fresh-water sea stood Nicaragua's town in the days of old, and there Gil Gonzalez found the chief, and gave him two good things, christianity and death. This town was but three leagues from the South sea, and the water on which it stood was connected with the waters of the North sea by a river, which afforded easy transit; so the chief Nicaragua informed the Spanish captain Gil Gonzalez, who like Vasco Nuñez had essayed the passage of the Isthmus from Darien, building boats on the mountains for use in the South sea.

The fine woods of this section are extensive and valuable. One dollar a log used to be paid for the privilege of cutting rosewood, mahogany, and cedar, but now districts are marked off and concessions given for a consideration. The Nicaraguans must make what they can of what nature has done for them, as they seem inclined to do but little for themselves. The old chief who dwelt by the lake, were he living now, might do well with some American or European syndicate in disposing of his aboriginal property rights.

The inhabitants of Nicaragua are mostly half-breed Indians and negroes, or rather a mixture of Indian, negro, and Spanish blood in nearly every individual, except the few foreigners. Amapala, the Pacific port of Honduras, receives the trade of the Atlantic as well as of the Pacific. Honduras as seen from the Pacific presents a wall of mountains whose tops bristle with volcanic peaks. From this mountain rampart

flow several rivers; the largest, the Ulna, is navigable. These mountains are veined with silver, Olancho being the place for gold washings.

The isthmus of Tehuantepec, a tropical garden, has long been conspicuous in connection with interoceanic communication, projected railways, ship canal, and ship railroad. Acapulco is the best Mexican port on the Pacific, being so land-locked as to be scarcely discernible from the sea; but for a town site it is a wretched place, being a basin surrounded by mountains which prevent circulation of air, and therefore hot and unhealthy. This little indentation, where ships can be moored close to the surrounding rocks if necessary, was, as we shall see later, for a long time prior to the independence, the great depot of Spain on the Pacific for East Indian trade, a galleon sailing once every year to the Philippine islands, and returning laden with the products and treasures of the East. On the arrival here of the annual ship from Manila, a great fair was held, to which buyers resorted from all parts of Mexico. The California gold steamers to Panamá used also to stop here going and returning. Though sunk to insignificance, Acapulco still exports wool, hides, cocoa, cochineal, and indigo.

Mazatlan is a thriving port, and the distributing point for a large area of western Mexico. Business is reported always good, failures rare, and industrially the place is steadily progressing. The new Rio Grande, Sierra Madre, and Pacific railroad traverses an extensive cattle country tributary to the Yaqui gold fields. Besides ores and cattle for export, the country supplies lumber for local use, the greater part of which is consumed by the 10,000 Mormons settled along the line. The silver ore, which should be smelted on the coast is taken to reduction works at El Paso.

Mexico is a high plateau rimmed by the two sierras into which the continental range splits as it enters the tropics on its way southward from Alaska. On either side of this *tierra templada* are the low malarial *tierras calientes*. The uplands are dry, and fertile only in places; the lowlands are wet, and covered with redundant vegetation. Minerals and metals are every where, the belt from Sonora and Chihuahua to Durango, Zacatecas, Guanajuato, and Oajaca being probably the richest argentiferous region in the world. And if the united sierra

be followed up into the valley of Alta California, there will be found one of the richest of auriferous regions.

High in air from the Mexican plateau rise Popocatepetl, Ixtaccihuatl, and other volcanic peaks. Besides much fertile soil and vast mineral wealth, indigenous to Mexico are 114 species of trees, many of them yielding the most beautiful cabinet woods; there are also 60 medicinal plants and dye-woods, and 17 oil-bearing plants. Among the trees and plants of commerce are rosewood, mahogany, indiarubber, copal, sarsaparilla, vanilla, and jalap. Then there is maize, likewise indigenous, of which the soil yields in places four crops a year of from 200 to 400 fold; also grown there are coffee cotton rice indigo and tobacco, beans sugar cocoa and bananas, the maguey, mango, and many other products. There are wild animals in the woods, wild fowl on the lakes, and alligators in the rivers, while along the seashore are fish and turtles, and pearl fisheries in the California gulf.

The city of Mexico belongs equally to the Atlantic and Pacific, and is the most wealthy and beautiful metropolis in Spanish America. Round the historic *zócola* cluster the legends of the centuries, Aztec and European. Near where is now the great cathedral, once stood the temple of the war god Huitzilopochtli, who delighted in human sacrifices; while across the plaza, where now is the government palace, stood the palace of Montezuma in all its native splendor.

The peninsula of Lower California consists of broad plains interspersed with mountains, on some of which are forests and good grazing, and sandy areas productive when watered. Placer gold is found at Real del Castillo; at Ensenada and elsewhere are colonization societies. Other parts of the peninsula are rich in minerals, and there are large tracts suitable for stock-raising. The whole country is productive, with the application of water, which is easily collected and stored in the mountains. This long strip was once an island, so tradition had it, or at least it was supposed to be an island, which answered every purpose of the early cartographers. The Colorado river, rising in western Wyoming as Green river, and flowing 2,000 miles through wild cañons and sandy plains to the gulf of California, affords some navigation, besides supplying fertilizing waters for the desert.

The coast line of the United States on the Pacific and Arc-

tic oceans is twice as long as that of the Atlantic. California has about 800 miles of coast line, with but few harbors as compared with those of the eastern side of America, or with those of the eastern side of Asia. Oregon's great harbor, the beautiful Columbia, extends hundreds of miles inland, while Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska, each has a plentiful supply of safe ports. Besides the harbors of San Francisco, San Diego, and Humboldt, there are many anchorages along the coast of California where vessels can lie in safety in calm weather.

San Diego, the south-westernmost city in the United States, has a land-locked harbor six miles long, and except San Francisco bay the best on the California coast. The city is situated on the fine-weather route from the gulf states to Asia, and on a shorter route than any other from the government capital to its Pacific island possessions. Los Angeles is a prosperous and beautiful city, with many manufactures, a large commerce, and environed by orange groves and fruit farms of wide extent, with the port of San Pedro, twelve miles distant. Santa Barbara is charming; San Luis Obispo is a busy city; Santa Cruz is something of a watering place; San José is a thriving business city, while the capital, Sacramento, unites legislation with industry. The bay of Monterey sweeps round in front of the hills and forest in the rear, which form a beautiful background to a charming picture in front. Though by no means land-locked, the southern bend affords protection for shipping during the greater part of the year. Most of the white lime-covered adobe buildings along the broad irregular streets that characterized the Hispano-Californian capital, have long since given place to improvements more befitting a modern city.

A line of Franciscan missions along the coast from San Diego to San Francisco was the first move toward wresting California from savagism. The church buildings were mostly of stone brick and adobe, stuccoed and cemented, in a mixture of Moorish and Byzantine architecture. The mission church of San Xavier del Bec, ten miles from Tucson, in Arizona, was thirty years in building, being completed in 1798.

Sea-fishing as an industry in southern California has scarcely been begun. Peculiar to these waters are the black sea bass, the barracuda, bonita, mullet, and yellow-tail, while

the sardines here are of a variety known elsewhere only in the China sea and off the coast of Africa. Myriads of mackerel swarm along the entire coast. In northern waters the industry assumes larger proportions, but is still small as compared with what it might be.

San Francisco, upon a bay second to none in the world, began in 1835 as Yerba Buena, the presidio, or military quarters, being a few miles away in one direction, and the mission buildings in another. The waters of the bay, which is 60 miles long, come in from the junction of the rivers Sacramento and San Joaquin through the strait of Carquinez, and find the ocean through the Golden Gate, a strait five miles long and one mile wide, with a depth of thirty feet on the bar at the entrance. San Francisco has now the opportunity to become the London, New York, or Chicago of the Pacific, if her leading citizens will take the trouble to make her so. Cities are made by men, not by Micawbers.

There are a score or two of life-saving stations on the American coast, a drill being kept up at the Golden Gate station, where the shore is patrolled night and day for a distance of sixteen miles. The Pacific United States coast has sixteen lighthouse districts, in all of which are good service. During the century dating from 1776, the United States government spent upon lighthouses \$93,250,000. New naval stations are established at several points, and thus the Pacific is gradually being supplied with all the requirements of a great and growing commerce.

The Americans as well as the British have in hand the construction of transpacific telegraphic cable lines. A route was laid out by the United States government from San Francisco to Honolulu, thence to Wake island, of which possession was taken by the United States for that purpose, and then to Guam island, of the Ladrone group, and on to Manila. Distance from San Francisco to Honolulu, 2,089 miles; thence to Wake island 2,000 miles; 1,300 from there to Guam; and from Guam to Manila 1,372 miles; total 6,761 miles. The line passes south of the submerged mountain 570 miles from San Francisco. Average depth of ocean two and a half to three miles. Estimated cost \$1,000 to \$2,000 a mile. There are now 1,500 submarine telegraphs in the world, aggregating 170,000 miles in length, constructed at a cost of \$250,000,000, and

over which 6,000,000 messages are annually transmitted. With all these submarine wires and hundreds of thousands of land lines, the Pacific cables will connect, so that there will be no more hidden or remote places in all these vast waters. Mexico reaches the Atlantic by lines which traverse the gulf, while from South America wires through the ocean and the Caribbean sea connect with Central America and the United States, and thence to Europe, Africa, and Asia. Along the islands and mainland of the eastern Asiatic coast, cable lines extend from port to port, connecting with land lines from eastern Europe through Siberia to China, Japan, the Philippines, the Straits settlements, Australia, and New Zealand. The borders of North and South America, and of Africa, are skirted with land or cable lines; in fact every considerable body of water lying between important countries is crossed by marine lines, except the Pacific, which will soon be amply supplied. The lines along the shores of Asia, from Siberia to Australia, represent a large amount of work, while that from Australia to New Zealand is 1,000 miles long, and from Australia to New Caledonia 800 miles. Fears have been expressed that the depth of water in the Pacific would prevent the successful operating of cables here. But it has been ascertained that the difference is not so great. A cable has been laid, however, between Hayti and the Windward islands in 18,000 feet of water, while between San Francisco and Honolulu the greatest depth is 18,300, and between Honolulu and Manila the greatest depth is estimated at 19,600 feet. From such bathymetric data as he has been able to procure, Otto Krummel estimates the mean depth of the Pacific 2,160 fathoms, that of the Atlantic being 2,040 fathoms.

There were 8,000 miles of railway in operation in Australia in 1887, all those in the two oldest colonies, New South Wales and Victoria being either built or purchased by the government. The capitals of the four leading colonies are connected by a continuous line from Adelaide to Brisbane. In New Zealand railway construction was begun in 1860, and Lyttleton connected with Christchurch.

The total cost of railway construction in the United States is about \$10,000,000,000 for 175,000 miles, more than all elsewhere on the globe. Cost of construction in the United States and Australia about the same, \$58,000 a mile; run-

ning expenses in Australia under government management 58 per cent, and in the United States 65 per cent.

Railway traffic in the United States began in 1830. In 1869 was completed the Central Pacific and Union Pacific, the first overland railways in America north of Panamá, at a cost of \$200,000,000 furnished mostly by the government, though held and controlled when finished by individuals who repudiated their obligations to the government, and operated the road upon the plan of charging "all the traffic will stand." The Southern Pacific company was incorporated in 1865, receiving a land subsidy, the Central Pacific and Union Pacific obtaining both land and money. The Canadian Pacific was completed in 1885 at a cost of \$120,000,000, the government giving 25,000,000 acres of land, \$47,500,000 in money, guaranteeing three per cent interest on \$100,000,000 for ten years, besides building and giving the company 70 miles of the road at a cost to the government of \$30,000,000.

Mexico has the Central, the National, and the International, all running up and down the continent. The Pacific coast railway has been for some time projected, running down the coast from San Diego to Mexico, and Central and South American ports, with a direct line also from San Diego to Yuma and the east.

Railway lines were established in Central America, one in 1880 from San José to Esquintla, Guatemala, and later from Champerico to Retalhulen, and from San José to Guatemala city; in Honduras, a road was begun from Puerto Caballos, on the Caribbean sea, to Amapala, on the bay of Fonseca; in Salvador, from San Miguel to Port La Union, and from Acajutla to the coffee growing districts of Santa Ana; in Nicaragua, from Corinto to Leon by way of Chinandega, connecting with steamer service on the lake; in Costa Rica, from San José and Leon respectively to the Pacific, and from Puntarenas to Esparta.

In Ecuador was established in 1887 a railway from Yuaguachi to Puente de Chimbo, and later one from Puerto Bolivar to Machala. Peru began in 1852 connecting by rail the seaports with the interior valleys, and in 1878 there were about 2,000 miles of road in operation, costing \$180,000,000, the longest crossing the cordillera at an elevation of 15,000 feet above sea level.

Chili was yet earlier, the Copiapo railway being in operation in 1850, followed by 1,700 miles of other roads, one-third of which are the property of the state.

Tributary to the two chief ports of Oregon, Portland and Astoria, is a large and fertile agricultural country with every facility of rail and river for inland transportation, and every opportunity for the development of wealth and industry. The Columbia river renders tributary to the ocean a vast region extending eastward through the Cascade range, to which its rushing waters give the name, to the Rocky mountains and northward into British Columbia, the Willamette, on which stands Portland, branching southward toward California. Oregon and her cities will contribute their full share to the commerce and wealth of the New Pacific. Seattle and Tacoma, on Puget sound, the termini of overland railways and transpacific steamship lines, are shipping points of great present and prospective importance, having saw-mills, machine-shops, shipyards, foundries, breweries, and many other manufactories. Said Wilkes of Puget sound and its surroundings: "I venture nothing in saying that there is no country in the world that possesses waters equal to these. The shores of all these inlets and bays are remarkably bold; so much so that in many places a ship's side would strike the shore before the keel would touch the ground. The country by which these waters are surrounded is remarkably salubrious, and offers every advantage for the accommodation of a vast commercial and naval marine."

In the interior of Washington the autumn intermixture of yellow and green, in fir poplar and pine, presents a richness and variety of coloring of which the artist never tires. Of interior cities Spokane is susceptible of development into one of the most beautiful and picturesque places on the continent, and work in this direction is well begun. The river adds charm, while the fertile lands around afford wealth.

British Columbia is about the size of New South Wales; large interior areas remain yet unexplored. Vancouver island has a mild equable climate, and Victoria is a delightful city for residence. The Canada Pacific railway left New Westminster at one side, but gave rise to Vancouver, the railway terminus, and port for transpacific steamers, which is well laid out on a peninsula between an arm of the sea overlooked

by a mountain range, and a background of forest. At the southern end of Vancouver island is the naval station of Esquimalt, which when first established was an isolated frontier of a far away British colony, but now on a great highway, by which an Englishman can travel all the way from London to Australia on his own soil and by his own ships. Time was when the British Columbia representative to the Ottawa parliament must take steamer for Panamá, or later, for San Francisco, and thence overland by rail. The Canada Pacific railway, the building of the town of Vancouver, establishing a transpacific line of steamships, and the union of Canada with British Columbia, did more proportionately for British America in consolidating and developing the country, than the three transcontinental lines, the Northern Pacific, the Central and Union Pacific, and the Southern Pacific did for the United States. Vancouver, the terminus of the Canadian Pacific railway, like Seattle and Tacoma, is a point of departure for the Yukon gold fields. With the railway from the head of navigation on the Stikine river, the entire distance from Pacific ports to Dawson and the upper Yukon can be made by water and rail. Trained dogs for the Yukon service are brought to Vancouver from Newfoundland and Belgium.

The broken shores of Alaska, of which Sitka is the metropolis, warmed by the Japan current, and with their wealth of minerals timber fish and furs, present some interesting features. All along the coast to Norton sound and Icy bay are native villages, notably at the sand-spit at Hotham inlet, a summer rendezvous for trade and fishing; also at Point Hope, and elsewhere. Over the White pass and connecting Skagway with the Bennett, Tagish, and Atlin lakes runs the Pacific and Arctic railway through primeval solitudes born of ice, but now ministering to the hot passions of avarice and ambition. Besides mining and a little vegetable culture and stock-raising, Alaska has added to her industries reindeer ranching and the raising of blue foxes for the fur. The great Yukon river of Alaska, 2,100 miles long, empties into Bering strait; the Copper, Suschitna, Nuschagak, and Kuskokwim rivers flow into the Pacific, and the Colville into the Arctic ocean. The great Sierra-Cascade and Coast ranges of California and Oregon continue through British Columbia and

into Alaska, where in wild confusion they meet with the continental range coming in from South and North America. As coast sentinel of this great northern ice-land stands the active volcanic peak of St Elias, 14,970 feet high.

Said William H. Seward in a speech at St Paul in September, 1860: "Standing here and looking far off into the Northwest, I see the Russian as he busily occupies himself in establishing seaports and towns and fortifications on the verge of this continent as the outposts of St Petersburg, and I can say, 'Go on and build up your outposts all along the coast, up even to the Arctic ocean; they will yet become the outposts of my own country, monuments of the civilization of the United States in the Northwest.'" It was surely with prophetic inspiration that the great statesman thus saw and spake, for before seven years had passed by those words were fulfilled.

Pelagic sealing, or the capture of fur seals in the open sea, was prohibited by congress in 1897; and inasmuch as citizens of the United States were debarred from their own markets for seals thus caught by them, it was enacted that the skins of seals caught in the open sea by citizens of other countries, whether made into sealskin garments or otherwise, should not be allowed entry through the United States custom house. Though annoyance is thus caused to travellers from the United States, in compelling them to obtain a certificate of identification to permit the reëntry of such garments on their return, the purpose of the law justifies all inconvenience.

Over the sea of Okhotsk and Bering strait, along the channel caused by the rending asunder of the continents of Asia and America, tower the coast line of peaks which are the prolongation of the mountain chains coming forth from the plateaus of Central Asia and forming in the northeast the highest portion of the continental amphitheatre, while the Aleutian isles mark the northern limits of the great ocean before the continents were disjoined or the shore line submerged.

In the far north are the Aleutian, Kurile, and Pribylof islands, where are the salmon and seals, bears foxes whales walrus and water-fowls which furnish the inhabitants with food and clothing, as well as boats and hunting implements. There is scant vegetation on these isles, except where the interior rises

into mountains as on the mainland, where are splendid pine forests. There is ice enough at times in Bering sea, but the water is not sufficiently deep in Bering strait to permit the flow of the larger class of icebergs. Whalers had what they called times of icing in connection with whale-catching, which required skilful navigation. The Eskimos of Siberia and Alaska, besides catching animals, birds, and fishes, including bears seals and whales, tan leather, and make clothes of skins and cloth; also weapons and boats. Important industries are raising dogs and making sledges and snow-shoes, also catching fur-bearing animals of every kind.

Alaska has a coast line of 18,211 miles, nearly twice the united lengths of the Atlantic and Pacific seaboard of the United States. The Alaska coast range is 7,000 to 9,000 feet high, with occasional peaks of 14,000 or 16,000 feet, perpetually snow clad. Alaska is wide, but Siberia seems laid out on a yet wider scale, with high mountain ranges and broad plateaus and deserts. On the northeast Siberian coast, for miles seaward the ocean remains frozen for more than half the year. In Norton sound ice forms in October. Except at the extreme ends, the waters of the Pacific never freeze. The peninsula of Kamchatka has several imposing volcanoes. Petropaulovski stands among the hills, with a good deep harbor, a long spit in front, and a smoking white mountain, Koriatški, in the distance. Between the bay and the mountains is a grassy plain, intersected with streams and covered in places with underbrush. Separating the sea of Kamchatka from the Pacific proper are the Aleutian isles, or insular continuation of the Alaskan peninsula, the broken ridge which may at one time have connected the continents of Asia and America.

On the Asiatic side, beginning at the Arctic ocean, we have first the arctic plain, then the grassy steppes where dwell the nomadic Tartars with sheep and horses for food. All through this vast region of eastern Siberia are forests, filled with fur-bearing animals, interspersed with open plains, and beyond the tundras, or mossy swamps, where fish and reindeer supply the inhabitants with food. Bordering the sea of Okhotsk and along the Amur the more hardy cereals are grown, rye oats and barley, the fertility of the soil increasing southward, where cedar forests fringe the mountains and the valleys are good

for general agriculture. Throughout all this region north of Mongolia the Russians used to scatter themselves for furs, which were then the currency of commerce; now the precious metals are sought, though the fur-trade is not neglected.

As the seal herds on the Pribylof islands die and disappear, principally from pelagic sealing, herds of sheep and cattle will fill the islands of the Aleutian archipelago. Some of the islands are covered with timber, others with grass, enough of them on which to produce a fresh crop of cattle kings.

Petropaulovski presents a picture of desolation. Scarcely a human being is to be seen on ordinary days, and even the starving dogs howl piteously. In the distance sullenly smokes the volcano Koselskoi, whose outlines, with the neighboring peaks, are clearly defined against a cloudless sky. The air is calm and cold. The setting sun lights up the hill-tops in various hues, from blue and green to red and gold. Yet there are here, besides dwellings, church, barracks, and hospital, the government buildings of logs, and covered with red-painted iron.

Vladivostok, the Pacific metropolis of Siberia, presents the appearance of an American rather than an Asiatic city. The deep bay is a mile wide and two and a half miles long; back of it are rolling hills, once well wooded. It is a naval as well as military station, with admiralty board and club house, navy yard, and floating and dry docks. The port is now kept open in the winter by means of mechanical ice-breakers. The population are mostly Russians, Chinese, and Japanese, with a few Americans, English, and Germans. But while in every sense Asiatic, the city grows and property booms as in a young town of the United States, lots which in 1864 sold for 500 roubles now being worth 5,000.

At Possiet bay, on the coast of Russian Manchuria, is a military station, with extensive barracks and storehouses; there is another large military post at Nowo Kiewsk near by, the population, aside from the Russian soldiers, being principally Korean. At these stations are barracks for 30,000 men.

Siberia must necessarily become more and more tributary to the Pacific, as that country increases in wealth and importance under the influence of advancing civilization. Though arctic in location and character, there are unlimited resources, both agricultural and mining, which will one day surprise the

world. There are vast areas of fertile black earth which send forth rapid vegetation during the hot short summer. Endless rich steppes and rivers and alpine lakes, dense forests and marshy plateaus, and every where minerals without end, gold in the alpine region, and iron and the rest elsewhere. In lineal extent the Siberian railway is the greatest in the world. It is destined to change the face of nature, and renew the life of man throughout northern Asia. Construction is at the rate of one or two miles a day, and traffic is increasing with wonderful rapidity, grain being the chief freight.

Japan is rapidly developing in industry and intelligence. The islands have an abundance of good ports, Yokohama being one of the most important in Asia. Nagasaki and others are rapidly growing into prominence. The town of Simoda, in Japan, was totally destroyed in 1854 by an earthquake accompanied by tidal waves, and a few hours afterward tidal waves appeared on the coast of California. The port of Hiogo was opened to commerce in 1868, and the cities of Hiogo and Kobe now form one community. Their growth during the past thirty years has been phenomenal. Substantial brick buildings line the paved business streets, and private residences cover the suburbs. The bay is filled with shipping, and exports and imports from nothing have reached \$80,000,000 a year.

It is said by geologists that during the tertiary period subsidences of land occurred at intervals all along the coast of China, and thus the islands were made, not by upheavals, but by the dropping down into the depths of the land around them. It is an easy explanation of a lengthy mystery, for thus we have accounted for all the islands from the Kamchatka peninsula to Siam, that is to say the Kurile, Japan, and Lew Chew groups, Formosa, the Philippine archipelago, as well as Borneo, Java, and Sumatra. All these once were a part of the continent, and the waters which cover the submerged land now constitute the seas of Okhotsk, Japan, and China, the Yellow sea, Formosa channel, and the rest. Physical changes continue, the coast line to vibrate, and new lands and new waters to appear. Earthquakes are frequent, bringing disaster and death.

The configuration of China is written in her river and mountain systems, which correspond to each other in number

and magnitude. From the length and volume of the water-courses may be imagined the area drained, and from their sediment may be seen the kind of soil through which they flow. The Yangtse, which rises in the mountains of Tibet, receives contributions from half the empire, and reaches the Pacific at Nanking and Shanghai, is the central stream in the river system of China; it is the third river in volume in the world, and the first in regard to the number of people it serves. In the south, entering the Pacific at Canton is the Si-Kiang, navigable for small craft for 1,000 miles, and in the north toward Peking the Hoang-ho, 3,000 miles long. What the Nile is to Egypt these rivers are to the plains of China. The Hoang-ho has a way of breaking away from its old channels and rushing at random over the country. In 1852 it left its banks and wandered off toward the north; in 1889 it broke away and ran south to the Yangtse, and was brought back to its proper course at a cost of \$13,000,000. Another characteristic of the streams is the way they have of extending the continent into the sea, at a rate of progress unprecedented elsewhere, which doubtless is gratifying to the powers of the world in view of the coming partition. Besides the three great rivers, there are many minor streams floating the products of the interior to the sea, where they have provided themselves for the most part with good harbors.

The seaports of China are not on the sea, but on a river, or a little inland, and walled, and so better protected from pirates and foreign devils. Chifu is one of the three important northern ports of China, the other two being Tientsin and Niuchwang. Not far from Chifu the Russians are at work, with six ships under charter to bring them lumber from Oregon or Puget sound. The custom house jetty is a busy place, crowded with people and piled high with merchandise. At the junction of the Huei river, or grand canal, with the Peiho, and distant eight miles from Peking, is the site of Tientsin, formerly a military station, but assuming importance as a city some 200 years ago. It has now a population of 1,000,000, with an ebb and flow of commerce aggregating 65,000,000 haikwan taels, or \$12,250,000 annually; and this, although the Peiho is not always navigable, and freight has to be brought up from the mouth of the river in lighters. "The growth of Tientsin" says the United States consul, "within

the past few years is most astonishing. The mudholes and swamps of a few years ago have been filled in; one, two, three, and even four story brick buildings erected; streets macadamized, trees planted, gas works constructed, and now pipes for a very elaborate water system are being laid, all due to foreign enterprise. On the other hand, the Chinese authorities have been seized with the spirit of progress, and to them is due the building and furnishing of the Imperial Military college, the Imperial university, arsenals for the manufacture of guns and ammunition, a mint for the coinage of silver, and last, but not least, 320 miles of splendid railway. Machinery has also been purchased for a complete woollen mill, and many other improvements are now under consideration." A mint with a coining capacity per hour of 5,000 dollars and 18,000 smaller coins was established at Chengtu in 1898, the machinery being brought from New Jersey. This mint coins dollars, half and quarter dollars, dimes and half dimes. A mint was lately established at Wachang for making copper cash, capacity 36,000 an hour. Ningpo lies inland twelve miles, on the river Yung, and is a fortress as well as a port. Groves of fir make green the hills back of the city, while beyond is a fertile plain watered by a network of canals, used for transport as well as for irrigation. The English colony of Hongkong is elsewhere mentioned, as well as the industrial mart of Shanghai. To reach Fuchau, the capital of Fukien province, one enters the river Min, which with its picturesque scenery and mountainous background reminds one of the upper Hudson. Fuchau is a clean well-built city of 650,000 inhabitants, 22 miles from the sea. It is situated in a rolling plain, and is the centre of black tea culture and traffic. Gunboats are built in this vicinity, where are shipyard, naval school, and arsenal. Fusan is now more Japanese than Korean. The boats and harbor are Japanese, the shops and streets of the town and the well-filled cemetery are all Japanese, while on the bluff is a Buddhist temple established in 1592 during Japanese occupation. Two hundred miles north of Hongkong is the flourishing port of Amoy, among whose merchants are found wealth luxury and refinement. On the island of Kulangsu, in the harbor, is a foreign colony.

The peninsula of Korea is about 600 by 135 miles, with a coast line of 1,740 miles, and contains 80,000 square miles.

For eleven miles its northern frontier is conterminous with Russian territory. There are few good harbors, the best being Fusan and Wosan. Kings of the present dynasty have ruled Korea since 1392, some constitutional modifications having been made since Japanese ascendancy, though the monarchy is still hereditary, and the sovereign in a measure absolute, his edicts being law. The peninsula is divided into thirteen provinces containing 360 magisterial districts. Revenue is derived from customs duties, and land tax of about a dollar an acre. Chinese was the court language, that is to say the archaic Chinese of a thousand years ago, but the national feeling now inclines to a Korean language.

Opposite the Fukien province, and across the channel, is famed Formosa, the centre of hostilities during the late war between Japan and China. The island is 250 by 50 miles in extent, and contains some 15,000 square miles. The mountainous interior is clothed in forests, while plantations of rice, tea, sugar, and indigo overspread the lowlands. Here are coal deposits and oil springs. Russian oil, which threatened the supremacy of the American article, fell off before the superior methods of United States shippers, who now send kerosene to Shanghai in tank steamers and have it tinned on arrival. On the west side of the Korean peninsula the tide rises and falls from 26 to 38 feet. Lines of electric railways are either projected or in operation in Japan from Hiogo to Amagaski, from Amagaski to Osaka, and from Hiogo to Armina.

The Philippine islands, now rising into prominence under United States régime, are destined henceforth to play no unimportant part in the affairs of the Far East. Manila was one of the earliest commercial centres on the Asiatic coast, and in many respects maintains her preëminence to the present day. For the protection of shipping Manila harbor is not among the best, being without safe anchorage, and swept by monsoons in every season of the year. The Pasig river cannot be entered by vessels drawing over sixteen feet of water, that is to say without the assistance of the typhoon. A breakwater has been attempted, at the cost of several millions of Spanish money, for a distance of three-quarters of a mile out from the south bank of the Pasig, affording however but little protection.

Subig bay, opening from the China sea 251 miles north of Corregidor and 60 miles from Manila, the Spaniards deemed the better place for their new navyyard, which was under construction when Dewey came. Indeed, it has long been thought that Subig must eventually become the maritime centre of Luzon. The south islands have some good harbors, that of Iloilo being the best. The single-track railway from Manila to Dagupin, 123 miles, is of steel rails, well built, with bridges of stone or iron, and substantial station buildings. Trains with English engines make 45 miles an hour. It was built under government concession of land, right of way, and guarantee of eight per cent for ninety-nine years, when it becomes the property of the state. It has paid stockholders thus far ten per cent on the capital. One of the first acts of the new administration after the capture of Manila was to clear the mouth of the Pasig river of the obstructions placed there by the Spaniards, thus opening the port to interisland steamers, which Admiral Dewey had held at anchor in the bay. In consequence of which a large traffic sprang up along the water front, which deluged the custom-house and port offices with business. The Hongkong cable was also soon in operation, giving communication with the outside world. Iloilo, the second city in importance of the Philippine group, is situated 250 miles southeast of Manila, on the island of Panay. It stands by a narrow inlet near to the sea.

If coaling stations are needed for the navy they are also needed for the merchant marine, and opportunities for supplying this deficiency, all the way from the Antilles to Asia, our late misunderstanding with Spain has amply provided. A beautiful string they make, Porto Rico, Nicaragua, Hawaii, the Ladrões, and the Philippines, a necklace of black diamonds, when arrangements are completed. The Ladrões are 3,300 miles west of Honolulu, 1,350 south of Yokohama, and 1,640 southeast of Manila. The best harbor of the Ladrões is on the west coast of the island of Guam, a port little known to commerce, though visited sometimes by whalers for supplies, and that without fear of the desertion of the crew. Then Japanese craft found the place and took away every year the copra crop, and a Manila ship, driven from her course, sometimes took in water there. It is now a United States coaling station. Angana, the chief town of

the island, has an anchorage, but not much of a harbor, but six miles away is the bay of San Luis d' Apra, a broad expanse of protected waters capable of giving safe anchorage to a hundred of the largest ships. The northern side is protected by Cobras island, and the south side by a coral reef, the entrance channel being under the heights of Point Orote where the Spaniards had a fort. It is an ideal coaling station, and of great value to the United States as a way port for vessels sailing to the Orient. The islands are 1,500 miles from Luzon, 1,350 from Yokohama, and 3,300 from Honolulu. They are of volcanic origin, prolific, and healthy; population 10,000. The natives are peaceable and hospitable.

Obliquely across the South sea from the Philippines to Easter island extends the Polynesian archipelago, the line between the different directions of wind and water currents, no less than of wave undulations. In the famous Fiji islands is where cannibalism becomes classic. Here are 100,000 people on 200 islands, cultivating sugar and tobacco, and permitting many fruits and roots to grow without much cultivation. They are an ill-favored lot; large and strong but thin; not quite so beastly and idiotic as they look, but sufficiently so. Most of the aboriginal islanders hereabout are below the average European height, but the Fijians are above it. The fruits and products are about the same here as at the other South sea islands, sugar and tobacco, cocoa bread-fruit oranges and yams, also sandalwood and palms. On most of the Pacific isles are American English and German planters and traders who dominate society and commerce. At Fiji, and elsewhere in the South Pacific, are coral mountains, 1,000 feet high, raised by submarine action and still growing; a salt water lake bordered by yellow calcareous slime, which stands upon the summit, indicates the presence of living coral.

The name Caroline islands is broadly applied to all Micronesia, including the Pelew islands and the Mulgrave archipelago. The Carolines proper, with hundreds of small islands, lie between them. The natives are Malays, and under proper guidance are not unwilling to work. Left to themselves they prefer a life of pleasure. At the time of the treaty with Spain, the purchase of the Pelew islands was deemed desirable, as well as the retention of the Carolines, as Waloa, the southernmost island of the Ladrone is only 300 miles north of Ponape,

of the Carolines, and the Pelew islands are only 600 miles distant from the Philippines, and their possession would give the United States a chain of islands extending half way across the Pacific. A great part of the Asiatic trade passes between the Ladrões and the Carolines, and the advantages of the control of this natural channel of commerce are obvious. The Caroline islands are very fertile. There are large areas of unappropriated lands which with capital can be turned to very profitable account.

The Marshall islands are of coral formation, on which is a vegetable mold growing cocoanuts and bread-fruit. The surface of the Solomon islands is more elevated, and is as a rule fertile and well wooded. It is said that the discoverer called these islands after King Solomon, because he obtained there the gold for the temple, taking it all away; at all events none is there now. How all this came to be known is not stated.

For food the naked natives like best lizards, crocodiles, and missionaries; though when they are not plentiful they find nuts and wild fruit, and find happiness further in chewing the betel nut, and smoking tobacco, the weed being likewise the regular currency. The Galapagos islands were so called from the turtles which abound there.

The Moluccas, or historic Spice islands, eight in number, grow for the Dutch cloves and nutmegs, peppers, and other spices. The opossum and the bat are here conspicuous, and snakes in plenty, among them the charming python, thirty feet long, and which finds no difficulty in swallowing men, or even deer. The Sulu archipelago, which has been called an annex of the Philippines, or a continuation of the promontory of Mindanao, comprises three groups of small islands known as Baseeland, Sulu, and Tawutawa, numbering about 140 in all. They extend 35 miles from east to west, with a breadth varying from five to ten miles, and an area of 2,000 square miles, where dwell 75,000 people, mostly Mohammedans. The Sulus are good sailors and delight in piracy. They are mendacious and perfidious, proud and cruel, ostentatious and revengeful. There has been a desultory conflict with Spain running along the centuries, but the island of Sulu was formally conquered by the Spaniards in 1851 and added to the archipelago in 1878, the sultan receiving an income of \$2,000 per annum. Each island has its despot, whose rule is

in part of the islands. Besides the products of their pearl fisheries, which are of no considerable, the more conspicuous articles of commerce are vanilla, the long-pepper and the white sandal-wood, and the bird's-nest, cinnamon and cloves, and several other—brazil, nutmeg, and sugar. The pearls brought out are of good quality. Elephants were brought here from India, where a traffic is to be seen since.

New Zealand and the French pearl station is supposed to be better for raising such agricultural stock, being the prominent metal one far found. The inhabitants of the Society Islands, the Samoan, French, and Society Islands, are all upon about the same plane, by enough in the scale of human improvement—indeed it is not necessary for them to be improved. How few in this world will work if not urged to! The soil here is of wonderful fertility, possibilities of production limitless. To say that there may be grown in most cases two or four crops a year does not fairly express it, but rather I should say most products grow and ripen every day the year round. Besides sugarcane tobacco and pine-apples, sweet potatoes, yams, coffee, oranges, and bananas, there are the taro, bamboo, rattan, bread-fruit, and other valuable trees, of spontaneous if not of indigenous growth. The Tahitian- are superior in some respects to their neighbors.

Oceania, with its Caroline islands, and Pelew islands, and the rest, occupies waters 2,000 miles in extent east and west. There was at one time quite a little nest of pirates, not of Mongolian or Malayan breed, some of whom are always present in these eastern Asiatic seas, but European pirates, who left on one of the Bornabis a fortification, now in ruins, the stones of which were some of them ten feet in length, and evidently brought thither from a distance. The inhabitants are skilful boatmen, but the frequent hurricanes do not add to the felicity of life upon the water. Their houses are of bamboo, and their boats the trunk of a tree cut out with a hatchet, with vines for cordage, sails of split rushes, and mats for clothing, that is when they have clothing.

At the southwest corner of this aqueous amphitheatre, under the terms Australasia and Malaysia, are grouped, both as to size and number, probably half of the islands on the globe, covering an area 6,000 miles in length from the Philip-

pinus to New Zealand, by 3,000 miles in width from the Indian ocean and the China sea to the Pacific. Among them are included the Philippines, Borneo, the Moluccas or Spice islands, New Guinea, Australia, New Zealand, and several thousand more. The Malay archipelago alone, if we include in that term the Philippine islands, is not only the largest but the most important group of islands in the world.

The island-continent of Australia is in size 2,500 by 1,950 miles, and consists of several colonies of Great Britain. For the same reason that the Pacific ocean remained so long unknown to civilization, being on the other side of the world and impossible for the ancients to reach, so it was with this great body of land antipodal to the Mediterranean world. Yet it is somewhat strange that with the early idea of a *Terra Australis* some day to appear, little was positively known of this country prior to the time of Tasman and Cook. Even these were nearly a century and a half apart in their discoveries, and before Tasman's voyage of 1642, Portuguese, Spaniards, and Dutchmen report having seen patches of land thereabout on various occasions. Captain Dampier, the British buccaneer, was on the Australian coast in 1688, in the capacity of pirate, but later as a respectable navigator under the auspices of the English admiralty. Then came Cook, and after him England's criminals, and finally the gold-hunters, sheep-raisers, and colonists of staid respectability.

Thus the outer edges of this *Australis Terra* became known to navigators and settlers, but the interior remained yet for a long time a *terra incognita*, until in 1860 the government of South Australia offered to give £10,000 to the man who should first cross the island from Adelaide to the northern side. The Victoria colonists raised a fund for the same purpose, and others elsewhere for explorations east and west, until wide areas became known.

Great ranges of mountains are interspersed with vast plains, with forests and grassy hills, lakes and inland seas, and rivers, one, the Murray, 1,100 miles long, and navigable eight months in the year for nearly its whole length. As a rule, however, the Australian rivers are not long. All the metals exist in all the provinces, but the great gold fields, discovered in 1851, are in New South Wales and Victoria. In the two decades following, Victoria exported 40,750,000 ounces of gold, and

New South Wales not quite 10,000,000 ounces, while Queensland from 1860 to 1873 gave out 1,000,000 ounces. Australia for the most part is hot and dry, yet there are places where 90 inches of rain fall. The colony of Victoria, occupying south-eastern Australia, known first as Port Phillip, was begun as a convict settlement in 1803. When in 1851 Edward Hargraves found gold in New South Wales, half of the hundred thousand people in Victoria rushed thither, and when six months later gold at Clunes, and the rich Ballarat deposits were found, they all rushed back again, and with them fifty thousand more. They had a way in Australia when they wanted a thing of hunting for it. When the Victorians saw their country depopulated by the New South Wales mines, the citizens of Melbourne offered a reward to him who should first find gold in Victoria, and Clunes and Ballarat were the result.

They tell the story of this same Edward Hargraves that in California he saw Marshall shortly after he had found gold at Coloma. "Yes," said Marshall, "I first found this gold that is turning all the world wild." "That is nothing", Hargraves replied "I can find gold if I want to." "Where?" demanded Marshall. "In Australia". "Well, you had better go and find it". And he went.

Of the Australian colonies, New South Wales and New Zealand do the largest trade with the Pacific. The largest city in Australia is Melbourne, the capital of Victoria. The gold discovery gave the city its first great impetus, 100,000 diggers landing at this port the first year, the permanent population rapidly increasing from that time. The manufactures of Melbourne are flour, articles in leather wood and iron, clothing, carriages, and fifty other like important industries. The commerce is large, 1,500 vessels sometimes arriving in a year. In Melbourne and in San Francisco the cheap restaurant has become an institution, some of the former having become rich on sixpenny meals only, and the latter furnishing good dishes at five and ten cents each. Sydney is to Australia as New York and San Francisco are to the United States, namely, the chief seaport of a long line of coast, a beautiful harbor with picturesque surroundings, and a commerce reaching to all parts of the world. As a rule the railways in Australia belong to the government, even such as were built by

private companies becoming later the property of the state. The system works well, and people are satisfied with it. The vast and vital interests connected with interior traffic and transportation are thus always in the hands of the people themselves, and not under control of grinding monopolies. Personal profit is here not the only, or even the primary object of government, but the welfare of the country. To southeastern Australia Cook gave the name of New South Wales, whose area was subsequently extended, and erected into a separate colony, and whose commercial and political metropolis is Sydney, on Port Jackson, one of the finest harbors in the world. Cook missed this anchorage, and entered Botany bay, six miles southward, where was also landed the first convict fleet from England in 1788. Sydney has three large public wharves, several parks, government house, botanic gardens, colleges, town hall, cathedral, theatres, and all the other adjuncts of advanced civilization. New South Wales has rich alluvial soils on which thrive all grasses, tending to extensive grazing industries; also grain and tobacco. Wool is one of the chief industries of Australia. Gold, silver, copper, tin, and coal are mined extensively. For a long time New South Wales was little more than a penal settlement.

Papua, or New Guinea, lying just north of Australia, is the largest island in the world, except Australia, being 1,490 miles long and 300 or 400 miles wide. It was sighted by Dabreu in 1511, and visited by the Portuguese, Meneses, in 1526. Upon the spread of Islamism to the Moluccas early in the fifteenth century, the Malay rulers of contiguous small isles claimed sovereignty over New Guinea, which was later exercised by the sultan of Tidore. Then came the Dutch, and later the officers and men of the East India company. The natives are of medium stature, in color a Polynesian brown, and are altogether about the lowest of the Malayan race.

New Caledonia, next in size among the Pacific isles to New Zealand, some 240 miles long, was discovered by Cook in 1774, and was used by the French as a convict settlement in 1853. Noumea, the capital, has a good harbor, with a beautiful and varied landscape. The country consists of mountains and cultivable plains, and at one time supplied commerce with large quantities of sandal-wood. Australian miners are here, and concessions have been given to colonists, but the convict agri-

cultural establishments are said to be more successful. From December to March the weather is hot and wet; the timber is fine, and all the tropical plants grow in profusion.

The colony of New Zealand comprises the Chatham and the Auckland islands, situated antipodal to Great Britain. Dense forests are here interspersed with agricultural plains, all watered by countless streams, though but few of them are of navigable size. There are great lakes, however, one of them, Lake Taupo, covering an area of 250 square miles. Rain is abundant, and the climate is not unlike that of England. All the grains, grasses, and fruits pertaining to temperate climes, and all the domesticated animals of civilization here prosper in a high degree, wheat and barley being conspicuous. There are extensive coal and gold quartz deposits.

The true discoverer of New Zealand, as we have seen, was Tasman, who was there in 1642, hence Tasmania. But Cook in 1769 was the first European to land; and as he took formal possession for George III, that according to the international ethics of Europe makes the country England's, so long as she is strong enough to hold it. The natives are Maoris, of Polynesian instincts and traditions, accustomed in times past to human flesh as food, and delighting like the rest of humanity in killing each other. The scenery of New Zealand is unsurpassed by that of any temperate clime. The coasts of Japan and Guatemala are perfect, and though unlike either, New Zealand is equally charming, owing to the great rainfall and the absence of cold. The New Zealand province of Auckland is rich in gold and timber, with some coal. The city of Auckland is well laid out, and adorned with the usual paraphernalia of progress. It is expected that in the group of English colonies in the southwest of the Pacific, comprised under the general term of Australasia, there will develop a high and advanced type of Anglo-saxon civilization. Thus far thinly peopled, large areas being void of population, there is room for many millions. Though there is an abundance of good agricultural land ready for cultivation, there are parts of comparatively little value, and other parts, like the so-called desert lands of America, which will grow almost any kind of vegetation if sufficiently watered. Australian federation is slowly but surely progressing. The refusal of New South

Wales to accept the proposed constitution retarded matters somewhat. On the other hand, parliamentary elections indicate the near approach of the federal union of Australia. These colonies have probably advanced as far in democratic freedom as any other people in the world; in nearly all of their legislative bodies the upper house is omitted, the majority of a single chamber being absolute.

Beautiful indeed to the eye of the English traveller are New Zealand and Tasmania, but most charming of all is British Columbia, with its noble harbors, its mountains rich in metals, its grassy plains and fertile foothills, its wheat-producing prairies, its rivers lakes and seaboard swarming with fish, its forests of fine timber and inexhaustible coal deposits, with inland scenery which makes tame the grandest that Europe can display.

There are conditions favorable to the expansion of European civilization in other regions than China. Several of the South American countries, where no progress is being made in science industry or government, are already attracting the attention of those who make it their affair to regenerate and repartition the world.

What would happen were all the towns round the Pacific like Genoa, Amsterdam, or Salem of old? What would happen if one in fifty of our Pacific seaports possessed the men and genius, the intelligence industry and activity, of some of the ancient seats of commercial empire? Such a rise and overturning and awakening and development, intellectual and industrial, moral and political, as the world has never yet seen. Most of us, like Mr Micawber, wait for something to turn up, for some persons or influence, other than ourselves or outside of our efforts, to bring about the means of progress and wealth, instead of doing and achieving in our own proper mind and person.

The leading men of our Pacific coast should be of exceptional quality, being the successors and survivors of a community of picked men, who came early to the gold-fields and agricultural districts and succeeded where others failed, and who survived as seemingly the fittest. Never was a grander opportunity for men having the energy and ability,—for men of the kind that built Chicago, and are now building scores of

cities and hundreds of railway lines in various parts,—to come forward and take possession of the Pacific ocean, industrially and commercially, and so dominate the western seaboard of the United States as to make it absolutely the greatest country in the world, and themselves the wealthiest and most beneficial of men.

CHAPTER XVI

INTEROCEANIC COMMUNICATION

DURING the two decades which elapsed from the discovery of America to the discovery of the Pacific ocean, European cosmographers and navigators were puzzled in regard to several matters. First, this new land, is it continent, or island, or archipelago? If the last, which seemed for a time most probable, then the islands, or groups of islands, must lie scattered along the east coast of Asia, whose existence had been reported by early travellers overland across Asia, and by navigators from the Indian ocean to the Spice islands,—perhaps they were the Zipangu of Polo, or, which would be nearer the proper latitude, the constellation of isles spoken of by Ptolemy as lying between the China sea and the Indian ocean, and which we now know as the Philippines, Java, Sumatra, and their thousand satellites. Secondly, if these were the Asiatic isles as reported, obviously there were many channels or water ways between them leading to the continent.

There was mystery attending it, whatever hypothesis might be adopted, whether this should be called the true India, or regarded as some land intervening. Polo had reported Zipangu as an island 1,500 miles from the mainland; and there might be other islands, at a greater or less distance from Cathay, an ocean full of them. The land which had been found was about where the discoverers expected to find it; the world, as they measured it, was smaller than it is in reality; and then to say that besides a great continent, a vast sea lay between them and Asia, would have been an idea too great to grasp. It remained to be finally brought home to the mind of Magellan during his long and perilous voyage into the unknown, reckoning his leagues by the number of dead dropped into the sea.

It was exasperating to these early navigators, this long wall

of land which so persistently obstructed their passage to the khan's kingdom which they so desired to reach. And when Magellan, the first and only one to find a way through the continent, passed into his strait, he could of course form no conception of the extent of the land he saw lying on his left. It might be a large island, this Tierra del Fuego as he named it, or it might be a small or large continent, extending part or all the way to and around the south pole. Of one thing he was sure, for by this time it had been well searched, that there was no break in the land between Florida and where he entered his strait. Further than that he knew nothing, except that this must be a great sea, as it was probably part of the one seen by Balboa 1,500 leagues to the northward of where he then sailed.

For many years afterward, however, the search was continued, more particularly in the north, where explorations progressed more slowly, the southern continent soon becoming pretty well known to those who followed the track of Magellan in his new route to India. Long indeed was the effort continued, and many were the false reports made; and when a way was finally discovered round the northern end of this line of land which lay stretched out in ocean almost from one end of the earth to the other, it was found to be worthless to commerce. Robert McClure, sailing from England in 1850 and wintering near Melville sound, was the first to make the northwest passage, 328 years after Magellan made the southwest passage; while the northeast passage was made by Nordenskiöld, in 1879, 326 years after the first attempt was made by Willoughby in 1553.

Apocryphal voyages to the Northwest in search of a strait from the Pacific to Hudson bay and the Atlantic were set forth from time to time, like the pretended discoveries of Juan de Fuca as given to geography in 1596 by Michael Lok, an Englishman, and printed in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, in 1625. Fuca was a Greek whom Lok met in Venice, and between them they made out a good story, which was believed for a hundred years or so, that being long for even the truth to endure at the present day. Fuca had been forty years a pilot in the Spanish West India and Pacific service, he said, and was on board the galleon captured by Cavendish off California in 1587. Then he was sent north to fortify the strait

of Anian against the English, which statement answered as well as another, no one then knowing that there was no strait and no Englishmen there. Fuca's falsehood was rewarded by giving to the entrance to Puget sound his name, which it bears to this day, an honor such as is the too frequent reward of a lie well told. Fuca said his strait was 100 miles wide at the entrance; he carefully mapped it, filling up the blank spaces around with cities of the plain, as Quivira, and monsters of the deep, such as all mythical geography then contained; finally, sailing this strait for twenty days he came to the Atlantic ocean. This same Anian strait was first placed further south, where it would cut through the continent at about the mouth of the Columbia river; but as the southern coast became explored, and it became known that no such passage-way existed, rather than lose altogether so interesting a feature, and so betray their ignorance, the map-makers kept shoving it further north, until they finally got it up to Bering strait, where it will probably remain.

The Wytfliet-Ptolemy maps of 1597 assisted to perpetuate mythical geography, being filled with fanciful conjectures received as fact by the scholars. In his *Book of Sea Heroes*, 1598, Conrad Löw gives a general map supposed to be original, yet copied from Ortelius and Ptolemy, in which the kingdom of California is placed near the north pole, by the large strait of Anian, which separates Asia from America. Then there were the stories told by Torquemada and Father Ascension; the tale of the wonderful island of Zinogaba, rich in pearls; the story of Maldonado, who in 1588 sailed from Labrador into the Polar sea, and through the strait of Anian into the Pacific; the stories of Father Zárate Salmeron, of Pierre d'Avity and Peñalosa, of fathers Kino and Salvatierra, of Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte, whose letter appeared in the London *Memoirs for the Curious*, in 1708, and others, which if told in full would fill a volume.

Whence it appears that this matter of interoceanic communication, which is now so plain to the members of congress, who would dig the ditch and have done with it if their all-opposing politicians and the railway magnates did but graciously permit, was for a century or two a great mystery, which, like all mysteries that cannot be fathomed, men translated to suit their fancy, stoutly asserting the same as fact, and so

far as the use or effect of their knowledge went, was perhaps to them as good as fact. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Atlantic coast was known northward only to latitude 60°, and the Pacific coast to latitude 40°, yet there are many maps of the region beyond drawn prior to 1550. Honest old Sebastian Cabot stated squarely before the century began, "And understanding by reason of the Sphere that if I should saile by the Northwest I should by a shorter tract come into India, not thinking to finde any other land then that of Cathay, and from thence to turne toward India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to mee a great displeasure."

Leaving the Northern Mystery and returning to sober statements, we find that for a period of 400 years efforts have been made to obtain a water-way through the American continent. Columbus spent the later years of his life in search of a strait, before Vasco Nuñez ascertained that there was a great ocean so near at hand. Passage was attempted by the Atrato river from ancient Darien. Angelo Saavedra proposed to cut a waterway through the isthmus of Panamá as early as 1520, and not long afterward Cortés had the isthmus of Tehuantepec surveyed for a canal. Antonio Galvao in 1550 submitted four different schemes for a canal. The Spanish cortes in 1814 ordered work begun at Tehuantepec, but independence intervened to prevent; and yet a survey was there made in 1821, and to José de Garraay in 1842 was given a concession to construct a canal, and there the matter dropped. President Bolivar instituted an examination of the Panamá isthmus for canal construction, as did the Frenchman Garella, and others.

Then came the discovery of gold in California, and the construction, on the Panamá isthmus, of the first railway across the continent of America, from ocean to ocean. This, indeed, was a great event, though the distance was only 48 miles. The work was completed, at the cost of much money and many human lives; in 1855, and thereafter 40,000 passengers were annually conveyed across this narrow neck of land at a fare of \$25 each. The canal of M. de Lesseps was to follow the route of the railway, which indeed was purchased by the French company. The estimated cost of the canal by the de Lesseps company, which took form in 1881 as the Inter-

oceanic Canal company of Panamá, was 600,000,000 francs, but which failed as every previous attempt had failed.

Charles V was thoroughly interested in the project of a waterway across the Panamá isthmus. When he first saw mapped the Darien country he was struck with the near approach of the heads of streams flowing in opposite directions, and he soon formed a plan to unite the Rio Grande with the Chagre, and Andagoya, who made an expedition to Biru in 1522, was directed to make a survey, with estimate of cost. His report was unfavorable. At that time, a ship arriving at Nombre de Dios discharged cargo into flat-bottomed boats which ascended the Chagre to Cruces, distant about six leagues from the South sea. There muleteers took the merchandise in charge for Panamá.

Montejo, governor of Honduras, in 1539 addressed a letter to the emperor urging the construction of a road for pack-animals between the bay of Fonseca and Puerto de Caballos, by way of Comayaga, the distance being 32 leagues. He claimed this to be a more favorable route for merchandise between Spain and Peru than that via Panamá, the harbors on either side being better and the climate less unhealthy. The governor asked for negroes to do the work, as the natives were not reliable laborers. In 1554 Juan Garcia de Hermosillo was commissioned by the king to inquire into the merits of the respective routes, and he reported in favor of Honduras. Still the interest in the canal was kept up, for this same year we find the old chronicler Gomara writing, "It is true that mountains obstruct these passages, but if there be mountains there be also hands; let but the resolve be formed to make the passage and it can be made."

In early times several millions were spent on a canal from Cartagena bay to Calamar, on the Magdalena river; it is called el dique de Cartagena, but never proved successful, because the work was not properly done, and navigation is obstructed by the batata grass which fills the canal.

The isthmus of Tehuantepec is 130 miles wide at its narrowest point, where, besides lakes and lagoons, are the rivers Coatzacoalcos and Tehuantepec, emptying into the bays of Campeche and Tehuantepec respectively. The plan here was to enlarge and connect these two rivers, and it was seriously discussed at various times, and surveys made.

It was proposed in France, in 1791, by La Bastide, to cut a channel from the gulf of Nicoya to the Sapoia, widening that river between the lake and the gulf of Papagayo, but the French revolution drove the matter from the minds of the projectors. So it was in Spain, in 1814, when survey and construction were decreed by the cortes, subsequent political events rendering the decree inoperative.

The attention of the Spanish court was for many years occupied by projects for a ship canal through Nicaragua. Search was made for the outlets of lakes Managua and Nicaragua by Pedrarias Dávila, first governor of that region under the crown of Spain. The falls of the San Juan were carefully examined by Este and Rojas, officers of the king, and a waterway round them for ships recommended. Not only were the Spaniards interested in this scheme, but also the French and English, the latter even contemplating the conquest of the country. The contrivance of locks being then little understood, Galisteo in 1781 declared the plan impracticable.

"If the isthmus of Panamá is cut through some day" said Decrès to First-consul Napoleon, who asked his ministers' advice about the cession of Louisiana to the United States, "it will occasion an immense revolution in navigation, so that a voyage around the world will be easier than the longest cruise to-day. Louisiana will be on the line of this new route, and its possession will be of inestimable value. Don't give it up."

It is now three quarters of a century since the attention of the United States was first directed to the subject in 1825. After considering it for a full decade, the president was requested by the senate, in 1835, to enter into negotiations with the Central American states and New Granada, having in view treaties for the protection of Americans who should attempt opening communication between the two oceans. With New Granada a treaty was made in 1846, which gave the United States right of way across the Isthmus, but instead of a canal a railway was built.

Let us hope, as regards a ship canal, a short line railway across the continental desert, or irrigating and land-reclaiming canals and systems, that hereafter when the government pays for a thing it will keep it, and operate it, and not hand it over to private persons to be used to grind the people who contributed to the construction. As to the routes for a ship

canal, the commercial world will be satisfied with either; probably to all except North America the Panamá route would be preferable, being more central and shorter; through Nicaragua, however, will best suit the United States, being nearer, and therefore more useful.

Cornelius Vanderbilt, Joseph L. White, and others, in order to make more secure their exclusive privilege for conveying freight and passengers across Nicaragua, organized in 1849 the American Atlantic and Pacific Ship Canal company, probably having no intention then or at any time to construct such a waterway. A survey was made, and in 1851 White secured a charter from the Nicaraguan government authorizing the formation of another company for the same purpose, composed of the same members but with a different name. No wonder that Nicaragua, wearied at the long and useless delay of congress to take action, should permit the privilege to pass into private hands. While it is better for the United States government to control the canal, it is of less consequence to commerce who builds it than that it is built.

Nothing exemplifies more forcibly the great awakening of the American people incident to the war with Spain than the revolution of opinion regarding the importance of an interoceanic ship canal. Except upon the Pacific coast, and among those more especially interested on the Atlantic side, there was a general apathy as to the question, especially in the mid-continent states, where it was looked upon as a measure to benefit the coasts at the expense of the interior. Politicians arrayed themselves against it for personal reasons, and there were statesmen and journalists who saw in it only a scheme for swindling the government. But with the war, and the expansion of ideas which followed, all this was changed.

As to the necessity of the canal to commerce, or the feasibility of constructing it, the time has passed for such discussion. As to its relative value to one part of the world and to another, it will prove nearer of equal value to all than might appear at the first glance. Whatever helps London, helps all who do business with London, and that is all the world. I cannot say much for the intelligence of the midcontinent man who claims that because his town is not a seaport he will derive no benefit from a ship canal. Let him consider that an interoceanic waterway across any isthmus of America will make

not only a seaport, but a Pacific seaport, of all the cities in the United States which are situated on or near navigable waters. From all the towns on all the principal lakes and rivers, lakes Michigan Ontario and Erie, rivers Ohio Mississippi and Missouri, and a score of others, vessels of medium tonnage will ply direct to San Francisco, Yokohama, Hongkong, Manila, Sydney, Valparaiso, and every other Pacific seaport; and where water communication is not already open for access to the sea, the canal once constructed such communication will soon be opened, and there will be such a revolution in the world's commerce as is now not even dreamed of.

As to the relative benefits to be derived by the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, they lie unquestionably more largely with the former. I know that California is expecting the millennium when the canal comes, as was anticipated when the first overland railway was finished. The millennium came, but not to California; it came to certain railway monopolists, who pocketed the money given them by the government to build the road, while grinding as much more as possible out of the country tributary to the road, throwing the debt of construction, with interest, finally back on the government. I never have known another instance in the history of railroad building, where a government paid for building the road, and then gave it to the builders to use for the destruction of the people it was supposed to benefit. California would be better off to-day had none of the present overland railways ever been built. From the day the Central Pacific ran an engine through Market street, in San Francisco, as the signal that the road was finished, the poor sheep that crowded the thoroughfare bleating their joy,—from that day to this the iron heel of commercial despotism has never been lifted from this country. And if now Californians take the matter of a ship canal as tamely as they took the railroad infamy, the waterway will be of little benefit, but rather a disadvantage, in carrying traffic directly through it, and away from us, instead of by our door. There will, of course, be our share of the general benefit which will accrue to all the countries bordering on the Pacific, with overland freight reductions on certain classes of goods; but to derive a proper benefit from any ship canal from the Atlantic to the Pacific, we shall have to rise and meet the occasion, by establishing on our shores full lines of all

kinds of manufacturing industries, with the closest commercial relations with every country bordering on the Pacific. In other words we shall be compelled to exercise the same intelligence, energy, and liberality that has built up so many large and flourishing cities and sections throughout the entire United States save in California alone.

I have only to remark in conclusion, as I have elsewhere intimated in this volume, that as a business proposition, clearly apparent to a business man, the United States government at this juncture can better afford to spend some money for national advancement than not to do so. As we figure it up, we are the greatest and the richest nation on earth, the most enterprising, brave, and humane, a nation of boundless potentialities, which in my soul I believe to be true; and yet, seeing how freely the public money is spent on what is of so little use to the public; on political jobbery; on private schemes for the personal advantage of our good patriots; on popular fads as soldiers' pensions and public schools for the piano; on army and navy supplies, necessary as humanity is made, but tending in no wise to the upbuilding of the industrial interests of the nation; when I see how easy the millions come for foolish and unnecessary things, and how difficult it is to get any thing done for the country, such as the construction of this canal, which in truth is too small a matter to haggle over so long, I cannot but feel that we need some men at the head of affairs whose minds are not laid out on such narrow lines, and whose souls are not wholly absorbed in the selfish seekings of party and place. It is the business of the government, for example, if the government has any business further than the comfortable support of the politicians, to reclaim its waste places and desert lands by systems of irrigation, which with less than the cost of the late Spanish war, would add one-fifth to the agricultural area of the United States, or three times as much as we get by all the tropical islands secured. These now waste lands, which can be made as rich as any Egypt by the application of water, of which there is an abundant supply at hand, lie in the heart of the continent, dividing the republic into two parts, between which commercial intercourse is restricted to the arbitrary rule of railway monopolists, who constructed their roads with funds furnished by the government, and now used with

government permission to crush the industrial life of the people who are forced to use them. A few hundred millions more of debt just now would not embarrass this nation, if the money instead of being wasted in political clap-trap, went for the promotion of public necessities, as a merchant marine, a government railroad across the desert, a ship canal, and like investments, which would yield to both government and people a large and quick return in wealth, power, and prestige. Five hundred artesian wells would be worth more to the United States than five thousand dead Filipinos, and would not cost as much. The price of three battleships would bring the waters of Lake Tahoe to San Francisco, fertilizing a thousand farms on the way, and adding millions to the taxable property of the state. And there are many such needful developments west of the Rocky mountains, awaiting the attention of government.

Many volumes have been written on the subject of interoceanic communication; many men have spent their lives in studying it; nearly all the principal governments of Europe have been interested in some one or more of the many plans brought forward, and several of them have had surveys made at different points. The governments of Netherland America have lived for centuries on the hope that this work would some day be done. Those who should wish to pursue further this interesting study I refer to the following authorities. *Garella, Projet d'un canal*, 11-194, 230; *Chevalier, Pan.* 117-22; *Reichardt, Cent. Am.*, 164-5; *Cullen's Isth. Darien Ship Canal*, 19; *Nicaragua, Gaceta*, Nov. 18, 1848; *Liot's Panamá, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec*, 6-12; *Ramirez, Mem.*, 1-108; *Garay, Surrey Isth. Tehuan.*, 3-188; *Hakluyt, Voy.*, iii; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 37-89; *Duflot de Mofras, Explor. de l'Oregon*, 119; *Nouvelle Annales des Voy.*, ci, iii, 8-9; *Cortes, Diario*, 1813, xix, 392; *Robles, Prov. Chiapa*, 17; *Bustamante Med. Pacific*, M S ii Sup. 15; *Herrera Hist. Ind.*, iv, 234; *Rivera Gobern. Mex.*, ii, 116; *Ward's Mex.*, i, 311; *Dublan and Lozano, Legisl. Mej.*, i, 738-9; *Manero, Notic. Hist.*, 51-6; *Davis' Report*, 5-6; *Mex. Diario Debates*, 10th Cong., i, 273-1930, passim; *Fröbel, Aus. Am.*, i, 144, 241; *Squier's Nic.*, 658; *Humboldt, Essai Polit.*, i, 1-17; *Niles' Reg.* xxx, 447; *London Geog. Soc. Jour.*, xiv, 127-9; *Scherzer, Cent. Am.*, 241; *Belly, Nic.*, i, 84-7, 137; *Sampson's Cent. Am.*, 7-18; *Mururo, Mem. Hist.*, 1-47; *Bülow, Nic.*, 44-57; *U. S. Gov. Doc.*, Sen. Miscel. Cong. 30, Sess. 1, no 80, 69-75; *Id.*, H. Ex. Doc. Cong. 31, Sess. 1, no 75, 50-326, passim; *Marcoleta, Min. Nic.*, 1-32; *Hunt's Mer. Mag.*, lv, 31-48; lvi, 32-4; *Panamá Star and Herald*, Dec 5, 1885; *Andagoya, Carta al Rey*, in *Squier's M S S*, xi, 8; *Juan and Ulloa, Voy.*, i, 94; *Fitz-Roy, in Lond. Geog., Soc., Jour.*, xx, 170, 178; *Ariz, Darien M S*, 11-12; *Philosophical Trans.* 1830; *Arosemena, Examen*, 8-34;

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CHAPTER XVII

RESOURCES OF THE PACIFIC

VAST as are the resources of the countries round the Pacific, they present themselves at the present time in the form of industrial potentialities rather than of concrete wealth. True, there are here, with the limitless natural wealth and possibilities, money and property in abundance, but accumulated stores of riches such as are found in older communities we must not look for in new and undeveloped regions. Speaking generally, if one may speak generally of an area of land and water extending from pole to pole and covering half the earth, the soils here are very like the soils in the other hemisphere, and the flora and fauna, though differing, are much the same. The low-lying lands, where there is heat and moisture, are fertile; the higher and drier regions less so. There are mountains and swamps, and some volcanic débris on which plants grow reluctantly; but there are no great deserts, such as are found in the interior of continents, and no large stretches of land which may not in some way be found of use to man.

Beginning at the southern extremity on the American side, we will take a brief glance round the arena. Patagonia is still largely in a state of nature with some good soil and a fair display of vegetation; elsewhere there are places more barren in aspect and with trees dwarfed, though the largest of birds and the longest of men flourish here, the latter loving their country as well as if it were a better one.

Both Chili and Bolivia, and indeed the whole South American seaboard, produce largely of minerals for export, as silver, gold, tin, bismuth, antimony, mercury, lead, copper, as well as borate of lime, sulphur, and nitrate of soda. Southern Chili abounds in forests, but northern Chili without irrigation is sterile. The southern section, which long remained in its primeval state, the government is now opening to settle-

ment, extending its railways, and establishing new towns. Every year is held an auction sale of government lands, which bring from \$1.50 to \$30 an acre. Many Germans came to Chili under a plan to encourage immigration which is no longer in force, being too liberal for practical purposes. Passage money was loaned to the immigrant, and 100 acres of land allotted him on arrival, with an ox team, boards and nails for a house, and \$15 a month advanced him for one year, amounting in all to about \$600, the amount to be paid back in eight years.

Though wheat is abundant, there is here no such grain country on the Pacific side of South America as is found over the Andes in Argentina, which is one of the several granaries of the world. From Rosario are shipped weekly thousands of tons of wheat, corn, and linseed. The Chilian farmers as a class are as wealthy as any in the world, living like feudal barons, with hacienda in lieu of castle, with broad acreage, hosts of retainers, and thousands of sheep cattle and horses. At the annual roundup of some of these great estates, an army of cow-boys are present, with their captains and chiefs of all grades. Some 30,000,000 bushels of wheat are annually raised in Chili, and at harvesting a score of American threshing machines may be sometimes seen in operation on a single plantation. While in the United States only 31,000 men own farms of over 1,000 acres, in Chili few who consider themselves of any importance own less. Farms of 10,000, 20,000 and 30,000 acres are not uncommon. Agriculture is the chief industry; half of the population are devoted to farming, and it is not uncommon to find millionaires among the great estate owners. Irrigation is carried on to a considerable extent from mountain streams. Some of the farms are surrounded by stone walls, board or wire fences being little used.

At one time, during the early mining period, Chili supplied California with almost her entire supply of flour, 50 and 100 pound sacks being then first used by Americans. Flour from the east came as of old in barrels, from which it had to be taken and sacked for mule transportation to the mines.

Peru as well as Brazil is a great producer of raw material; rubber is almost the currency of the Para and Amazon countries. The tropical vegetation of the Orinoco is gorgeous. The Peruvian forests, where is found the indiarubber tree,

the chinchona or quinine tree, and varieties of vanilla and sarsaparilla, and through which flow the great navigable rivers Marañon and Ucayali, the latter 600 miles long, are in the tropical basin of the Amazon, on the eastern side of the cordillera. Here may be grown the finest coffee, sugar, and cacao. Sugar is cultivated in the coast valleys, where cotton is indigenous and also largely cultivated. Other products are grapes, olives, rice, silk, and cochineal. Grain and vegetables are grown in the sierra, whence likewise are exported large quantities of alpaca and sheep's wool.

On the Peruvian Andes are the wild vicuña and the domestic alpaca and llama. There are also black bear deer and fox, and among birds the condor and alcamari, the latter furnishing the black and white wing feather for the head-dress of the incas. Myriads of sea-birds frequent the lofty headlands and adjacent isles. Between fifteen and twenty millions of tons of guano have been taken from the Chincha islands, near the coast of Peru, for the fertilization of distant lands. The supply is practically exhausted. It is because the region is rainless, and the deposit is thus enabled to retain its ammonia that makes it so valuable as a fertilizer. Along the southern seaboard runs a deposit of nitrate of soda, enough to supply the world for a century, from which hundreds of thousands of tons are annually exported.

Guayaquil is the commercial clearing-house of Ecuador, the whole foreign commerce of the country passing through this port. In common with Venezuela, Costa Rica, and Peru, the currency of Ecuador is on a gold basis. Freights from the eastern United States are so excessive that little trade from that quarter with Ecuador need be expected until there is an interoceanic canal. Under contract is a government railway to connect Guayaquil and Quito, 350 miles in length, with an elevation to overcome of 12,200 feet. This road will open to the world a high tropical plateau, having a rich soil and a temperate healthful climate, inhabited by an industrious but isolated people, with unlimited water-power for manufacturing and streams for irrigating ditches, and where cotton grows wild and the grazing ranges are unrivalled. The soil is a volcanic ash, on which grow in greatest luxuriance cereals and fruits of all kinds belonging to the temperate and tropical zones. Between this plateau and the coast is a series of val-

leys of wonderful fertility, through which the road passes after leaving the low malarious coast, with its plantations of cacao and sugarcane, and its groves of rubber and ivory-nut trees.

Agriculture is still carried on in Ecuador by the ancient Peruvian methods, the tropical Indian, dense and debased but industrious and peaceable, ploughing the ground with a stick of wood, threshing out the grain with the branch of a tree, spinning his own thread and making his own cloth, happy to be a slave to the land owner upon the peonage plan with labor at from 20 to 30 cents a day. The Quito and Guayaquil railway enterprise is American; the proprietary natives care little for modern methods. So great has been the destruction of the wild rubber-tree in Ecuador by cutting them down for the gum, that its cultivation was started, and is quite a successful industry. There are in the distant forests multitudes of rubber-trees which have never been touched, but the difficulties attending obtaining the gum and bringing it to the coast are serious.

As in Ecuador, the uplands of Colombia are healthful and prolific of all the plants necessary to man; the lowlands, particularly about the Panamá isthmus are hot and in places marshy. The soil on the Isthmus is apparently bottomless.

The interior of Netherland America is a delightful region, and one of limitless possibilities, but its development never will be great under its present government and possessed by its present people. If Barrios had lived and had his way, like Diaz in Mexico, he could have made something of the whole five states of Central America, as well as of his own state of Guatemala. When France has finished with China, she might turn her attention this way, though she came off rather poorly in her attempt on Mexico. What can be expected of countries in a constant state of war and revolution, eaten up by imposts and impositions, the great mass of the people too lazy to labor, and their masters bent on self-enrichment on lines worse than highway robbery? As it is now these so-called republics are fit only for despotic rule. Not long since Guatemala had a despot, and a good despot too, but he was called away by a bullet from the Salvadorans. During his reign the country was prosperous. The cities of Alvarado and the Quichés, Guatemala and Quezaltenango, supported fine shops filled with rich merchandise. The jewel-

ry stores were a sight indicative at once of the wealth and vanity of the inhabitants. It was here the coffee planters, grown suddenly wealthy from large crops and high prices, loved best to spend their money, and deck themselves and their families and friends with gold and gems. Then came a fall in the prices of products, depreciation of silver until exchange on New York ruled at 250 per cent premium, with the high customs duties and expenses, and the shops put on a dismal appearance. It is by no means certain that at some future time commerce will not require United States' intervention in the affairs of Nicaragua for the protection of our canal interests. And this may become the entering wedge of intervention in other Central and South American countries. Europe could never interpose objections, having all the rest of the world as a field for her lootings; in view of which, and on further general principles, it will be as well for us to keep out of China.

Western Nicaragua grows excellent coffee, but owing to the low price obtained, that industry is to some extent supplanted by efforts in cotton. Immediately after the civil war quite a number of cotton planters went from the southern United States to various points, as Nicaragua and Brazil, in Central and South America. Their operations in some places were attended with success, not as marked however in Nicaragua as elsewhere, the plantations in that quarter being abandoned after a time. In the mountains of Nicaragua is some good coffee land, and in the upper valleys cacao is indigenous. Large rosewood, cedar, and mahogany trees grow on the mountain ridges, besides other valuable forest trees of commerce, and medicinal and fibrous plants. The railway from Corinto to Momotombo, on Lake Managua, is owned by the government, in connection with small steamers on the lake.

Coffee culture in Honduras, though in its infancy gives good promise for the future. While the plantations are small they are numerous, and may be profitably increased in size, as the soil is suitable, and the climate and conditions equal to those of Nicaragua, Guatemala, and Costa Rica, where the industry is large and profitable.

Rubber culture is developing in Guatemala. A large tract in Central America is covered by the indigenous tree, which produces the best quality of gum. The hot moist tropical sea-

board possesses the soil and climate best adapted to the development of the plant, yet the wild tree avoids a too perpendicular sun, and seeks the shade of some larger tree, so that in artificial culture the woods partially cleared have been chosen as affording the necessary protection.

Mexico's 12,000,000 people have a country which by the methods formulated throughout the ages in the old world would provide comfortably for 100,000,000 inhabitants. Industrially, the population may be divided into three classes, those above work, those below work, and those who do the work, each one of the middle class thus having to support besides himself three or five persons in idleness. As elsewhere, and more perhaps than in other places, altitude and latitude here unite to diversify and determine products.

The fibrous plants of Mexico are many and important. Species of the agave, as henequen, ixtle, lechuguilla, and pita, are in places the most important products. Cotton grows all along from Tamaulipas to Campeache. There are also jute, ramie, Spanish grass hemp, and a score of other native textile plants in which lies limitless hidden wealth. The vanilla bean grows in Tehuantepec, though its indigenous home is a strip 30 by 90 miles back of Tampico and Vera Cruz. A kind of sugarcane called cañamiel, or honey cane, is grown extensively in half the states of Mexico. Cacao flourishes in the latitude of Oaxaca and Tabasco from the Pacific to the gulf. The marine pine is cultivated for turpentine, pitch, artificial camphor, and vegetable tar, and land suitable for this culture commands a higher price than any other in Mexico, except that on the central table-land where the pulque plant is grown.

Hops and grapes, both of rich aromatic quality, are raised in several sections, with oranges, lemons, bananas, and all tropical fruits in the ocean border lands. There are many large tobacco plantations, and much unoccupied land suitable for that purpose. Cereals grow on the table-lands, which however are better adapted to grazing. The precious woods of southern Mexico are of great value. Stock-raising is a large industry, and is often attended by extensive irrigation.

On the lower terraces facing the Pacific are hundreds of coffee plantations, where new trees are every year coming into bearing. On these terraces also the growing of corn is increasing, while on the plateaus, cattle sheep and horses are raised.

Where is the poet who shall sing the praises of maize? It is surely indigenous to tropical America, for it is found in the tombs of the ancient Peruvians, though Bonafous in his *Histoire du Naturelle* intimates that it may also have grown in Asia; but the Chinese work on natural history, *Li-chi-tchin*, in which a drawing of the maize plant appears, was not published until 1562, seventy years after it was first found in America. The uses of the maize, or Indian corn as we call it in the United States, have of late years greatly extended in Europe as well as in America. In the northern midcontinent states, where the product is seen at its best, the crops have been large and the prices high. The alta California country, that is to say the states south of Oregon and west of the Rocky mountains, is not the best for corn, being too dry; but in the belt of states which terminate with Oregon and Washington on the Pacific, the plant thrives well. Several years ago the United States department of agriculture sent agents to Europe to disseminate more general information as to the value of corn as a food product, since which time the German government has placed it among the foods for the army.

The economic epochs of California have been four, which may be called the age of grass, the age of gold, the age of grain, and the age of fruit. The golden age was not the age of gold, nor yet the pastoral age, or age of grass, but rather the age of fruit, or at least it would have been so had not the serpent crept into this fair garden and devoured its substance. Perhaps it is too late for the United States government to own and operate its railways; perhaps it is not best. Some are of opinion that the state should have nothing to do with business of that kind, as it might tend to speculation, corruption, indifference to results, and inefficiency. In face of what governments have done and are doing in this and other directions, such fears fall to the ground. The many states in Europe, South Africa, Australia, and America that own and operate their own railway and telegraph lines, are satisfied as to results. Our postal system, conducted by the government, is essentially good, it certainly would not be improved, or give the public better or more economical service, under the control of individuals or companies. So with regard to canals and other public works. The people prefer to trust their in-

terests to the government rather than to monopolists. What California complains of, is for the government to give its means and lend its credit to furnish the wealth and power to monopolists to crush the people and kill the country. This is what the railways have been doing for California these many years past. If the government had a few trunk lines, or even one, say the one proposed by United States Commissioner Longstreet from Kansas City to San Diego, the evil would be obviated, and the benefit to the country incalculable.

Waves of industry roll over the United States at intervals, leaving in their wake liberal deposits of wealth. To get lands was the great purpose of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and to get rid of them was the serious work of the nineteenth, when the people of all nations were urged to come and take as much as they desired for nothing, or at a small price. Then clearing and farming were in order, after which roads canals and railroads were constructed, and finally various developments one after another as iron, coal, gold, silver, oil, cotton, cattle, and the like. While the coast states have always grown cattle, the great cattle industry has been developed in the Rocky mountain states, from Texas to Montana, where sun-cured grasses preserved by the snow of winter afforded free food for vast herds of stock, which resulted in a new crop of American millionaires.

United States exports of late have been about \$100,000,000 a month, and if the same skill and energy were employed to exploit our goods abroad as at home, our exports would soon be doubled, and doubled again. The attention of the world is just now given up to trade; people may not be any the better or happier for it, but all the same that is what they want. Governments are turning their attention to manufactures and commerce, evidently beginning to regard these industries of as much importance as war and politics. Some of them are establishing among the offices of administration departments of commerce.

While united in sentiment against all the world, the race of progress between the United States and the British empire will continue, running in the main side by side, the latter if any thing falling behind; none of the other powers, not even Russia, competing. In the production of gold and iron the United States and the British empire are about equal, the for-

mer perhaps gaining in shipping, in the output of coal, in the production of wheat,—in wool Great Britain and her colonies are in advance; while the United States lead in manufactures, in railway mileage, in the production of silver, maize, cattle, horses, and swine. England's tropical commerce is 38 per cent of her whole trade outside of English-speaking peoples. The tropical commerce of the United States is 44 per cent of our entire foreign trade exclusive of the trade of Great Britain. Yet not a tenth part of the world's tropical resources have been reached, not a quarter of them have been even touched. The mechanical facilities of the United States are now such that goods sufficient for a year's consumption are manufactured in eight months; in a short time six months will suffice; therefore, we want an outlet for half of our manufactures, and if we cannot sell them abroad our factories must stand idle. This shows the vast importance to us of our export trade and foreign markets. Though not in the cotton belt of nature, the United States thus far has produced four-fifths of the world's consumption. England has been able largely to control the price, owing to her manufactories and her hold of tropical commerce. As one of the results of our war with Spain all this will be changed, as having now a larger area of cotton and sugar lands, United States manufactures in these lines will increase. The cotton crop of the United States in 1897-8 was 11,200,000 bales, of which 2,211,744 bales were consumed in northern mills, 1,227,939 in southern mills, and 7,758,317 bales exported. During the previous three years, consumption in the south increased 44 per cent, decreasing 9.3 per cent in the north.

Among the leading agricultural products of California are wheat, barley, and other grains; all fruits of the temperate zone fresh and dried, and all semi-tropical fruits, notably olives, oranges, and lemons; also hops, raisin and wine grapes, nuts, and sugar beets. In Europe forestry is a profession, and New York has a college of forestry in connection with its agricultural college. The big trees in the Sierra foothills of California are of the redwood species, found also on the coast in Santa Cruz and Mendocino counties. There are pine spruce and fir in the mountains, but neither the lumber nor the coal interests of California are to be compared with those of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. California redwood

finds ready sale in France, if not less than eight inches in thickness and fourteen feet long, as lumber of these dimensions enters duty free. Likewise California fruits and wines find ready sale in Europe. "Western America", says James Bryce, "is one of the most interesting subjects of study the modern world has seen. There has been nothing in the past resembling its growth, and probably there will be nothing in the future. A vast territory, wonderfully rich in natural resources of many kinds; a temperate and healthy climate, fit for European labor, a soil generally, and in many places marvellously fertile; in some regions mountains full of minerals, in others trackless forests where every tree is over two hundred feet high; and the whole of this virtually unoccupied territory thrown open to an energetic race, with all the appliances and contrivances of modern science at its command,—these are phenomena absolutely without precedent in history, and which cannot recur elsewhere, because our planet contains no such other favored tract of country". What has the past century given to mankind, in the way of inventions, and the application of natural forces to these inventions, resulting in ocean steam navigation, the telegraph, and the application of steam and electricity to the development of railways and all kinds of mechanical industry? And is it to be for a moment supposed that the human mind and human progress is to stop here? So rapidly are our powers of production increasing that we can only consume a portion of what we grow, or of what we manufacture; so that exporting becomes of vital necessity to us, an increasing foreign trade in proportion to increasing production.

Arizona raises horses, mules, cattle, sheep, goats, and swine. As to agricultural products, so great is the diversity of soil and climate that all plants with water grow well, those accustomed to cold as well as those delighting in semi-tropical airs. In the main, however, Arizona is a grazing rather than an agricultural country. Date-growing has of late been attracting special attention. Considerable wheat is raised in the vicinity of Phenix, Tempe, and Tucson, where large flouring mills are established. Irrigation is attracting much attention here and in New Mexico. A plan is on foot for the irrigation of the arid lands of the United States, amounting to about one-fifth of the entire area, at a cost of \$5,000,000, the

lands affected being mostly in and west of the Rocky mountains. Oregon and Washington have agricultural lands which for durability and certainty of production, as well as fertility, have not their superior in the world. The region is never without moisture, and failure of crops is unknown. All the products of the temperate zone are here easily raised, semi-tropical fruits being left to the south.

The resources of British Columbia are its mines fishes and timber; and though the natural wealth of the country is not as varied as in some sections, in what it produces it is unsurpassed. It is not an agricultural country, as it grows little except grasses and oats. Until recently Alaska, and part of British Columbia, have been regarded as but little better than fields of ice and snow, unfit for the habitation of civilized man. But profitable fields of enterprise are now found there, as mining, stock-raising, furs, and fisheries, and some farming. West of the Cascade-Nevada range, as well as in British Columbia and Alaska as in Washington and Oregon, there are not only the fertile lands of the lower slopes and the plains, but fine forests in the mountains, and in the midst of the mountains themselves a thousand fertile valleys of the very best for farming.

Time was when half the road from British Columbia to Nova Scotia ran through the woods; but fires and settlement have quite changed the aspect in places. While eastern Canada has about 1,000,000 square miles of woodland, bearing mostly pine spruce and hemlock,—as walnut tulip and plane are becoming extinct,—British Columbia may justly lay claim to the largest compact body of timber in the world, and of which only the edges have been touched by lumbermen. All along the coast, from Washington to Alaska, the land is densely timbered, mostly with spruce, cedar, and Douglas pine.

With such opportunities as the Pacific coast presents for building ships, and such inducements as the Pacific ocean offers for sailing them, the people inhabiting these shores have only themselves to blame if they do not now quickly become maritime nations. Great Britain still goes steadily forward leading all countries in ship-building. The Belfast yard, where was launched the *Oceanic*, the largest ship in the world, with the keel laid for another still larger, has contracts gen-

erally for five or six years in advance. Of the world's total output of 1,893,000 tons mercantile ships for 1898, there were launched in the United States 761 vessels aggregating 1,367,570 tons. Of British ship-building in this connection the *London Times* says: "One of the special causes that have contributed to bring about so large demand for shipping during recent years has been the greater economy of tonnage, due to the substitution of steel for iron. The use of steel has given to the steel shipowner a vessel of greater carrying capacity for the same nominal tonnage. At the present time, more than 1,350,000 tons of steel shipping are under construction, against less than 9,000 tons in iron; but there are still many iron ships in our merchant navy, and the amount of new shipbuilding is likely to be heavy until they have been wholly displaced, and until the most modern engines and boilers have superseded the more wasteful systems of an earlier date. The extraordinary boom in our shipbuilding industry has caused a condition of affairs in relation to all our great mechanical industries that is almost without parallel. That shipbuilders themselves are full of work may be taken for granted, since they have nearly, if not quite, 500,000 tons more actual business on their books than they have ever had before. But this large volume of orders does not mean activity in our shipyards alone. It involves a corresponding amount of pressure on marine and mechanical engineers, electrical contractors and engineers, iron and steel manufacturers, and the makers of the hundred and one different articles of greater or less importance that go to make up the equipment of the average ship. The value of the work which our mercantile shipbuilding industry alone has furnished this year to the engineering industries generally, including electrical engineers, will certainly not be less than five and a half millions sterling, while the current value of the orders placed with our iron and steel manufacturers from the same source is likely to be at least five millions. The total value of the mercantile shipbuilding completed during the year 1898 is likely to be quite twenty millions sterling, and the value of the shipbuilding for purposes of war on hand at the present moment for British and other navies, including guns and other equipment, will probably exceed twenty millions more. All this means a pressure on our great mechanical industries

from home demands that has led to the enforced rejection of much foreign work, and to that extent has been unfortunate as regards our export trade."

While there is an abundance of fish everywhere in the sea, as we proceed northward we find fisheries more and more an industry. When the gold-seekers first came, the Sacramento river was full of salmon, and not long before that, there were seals and sea-otter in San Francisco bay. Then the Columbia, and then the Fraser, and after these the Yukon, each in turn became the centre of salmon canning. Alaska fisheries amount to about \$3,000,000 annually. The United States government receives \$317,500 a year from the seal fisheries, equal to four per cent on the cost of the country.

It is remarkable to what extent lands at first considered worthless have been since found most valuable. Few considered California, where no rain falls for six months in the year, of any value whatever except for mining. The snow-covered mountains of Wyoming and Montana, and the bunch-grass region of eastern Washington, were regarded as the least favorable spots of earth whereon to fatten cattle,—considering which let us not be surprised when farms on the Yukon are spoken of. By an agent of the department of agriculture, experiments have been made showing that portions of Alaska have a soil and climate open to agricultural possibilities. Oats, barley, flax, vegetables, and grasses were planted and made to grow in the vicinity of Sitka, and on Kodiak island, and about Cook inlet. Likewise on the Yukon, experiments have been made as to the growing of vegetables, flax, and clover, which proved successful. It is said also that cattle can be easily fattened here in summer.

In vegetation the entire shore, following the Japan current round to Asia, is in summer mostly park and garden, forest field and flowers. In cold Kamchatka the luxuriant grass grows five feet high, but the flora of the Kuriles is poor, though in places the islands are well-wooded. Wolves, foxes, and sea-otter are hunted in the Kurile islands for their fur.

Siberia, extending from the Ural mountains to the Pacific ocean, and from the Arctic ocean to the ever varying boundary line of China, is a country of vast natural wealth, both in minerals and in agricultural possibilities. However icy the tundra marshes may be along the frozen ocean, in the south-

ern part the climate and vegetation is half-tropical; hence of course there is a temperate zone between, with all the possibilities of good soil and temperate climate. Along the Amur river there is no reason why provinces or states may not be made and peopled like those along the Mississippi. Eastern Siberia, Russia's Pacific empire, aside from its inhospitable Arctic border, has boundless wealth and boundless possibilities. There are present all the minerals in abundance, and much of the land is as good as any on earth. China little knew, and cared less, how valuable is that part of Manchuria ceded to Russia in 1860, how full it is of agricultural and mineral wealth. Through these provinces and between well-wooded banks flows the Amur, more than fifty steamboats and hundreds of small craft constantly going to and fro upon its surface to a distance of 1,000 miles above its mouth. The valley of the Ussuri, through which flows the river of that name, and where there is now scarcely one person to the square mile, will easily support thirty inhabitants to the square mile. Thus far the products of Siberia, aside from minerals, have been grain and cattle. Nine-tenths of the 400,000 tons of cereals sent from Siberia in 1897, was wheat product, either whole or ground. In 1898 Siberia exported 21,244 tons of tea, besides cedar nuts, fish, timber, oil seed, flax, wax, honey, eggs, meat, tallow, furs, wool, bristles, butter, sheepskins, and cow hides. American ploughs are in use in central Siberia, and along the Amur.

Korean colonists bring the rich lands of Russian Manchuria, near Possiet bay, into high state of cultivation, by fertilization, deep ploughing, and rotation of crops; grain and cattle-raising are among the chief industries.

Lying under the tropics, with abundance of moisture from the Japan current which flows by its eastern border, and a fertile soil, the island of Formosa is prolific. On the mountains are fir, pine, chestnut, cedar, and camphor, the last the largest tree of the forest, the others growing not high but thick, with great branches. The mulberry oak and tallow-tree are common; also the shaulam, a fine lumber tree; the pung-tree, resembling soft maple; the bead-tree, banian, willow, and screw pine; and among shrubs the raspberry, thorn, tree-fern, rattan, and red bamboo. The cayenne pepper, or chile, of the Spanish Americans is indigenous here; also the

mango, soap-tree, and castor bean; the betel pepper, a creeper, and the betel-nut likewise grow here, the last a tree fifty feet high, with leaves only at the top, and bearing the betel-nut which the Malays chew as an intoxicant. For fruit trees there are the longan, about the size of a cherry; the loquat, persimmon, arbutus, angular fruit, pomelo, banana, orange, peach, plum, pear, crabapple, guava, pomegranate, lime, citron, pineapple, papaw, jujube, breadfruit, hongkaw, and fig.

Among leguminous plants are the peanuts, bean, pea, vetch, siusi, and indigo; bulbous plants,—sweet potatoes, yam, hoan-koah, taro, and tumeric; vegetables,—pumpkin, squash, cucumber, melon, gourd tomato, cabbage, onion, and garlic. Abundant also are rice, sugar-cane and millet, with some wheat, barley, and maize; tobacco and tea are also grown here, and there are few plants that do not flourish either on the lowlands or in the mountains. The fibrous plants are conspicuous, as jute, cloth-grass, rush, palm, paper-mulberry, and getho. The cultivation of rushes for mats is an industry in Japan. The plant used in the manufacture of matting, the igusa as it is called, is grown like rice, swampy ground being best for it. It is planted in rows and harvested in August. So great is the draft upon the soil in China and Japan from the constant growing of crops that the question of fertilization becomes a serious one. In 1897 Japan imported 249,524 tons of oil and seed cake, dried sardines, and bones, valued at \$4,758,529. A large quantity of like fertilizers was produced in the country, so that according to the best estimates not less than \$7,000,000 worth of substances went into the soil of Japan in one year to sustain and enrich it.

Among animals are the monkey, flying squirrel, civet, wild boar, goat, deer, leopard, ant-eater, and otter; while among domestic animals are the horse, dog, cow, and water buffalo. Of birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects, there are the usual tropical swarms. Almost the entire industrial interests of the island are in the direction of agriculture.

In view of the prevailing sentiment throughout the world that China should lay aside to some extent her ancient exclusiveness and open her interior to foreign trade, thereby benefiting her people and saving the empire it may be from the hands of spoilers, the emperor in March 1898 promulgated a decree admitting to all inland waters foreign as well as na-

tive vessels, and establishing ports of treaty, custom houses, and other trade adjuncts. The treaty ports thus opened were Yochoa, a military and customs station in the province of Hunan, situated at the mouth of Tungting lake, and distant from the treaty port of Hankau about 130 miles; Santuao, in Fukien province; and Chingwangtao in the province of Chihli.

Heretofore only the coasts of Asia had been touched by foreign commerce, but now the whole vast interior is beginning to be outspread for the benefit of mankind. The canals and rivers, the highways of the nation, are thronged with steamboats and small craft, all swarming with an industrious people. Upon this important development the *North China News*, of Shanghai; thus remarks: "China has hitherto aroused a feeling of antagonism simply on account of her exclusiveness. The enormous possibilities of trade, which the nations of the west believe to exist in this country, have naturally excited competition. Hitherto it has been found that trade was only to be gained by force or threats, and a tendency has lately become manifest to take action which, if not checked, would undoubtedly lead to the dismemberment of the empire. Sphere of influence is a convenient phrase for glossing over what is apt to become actual control, and by agreements among the powers that any sphere of influence should be open to the trade of all of them on equal terms, it is conceivable that we might see rapid developments in this direction which would soon leave very little of China independent. But if the Chinese adopt a liberal policy, and throw their country open freely to all, it is evident that the old grievances will no longer exist. China becomes one of the comity of nations, and her interests become those of her friends and customers. Any attempt on the part of one nation to obtain a preponderating influence, which might be used to the advantage of its own commerce and to the detriment of that of the others, would at once arouse diplomatic resistance. Is it possible that the Chinese are at length awakening to this view? We are at the beginning of a great change which will have stupendous issues. Let the Chinese once realize that they are safe from aggression as long as they are friendly, and that they secure the protection of foreign nations by utilizing foreign capital and foreign enterprise, and we shall see this

country make such strides as may in time make it one of the richest and most powerful in the world."

Another act on the part of the Chinese government tending to the preservation of the integrity of the empire was the concession made in May, and the first ever granted by the imperial government to a foreign company, to the Peking Syndicate, limited, of London, to open mines and construct and operate railways, with the sole right to develop the coal and iron deposits of Central and southern Shansi, and the petroleum of the entire province. Of this the consul at Tientsin says: "The signing of this contract marks the most important epoch in the industrial policy of China. The precedent has been established of allowing foreigners, for commercial purposes, to own real estate in the interior of China, open and operate mines, and construct and maintain railways. The Peking syndicate is composed of a few men who control immense capital, and who have obtained the most valuable concessions China could make. The preliminary work has been in progress for over two years. The concessions will be worked by the Anglo-Italian syndicate with a capital of £6,000,000. The success of this enterprise is due, first, to the fact that the syndicate was willing to spend money upon the chance of getting a concession, and that, after sending their general agent to China, they simply allowed him to manage affairs here and kept him supplied with money. The agent has shown wonderful tact in dealing with Chinese officials, judgment in selecting his assistants and in utilizing all available means to success, and untiring perseverance. The province of Shansi lies to the west of Chihli. It consists of an interior plateau of 3,000 feet elevation, more or less cut up by rivers. This plateau is bounded on all sides by mountains rising to 8,000 and 14,000 feet above the sea. In some places, these ranges have been cut through rivers; but in all parts they are rugged, and transportation must be effected by pack mules or camels. In the eastern portion of the province, and running into the province of Honan, are deposits of anthracite coal. The western half has bituminous coal covering some 12,000 square miles, and all along the western boundary are deposits of petroleum. At many different points in the coal region are deposits of rich iron ore. The coal strata are practically horizontal, and at an elevation of about 2,500 feet.

They show wherever erosion has cut to a sufficient depth. This anthracite coal vein is unbroken over an area of 13,500 square miles, and its thickness varies from 25 to 50 feet, an average of 40 feet. All of this deposit is within the limits of the concession. There are thousands of native coal mines now in operation, and the coal has been used for probably three thousand years. The iron ore is now worked by the natives. There is probably no coal field known in the world that can compare with this of Shansi, either in quality or quantity of coal or the possibility of cheap production. In addition to the concession in Shansi, there was signed on the 21st of June an identical agreement ceding to the Peking syndicate all of that portion of Honan north of the Yellow river—about 10,000 square miles—and another agreement by the terms of which all of the mountainous part of Honan south of the Yellow river is ceded to the syndicate as soon as work is begun on the Shansi concession. The total area of these concessions is 71,000 square miles, equal to England and Scotland.” The continental nations seem to act upon the theory that if they can fence off the waste places of the earth and hold them exclusively for their own people that they are thus gaining an advantage, which would seem a narrow policy for Germany in particular to adopt, eager as she is to overrun the world with her traffic.

Orientalism is the embodiment of pleasure. The Chinaman loves luxury though he may deny himself the comforts of a lifetime to attain it. Eastern civilization or Asiatic barbarism, whichever may be the proper term, has been undergoing a long period of poverty, owing to exhausted lands and an excess of population. But with the coming prosperity of the Pacific a taste for the luxuries of western civilization will spring up in the Far East, which will accrue to the permanent advantage of commerce.

Probably the soil of China is as severely taxed to produce the requirements of mankind as any in the world. Of the older and nearer east, as Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, less is demanded and less given, though Father Nile seems still to remember the children of men with his periodic beneficence. So do the rivers of China, which however are less free with their gifts than the Nile, and this requires of the Chinaman harder work to sustain life than the Egyptian is called upon to

endure; and surely it speaks well for the resources of China, the fact that the soil has sustained this dense population these forty centuries. Some of it has become worn out in so doing, but it is not so far past reclamation but that the Europeans will take it, provided they can by any means cheat or frighten the Chinese out of it. Densely crowded as may seem three or four hundred millions of people in a million and a half square miles, the land is still rich enough to sustain a much larger population. This world is a puzzle into which people are continually poured, and it never gets full. Malthus could not find standing-room for all the humanity his economics were going to hatch.

The farms in China are small and well cultivated. First among products are rice, tea, and sugar; then come vegetables, a little grain, with indigo, camphor, and silk. The cotton industry of India has assumed large proportions, while Indian tea is rapidly taking the place of the Chinese article in the chief marts of the world. Three-fourths of the tea shipped from China to the United States is sent from the port of Amoy, where it is first graded and packed. The shipments hence in 1897 amounted to 14,742,341 pounds, valued at \$2,855,847.30. Until recently this tea, which is largely consumed in the United States, has been regarded as the finest grown, but inferior mixtures gave it a bad reputation. Then a tea commission was created in the United States to supervise the importation of tea, and the evil was remedied. As in olives and wine, soil climate and culture have more to do with quality than has species. It is less than thirty years since the tea culture of Formosa island began to assume importance. A school was then established and a plantation started for teaching new methods, which found favor and produced beneficial results.

Assam is the indigenous home of the tea-tree, and decoctions of the plant have been used as a beverage since the third century of our era. Its culture was carried from China to Japan in the thirteenth century. The Chinese are not great tea-drinkers. Russia gets the best, being willing to pay for it. While for a long time the chief article of export, the industry in China is declining, owing to its increase in India. Hankau is a great tea centre, where the brick tea is prepared for the Tibet and Mongolian markets.

The whole Bangkah plain on Formosa island is flooded for rice culture from an irrigating canal which winds around down from the mountains. For this artificial watercourse a tunnel eight by six feet is in one place cut through solid rock, and in another place the water is carried over a river in an aqueduct fifty feet in height. On reaching the plain the water from the canal is divided and carried in every direction by innumerable irrigating ditches. The ox is used for dry ploughing, and the water buffalo in rice cultivation. The latter animal, though uncouth and of bad disposition, is invaluable to the rice grower, who is obliged to furnish large pools of water for the beast to wallow in by way of a bath. Tobacco is cultivated throughout the province of Szechuan; at Chung-king the Chinese have a cigar factory.

The native opium industry is increasing, while the importation from India is on the decline. England laments her loss; when the traffic has fallen so low as to be no longer profitable, let us hope, as in the slave-trade, that she will set the world an example of good morals, prohibit the poison, and turn her opium fleets into warships to fight against it. Or, plant the poppy in Africa and send forth more of those philanthropists who preach the healthful and beneficial effects of the divine drug, which even though it kills so many superfluous Asiatics makes life so sweet for them while they have it. Yunnan and Szechuan now supply largely the smokers of the Yangtse. An acre of poppies is worth two acres of wheat.

Korea is mountainous with but few plains. Much of the upland soil is dry and thin, but the small valleys of the lowlands require irrigation only for the rice crop. Pine, oak, maple, birch, ash, lime, plum, and peach are among the indigenous trees. The forests are all in the mountains, the coast hills being quite denuded. The fauna includes antelope, and deer; bears, tigers, and leopards; beavers, badgers, foxes, cats, and marten. The Portuguese brought tobacco to Korea, whence it found its way to Manchuria and central China. The use of the weed is now common throughout the empire, the Manchurian tobacco having the highest reputation.

A family of man, wife, and three children can live for a month in Formosa on one bag of rice, 140 pounds, and which costs usually \$3, but during the scarcity of 1898 the price was \$5 gold; so that the wages of thirty cents silver, or fif-

teen cents a day gold, leaves little margin even for those who find work, while many of those who have no employment starve. Wheat in China is a luxury for the rich, not a food for the poor. The lower classes make a small cake of rice flour; those who can afford it substitute for their little bread cakes, wheat flour. Sometimes the rice flour cakes are coated with wheat flour, the people thus cheating themselves in their petty indulgences. And yet the local mills at Shanghai sell China flour at \$1.85 in Mexican currency, or 87 cents American, for 50 pounds, while American flour is sold at \$2 Mexican, or 94.4 cents American money.

Among the greatest of undeveloped possibilities in the Far East are in the Philippine islands, with their broad areas of fertile lands, their mountains of metals and timber, and their valleys of native products, all teeming with wealth. It is safe to say that this archipelago is worth as much intrinsically as that of Japan; it can grow as good crops, supply as much metal, and accommodate as large a population, namely 42,000,000. The mountain areas, now in a state of nature, have a good soil, and are the most delightful for habitation. Coffee and cotton were once largely grown, the former for export and the latter for home consumption; but insects almost exterminated the coffee plants, while home-made cloth was driven out of the market by the English imported article. Mindoro raises rice and corn, the former crop reaching 765,000 tons annually; yet it is not enough to feed the many Chinese, who have to obtain more from Saigon, Hongkong, and Singapore. The Visayas grow sugar-cane; all the islands will grow tobacco. Of the manufactured tobacco 70 per cent goes to China and Singapore, and ten per cent to England. Southern Luzon produces largely of cocoanuts, which besides furnishing food for some millions of people, leave for export \$2,500,000 worth of the product. The islands also produce a superior indigo.

The four principal native industries of the islands are hemp, sugar, copra, and tobacco. The export product of sugar for ten years ending in 1897 was 1,582,904 tons, more than half of which went to the United States. Coffee, though growing wild in places, has not yet been extensively cultivated on the islands, though there would be little risk in doing so. The exports of hemp during the same period were 6,528,965 bales,

or 914,055 tons, the value of that portion of the two products which went to the United States being about \$9,000,000 per annum. Not only the principal sugar plantations, but the great tobacco fields are on the island of Luzon, the latter in the valley of Cayagan, 200 by 100 miles in area, and where is grown a leaf equal to the best Cuban, and which gives employment in its manufacture to 10,000 persons in one Manila factory alone. Hemp is grown chiefly on the other islands. Rice is a staple crop, but is consumed mostly on the islands. Pigs are prolific; also poultry. Cattle goats and sheep were introduced from Spain, and are not numerous. There are present small native ponies, but not many large horses. The carabas, or water buffalo, is the all-round beast of burden and plough animal.

In the forests of Negros and Samos there are thousands of square miles over which the foot of the white man has never trod, and where is an illimitable wealth of precious woods, as cedar, ebony, sapan, ironwood, and logwood. In the valleys and on the plains are the fruiting trees, the orange, mango, tamarind, guava, and cocoanut.

Much is being said of the opportunities for enterprise offered to Americans in these islands, opportunities for artisans and laborers and a grand army of colonists. No folly can be greater than to lay plans or build hopes on this foundation. In the first place there are abundance of opportunities for those now here, as well as for all who will appear during the coming century, for the exercise of the fullest energy and intelligence in developing our home resources. In the next place the experiment has repeatedly been tried and failed, to acclimatize the native of the midway zone to the heated regions under or near the equator.

At the close of the war bankers and business men were quick to see in which direction lay their interests, and were not long in changing their allegiance and arranging their business to meet the new order of things. They urged the Spanish authorities to come to some understanding with the Americans in regard to commercial matters, so that trade might follow its natural and proper course without interruption.

On the well-wooded fertile lands of the Ladrões grow corn, cotton, rice, indigo, cocoanuts, bananas, and bread-fruit.

Guam grows in great abundance yams and sweet potatoes; also corn, bananas, and cocoanuts. Fish are plentiful; the island is prolific of swine; and there is some game, as deer goats turkeys and ducks.

Since the decline of piracy as a profession, the Sulus have devoted more attention to agriculture. The land is held by the nobles, under a kind of Mohammedan single tax principle, the government taking all. The people are ground down by oppression, many of them being held as slaves. The nobleman is always armed with a kris, or peculiarly shaped sword, and a blowpipe, the latter the national weapon, a hollow tube of palm, through which darts are blown. The blowpipe is used mostly for birds and other game; or if for men the darts are poisoned. The people live chiefly on rice and fish; favorite dishes are chicken and eggs cooked in cocoanut oil, and square cakes of sago mixed with fish and citron juice. Fruits thrive abundantly, chief among them being the mango, durian, custard-apple, and the plum called bolona. Bread-fruit is an important product, and cinnamon, ginger, and the chocolate bean are everywhere prolific. Cacao trees introduced by the Germans are proving successful.

Extensive beds of valuable pearl shells have been found on the west coast of New Caledonia, and a company formed in Paris with a capital of a million francs to exploit the beds, under a concession covering 130 miles. Commercial-agent Wolff thus writes of it in August, 1898: "New Caledonia will soon, it is probable, play an important role in the production of pearl shells and pearls. The varieties of shells discovered are, first, the *avicula margaritifera*, containing a large number of pearls; second, the *meleagrina margaritifera*, which furnishes a very beautiful white pearl, similar to those found in Tahiti and Gambier; third, a variety commonly called *epaule de mouton*, of which the mother-of-pearl is magnificent, with many-colored reflections; fourth, still another variety of flat oyster, called *jambonneau*. The pearl is abundant, generally white and of a beautiful water. Frequently pink, yellow, gray, and black pearls are found, and large numbers are often found in the same shell. One is cited as containing the fabulous number of 256. To give a just idea of the riches of these seas, a little boat of one and a half tons, furnished, in the year 1897, the enormous quantity of 10

kilograms, 23 pounds, of pearls. Up to the present time, and in consequence of the difficulty of procuring divers, the waters have not been sounded to a greater depth than 2 meters, 6 feet, 7 inches. New apparatus and larger capital will give a great impetus to this industry, permitting soundings of 8, 10, 15, 20, and 25 meters, at which depth the large shells are found."

The pepper of the Straits settlements, which grows in bunches of 20 or 30 on a spike, is picked before the berry is ripe; and dried in the sun or on iron plates and marketed in bags.

Australia possesses vast areas of grazing lands and exports largely of wool. Besides mines and minerals, there are present valuable hard woods, which are now an article of commerce, and sent to the United States and Great Britain for street-paving and furniture. Late droughts in New South Wales reduced the sheep flocks of the colony from 66,000,000 to 46,000,000 sheep, besides losses of 300,000 horses and 150,000 cattle. Wheat and flour are rising into prominence, and instead of importing from the United States, as was done in 1896, to the value of \$3,400,000, it is expected that Sydney will soon have wheat and flour for exportation. At Newcastle, New South Wales, are some twenty collieries, each with an acreage of coal-bearing land, owned or leased, of from 1,225 to 9,000 acres. New Zealand has some rich agricultural country, besides her mineral and grazing lands. The gold fields are assuming large proportions under the influence of English capital. Wages in Australia are for farm hands and servants per month with board \$12 to \$20; artisans per day, \$2 to \$3. Sheep-raising is among the chief industries of New Zealand, and wool is largely exported from all the Australasian colonies.

The soil of the Hawaiian islands, though as a rule rich, requires fertilization in the absence of rotation of crops. The sugar crop of 1897 from 56 plantations reached 251,126 tons, notwithstanding the dry season. The cultivation of coffee is increasing, though not characterized thus far by many large plantations. Oranges grow wild in the mountain cañons, and are not extensively cultivated in orchard. It is somewhat strange that these islands are so poor for certain fruits, as peaches, plums, apricots, and apples, the production of which

so far as undertaken has not proved successful. Grapes and figs are always in market, and the mango is greatly relied upon.

Tropical and semi-tropical products are as necessary to northern civilization as northern products. We need the cotton, sugar, rice, coffee, tea, cocoa, silk, drugs, and spices of the south nearly or quite as much as the grain, meat, and vegetables of the north. As population increases and the tastes and requirements of civilization become yet more arbitrary and pronounced, tropical products will become more and more necessities, and fertile tropical lands, which are quite limited in area, will increase correspondingly in value.

Henceforth Cuba, commercially and doubtless politically as well, will always be American. The \$50,000,000 American capital invested there before the war will be increased to many hundred millions. A little larger than the state of New York, the possibilities are great; but only 2,000,000 of the 28,000,000 acres are cultivated, 9,000,000 being waste and 17,000,000 virgin forest. The usual annual product of \$85,000,000 can be increased ten fold. Sugar and tobacco are not only the chief industries, but comprise nearly all the business of the island, exports usually reaching some \$80,000,000 a year, say \$70,000,000 sugar and \$10,000,000 tobacco; though fruit lumber and iron ore are likewise produced. Three-fourths of the \$2,000,000 fruit exports are bananas. In the forests are some sixty varieties of valuable woods, hardwood and dye-woods, as ebony, *lignum vitæ*, and mahogany. There are also medicinal and textile plants. From the iron mines near Santiago, owned by Americans, \$700,000 worth of ore is exported. There are other mines of iron and other metals, and new discoveries to be made in unexplored parts. Prior to 1868 Cuba exported \$7,000,000 worth of coffee annually; but the wars of the Spaniards and insurgents ruined the industry. So with cocoa. Guano might be mentioned, and also fish, of which latter commodity some one soberly claims to have counted up 785 varieties.

In regard to coffee, of which the United States consumes 700,000,000 pounds per annum, the plantations of Cuba have been in the main destroyed, while the industry has received a decided impetus in the Hawaiian islands. The product of Porto Rico is 50,000,000 pounds a year; Cuba used to raise nearly twice as much. Of the 2,500,000 tons of sugar con-

sumed every year in the United States, the newly acquired islands have been furnishing about one-quarter of the amount.

With the opening of the year 1899, commerce in Cuba and Porto Rico was fairly progressing. The blockades were raised, the Spaniards had taken their departure, and all was as if there were no Spain, no Weylers, and no rebels. Plantations were put in order, sugar-makers set up their factories, railroads were built, and the seeds of wealth and prosperity were planted on every side.

The United States imports annually 25,000,000 pounds of leaf tobacco, three-fourths of which formerly came from Cuba, besides receiving 40 per cent of the 200,000,000 cigars and 50,000,000 packages of cigarettes annually sent forth from that island. The Philippines export 350,000,000 pounds of leaf tobacco, and 150,000,000 cigars, comparatively small portions of which formerly went to the United States. Cattle-raising in Porto Rico is a promising industry; also dairy farming, and poultry sheep and swine growing. There are present good clays for burning, and from which pottery and tiles are made.

Organized industry, in the form of trusts and combinations, will rule agriculture commerce and manufactures here as elsewhere,—instance the North American Commercial company, incorporated with a capital stock of \$14,000,000 for the purchase and development of 20,000 acres of land in Porto Rico and Cuba. This is a specimen of twentieth century farming, and as with many other like companies on the Atlantic and on the Pacific, agricultural, mining, and commercial, it was organized for legitimate purposes. Coffee plantations come first under consideration in Porto Rico; they are held at from \$75 to \$200 an acre, and pay a profit of from 15 to 25 per cent. Next are sugar and tobacco, the former less attractive as an industry, and the latter more so, for the moment, on account of the troubles in Cuba. The foreign trade of Porto Rico in 1896 was \$36,624,000, and the exports exceeded the imports. The largest share of Porto Rico trade has hitherto fallen to Spain, being about ten millions a year, the United States ranking next at seven millions. Tropical products comprise the exports, and textile fabrics, fish, flour, rice, and pork are the chief imports. Clipperton island is yielding important results in guano, Japanese labor being chiefly employed in handling the deposits.

CHAPTER XVIII

CLIMATES OF THE PACIFIC

THE currents most affecting the climates upon and around the Pacific ocean are the trade winds of the southern hemisphere, and the Japan current of the north. Like the gulf stream of the Atlantic, by whose influence alone the British isles are made habitable for man, the Japan current warms the islands and shores of Alaska, and governs temperature and rainfall all the way down the American coast to the middle of Lower California.

To Europeans coming to the New World nature presents herself on a grander scale than any to which they have been accustomed. The air is clearer, heat and cold intenser, and colors brighter. The mountains are higher, the plains broader, the lakes deeper, the rivers larger, and vegetation more redundant. The lands at first occupied by the Spaniards lay within the tropics, having high interior mountains, and plateaus raised within miasmatic borders into cool ethereal heights, whereon the aboriginal civilizations first awoke to consciousness.

Into the bay of Bengal flows the warm equatorial current, thence passing through the strait of Malacca into the Java-China sea, a volcanic basin, in which the water is warmed upon the surface by the sun, and at the bottom by the earth's internal heat; thence passing along the Asiatic shore to Bering sea and the Aleutian isles, it sweeps round to the American coast, which it descends toward the equator. This is the great river of the Pacific, the kuro-siwo, or black river, as the Japanese call it, the gulf stream of the Pacific, and the counterpart of the gulf stream of the Atlantic. These are the great arteries of ocean, and the analogy between them is striking in every particular. The kuro-siwo brings from the coast of Asia to the Aleuts, whose islands are treeless, trunks of the

camphor-tree from China, and valuable timber trees from Japan, and deposits them on their shores, and this drift-wood furnishes the people of the islands all that they require for fuel as well as timber for house and boat building. The water of the Japanese current is of deep blue, dark as compared with the water of the ocean through which it passes, and so called black by the Japanese.

It is owing to this river of the sea which comes up from the south, bathing the icy coasts with genial warmth, tempering the air and fringing the otherwise treeless coasts with forests, that Puget sound, and the mouths of the Fraser and Columbia rivers are not blocked with ice nine months in the year, and that the Arctic climate is not spread southward over sea and shore far below Mount St Elias. And the effect on man of this climatic influence is as palpable as the effect on vegetation; as witness the difference between the short thick-set, bunchy, and blubber-eating Eskimo, and the tall, well-developed, strong and symmetrical native of the Washington and Oregon coasts.

So heavily charged with moisture are the clouds caught up by the Japan current, upon setting out on the long journey from the southern seas of Asia, that when they strike the icy peaks of the farthest northwest, the precipitation is copious, being at Sitka seldom less than 83 inches for the year, while in one year, that of 1861, the rainfall was 95.8 inches. The mean annual temperature of the Aleutian islands is but little lower than that of Scotland, the former being 38°, and the latter 45°, while the average rainfall at Unalaska is not more than 41 inches, owing to the absence of high snowy mountains acting as condensers. The mean winter temperature of Sitka is 33° Fahrenheit, which is warmer than that of New York, and about the same as that of Washington, 1,095 miles further south,—about the same as that of Mannheim, on the Rhine, and warmer than at Munich, Vienna, or Berlin. At Fort Yukon and Nulato, where the temperature is often 100° in summer, the mean winter temperature is at the former place 17° below zero, and at the latter 14°. Reindeer brought from Lapland for purposes of transportation, and dogs from Siberia, make no objections to the climate, but the Klondike miners like travel by the railway over the mountains as well, perhaps, as that by sledges.

The Eskimos' long night of winter begins about the middle of October and lasts not quite six months. All is then a silent and dreary solitude, but for the howling of a wild beast now and then, and the occasional lighting up of the aurora borealis. Slowly light begins to come in March; in April the dozing Eskimo rubs his eyes and crawls forth; in May the snow begins to melt, the impatient grass and flowers arriving as it departs; in June the summer has fairly come.

In Alaska rise the three mountain chains which next to the ocean winds and currents, or rather in conjunction with them, govern climates on the American side of the Pacific,—first the Coast range, which hugs the shore through British Columbia Washington and Oregon to southern California; then the Cascade-Nevada range, which extends to Lower California; and finally the Rocky-Andean range, which constitutes the back bone of the two Americas, and extends from Alaska to Patagonia. Among the hills and valleys of the Coast range, which is nowhere so high as to shut out entirely the influence of the ocean, and back to the steeper and higher Cascade-Nevada range, is the garden of the world, and perhaps, taking it all in all, the most favored spot on earth as a dwelling-place for man, that is for the white race of temperate climes. Protected on the eastern side from the winter winds and cold of mid-continent, the temperature is modified and regulated by the ocean air and currents. Warmed by these waters in winter, and cooled by them during summer, there are no severe extremes as to times and seasons. Even in the upper latitudes, as Washington and British Columbia, it cannot be called a cold climate, the occasional light snows during the warm winter scarcely remaining on the ground more than a day or two, while the cool summers are made healthful by thousands of miles of ocean air. This at the north, while in the south, at San Diego for example, there is not on an average more than ten degrees difference in temperature between summer and winter and night and day. If sometimes hot days come, as is not unfrequently the case—but never very cold ones—with the mercury up to 100° or more, the air is so pure and dry that the heat is not unpleasantly felt. It is not debilitating, never in the least enervating, seldom malarious, and never so in southern California, where the summers are dry and no decaying vegetation on the hills or

in the valleys. In New York, or at Manila, a temperature of 90° would be more severely felt, and cause more suffering, than would a temperature of 120° along this west American seaboard a few miles back from the water; for if too close to the sea, the evaporation and moisture are unpleasantly felt in a very high temperature. I might say further, that a temperature of 80° at San Francisco affects people more unpleasantly, and throws them into a more profuse and exhaustive perspiration, than a temperature of 110° twenty-five miles back behind the hills; while 500 miles south the difference between a hot day in close proximity to the water and ten miles back in the country, where this same ocean air comes a little dried out by the intervening hills, yet still fresh, cool, and inspiriting, is very marked.

The tsar's transsiberian railway is destined to accomplish several transformations in the country through which it passes. First it will open this land to settlement, this land, and Manchuria, and all that can be choked from China besides, is being made ready for millions of unborn Russians—so kind of the tsar to think of it,—and to ask the powers of Europe not to fight him while he is finishing his railway, and finishing China, is surely no unreasonable request; but how about the millions of unborn Chinese who want their lands for themselves? Then, the country is being made respectable by respectable settlers,—no more penal colonies allowed, no more exiles of Siberia. Merchandise and agriculture too are coming, and exploitation of mines; and last of all to change and be made new, in name at least, climate. Sunny Siberia is the new name, christened since the railway, the town building, and the late lootings. Sunny Siberia! It sounds well, if one can forget for a moment the Arctic belt of ocean, and the Arctic belt of tundras, or ice-morass, and some more belts of dog and reindeer travel before coming to Pullman and church cars. With all these changes, doubtless there is sunshine in Siberia, sometimes. But however eternal the ice and snow of the frozen ocean, it is warm enough considering the latitude at the Aleutian isles, where the rainfall is almost continuous during winter. And all along down as the weather becomes warmer the rainfall is less, being at Alaska 84 inches, British Columbia 76 inches, Washington 71 inches, Oregon 65 inches, and so on.

On all sides of the Pacific, though varying between wide ranges, climate does not on the whole reach the extremes of heat and cold found on the Atlantic. The mean temperature in January at Petropaulovski is 17.6 degrees. The climate of Vladivostok is in summer hot and moist, with mists not unlike those of Oregon and Washington on the American coast directly opposite; autumn and spring come abruptly and are welcome; the winters are not severely cold, the sky is bright and cloudless, the fall of snow light, and the temperature seldom below zero.

On the Yukon in November the temperature falls sometimes to 40° or 50° below zero; then again throughout the winter there are times when there is no wind and the weather not more severe than that of our midcontinent. The sun hides behind the hills of Dawson from December 5th till January 7th, yet it is not exactly dark. The temperature of sheltered creeks is about 10° warmer than along the open river country.

On the coast of Alaska, and in British Columbia Washington and Oregon, it rains all the year; California has a rainy season, from November to May, and a dry season from May to November; Panamá has a rainy and a dry season; Bogotá has two, Chili one, and Peru none. While in Oregon the rain falls every month in the year, it rains five times as much in winter as in summer.

Over the Sierra all is different. Between this high steep wall and the broad tumbling elevations called the Rocky mountains are the great deserts and bad lands of North America, deserts that congress would do well to water and reclaim before conquering China, bad lands which it will well pay the government to turn into good lands for the benefit of its supporters. There the earth is powdered, while the air is too arid for comfort. From whichever direction comes the wind it comes stripped of its moisture; if from the west, then by the high snow-clad sierra,—that is snow-clad in winter, the only time it rains in California; if from the east, long enough has been the journey over the plains and over the mountains from the Atlantic to wring dry the clouds; besides there are not present in the great interior basin the high sharp cold condensers necessary for rain-making. It does not exactly rain salt water in this region, but the lakes there are mostly salt, and the streams empty into the ground, all but

the Colorado, which manages to exist until it reaches the gulf of California, though it passes through some broad stretches of sand which might be turned into another Egypt with the Colorado as another Nile. Mirage is frequently met in these deserts, each locality having its own. In the sandy region below the level of the sea, the scene is usually a beautiful landscape, in which are lakes, and islands, and shores of luxuriant foliage. Lower California presents the peculiarity of rain falling from a clear sky. In British Columbia the Cascade-Nevada range forms a barrier against the cold of the Arctic, and the severe winters of the whole northern and eastern interior.

Then the two sides of the Cascade-range in Oregon and Washington, like the two sides of the Sierra Nevada of California, present quite a different appearance, owing to soil climate and conditions. Great forests rise on the western slope, and fertile valleys below; on the eastern are dry sandy stretches covered with bunch grass and sage. Yet eastern Washington is fertile, and better watered than the deserts of the south.

The Colorado basin, embracing parts of southeastern California Arizona and Sonora, has a mean temperature, for four or five months of the year, of 92° , rising at midday sometimes to 115° or 120° . The clouds of the Japan current, which we left in the north, as they proceed southward are wrung drier and drier by these cold hill-tops against which they beat themselves, until when they reach the middle of Lower California there is little moisture left in them. The distribution assumes various phases in different places. Thus in some parts of Oregon and Washington there are heavy, straight downpours; in other parts, more especially along the coast and away from the mountains, the rain descends in the form of mists, or a gentle drizzle; but as if by way of apology for the modest downfall, it mists and drizzles most of the time. Such saturating moisture is good for crops of many kinds, which are said never to fail here; so that with a mild climate and rich soil, the agricultural possibilities of Oregon are beyond compute. At the northern end of the California coast the annual rainfall averages 54 inches; at the southern end ten inches. Back from the southern coast among the mountains the fall is sometimes 30 or 40 inches, and it may not be more than that in the northern interior. The rainfall is largely increased or diminished by local causes, overruling the general wind and current regulations, which, however, for the most part govern all.

It is not difficult to understand how on the coast of California, and elsewhere, the summer winds blow from the ocean to the land during the day, and either cease altogether or blow from the land during the night, the air being warmer on land during the day and warmer on the water at night; also that a southeast wind in winter brings rain, the moisture-laden currents of ocean being drawn thence, while a north wind, coming from barren mountains or sandy plains is dry and withering. In South America the wind's changes are quite different. "At Chili" says a French savant, "the daily alteration of the breeze assumes a very singular character in the season when the southern zone or belt of calms attains, in its extreme oscillations, its southern limit. It is the period of the greatest heat at Valparaiso. The sky is pure, the air transparent; the radiation in space operates without obstacles. The atmosphere, in this condition of perfect equilibrium, appears admirably disposed to obey the lightest impulse which may be given it by the smallest change in the temperature. As early as ten o'clock the earth has felt the influence of the sun; the heated air dilates and ascends. The breeze forms upon the waves; it freshens, it rushes towards the land. At about two o'clock it blows from the open with extreme violence. Ships at anchor are often sorely beset; they drive upon their anchors, and navigation in the roadstead is impossible. But at six o'clock the wind begins to spend its force. It falls rapidly, sinks, and falls out, and the repose of the evening becomes as profound at that of the morning."

Arizona has two rainy seasons, one in July and August and the other in February and March. The mean annual temperature of Lower California is 60°, and the annual rainfall in the northern part of the peninsula is about eight inches, the quantity lessening toward the south.

The larger part of tropical North America is occupied by Mexico, whose central plateau rises to a height of 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the ocean. Upon this high table-land stand mountains with their tops in eternal snow, while the base of the plateau is wrapped in malarial mists or broils under an equatorial sun. These, then, are the climates of the country, of every conceivable variety from the hottest to the coldest, from the wettest to the driest, and from the most salubrious to the most deadly. Rain falls heavily along the hot seaboard,

except in Lower California, the central portion of which, like the relative position in South America, is almost rainless. The greater part of the table-land has a moderate rainfall of from 60 to 70 inches, though the average in the valley of Mexico is 73 inches, while at times, in Chihuahua, Durango, and Coahuila the rainfall is so light that nearly every year in some places crops fail and cattle die. Then, too, in these parts, instead of being properly distributed throughout the season so as to benefit the soil, the rain comes spasmodically and often in torrents, doing sometimes more harm than good. The rainy season in Mexico is the summer, the reverse of that in upper California. The terraced slope between the high plateau and the sea is delightful, being above the malarious humidity of the seaboard, and below the electrical aridity of the denuded highlands. Thus we see that although Mexico is nearly all within the tropics, but a portion of her area has really a tropical climate.

Besides the rapidly growing and rapidly decaying vegetation of the tierra caliente, or hot land, there are extensive areas of overflow breathing infection. The tierra templada is semi-tropical in temperature and vegetable life, which latter is exuberant and varied on the terraces, and even on the plateau where it falls to an altitude of three or four thousand feet. Except in marsh lands having no drainage, all the tierra fria, or high and consequently cold land, has a pure and healthful air. On the plateau the wind is sometimes severe; on the Pacific seaboard, northeast and southwest winds prevail.

At the isthmus of Tehuantepec, where the great continental chain is disrupted, dropping away into undulating hills of 500 or 1,000 feet high, and the breadth of the continent is reduced to 115 miles from sea to sea, the country thence sweeping round to the eastward broadens out for hundreds of miles over Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche, and Yucatan, then rising abruptly to an altitude of 8,000 feet and over,—these peculiar conditions unite to produce a climate found nowhere else in America; that is, the surroundings of certain spots so modify winds moisture and temperature as to present peculiarities which being met by the modified results of other peculiarities produce phenomenal effects. Thus from the insular position of Tehuantepec the temperature in winter frequently falls

below 57°, though the average is 69°, while the heat of summer, which with a south wind is dry, is seldom above 97°. Ordinarily the temperature of summer is from 70° to 85°, with winds from the north and east. The rainy season is from June to October, though light showers fall throughout the year. The two sides of this isthmus have likewise their climatic peculiarities. For example, the Pacific side is warmer and drier than the gulf side; the rainy season is shorter, and the precipitation is less than half that on the gulf side, which sometimes reaches 100 inches in the year.

The Rocky mountain chain, which on entering Mexico separates into the two sierras on either side of the great plateau, unites at Tehuantepec, and continues its course in the form of broken table-land through Guatemala, throws up a formidable barrier on the Pacific side of Honduras, which sends eastward several transverse ranges, passes on at diminished altitudes through Nicaragua, rising once more on reaching Costa Rica, bold and rugged, with the volcano of Cartago as a landmark, sinks again on entering Veragua, passes as low hills through the Panamá isthmus, again to rise to towering heights as the great cordillera of the Andes, and so on by the Pacific shore dominating the winds and rains to the southern extremity of the continent. All along its central and southern course the northeast trade winds blow the greater part of the year, and striking the high ranges drop their moisture on the eastern side, filling the marshes and covering the eastern slopes with rank vegetation, leaving the Pacific side, as far as Peru at least, rainless and treeless, except where the southwest winds blow in upon the land from May till October. Probably, taking it all in all, the hot, marshy atmosphere of the Isthmus is the worst in the two Americas, where a vertical sun lifts and lets fall on the spot a deluge of water, decomposing the rank vegetation, and engendering a miasma deadly to the unacclimated.

Central America has a delightful interior climate, cool and invigorating in the mountains, but hot and malarious on the two seaboard. Punta Arenas, in the gulf of Nicoya, is the Pacific seaport of Costa Rica, whose capital of San José is situated midway between the two oceans. Nicaragua has for its chief port on the Pacific Realejo; San Salvador has La Libertad, the capital being 22 miles inland. The chief Pa-

cific port of Guatemala is San José; and that of Honduras, Amapala. Guatemala city is 90 miles from the coast; the average mean temperature is 65°. Though warm, the climate of Nicaragua is not unhealthy, scarcely uncomfortable; swamps and lagoons are rare in the uplands.

Parts of Colombia, particularly the Panamá isthmus and on the borders of both oceans, are hot, humid, and exceedingly unhealthy, the malarious vapors rising from the decaying vegetation being constant and very pernicious to all but the natives. So it is on both sides of Central America, and indeed on all the wet tropical shores of America and Asia. Yet the high interior air of Colombia is delightful, the soil prolific, and in the cities are some manufactures.

High in the cool air stand the equatorial cities of Quito and Bogotá, so high and so steep their approach from the Pacific side, it is found better to make the ascent, particularly to the latter, from the more distant Atlantic. Each of these cities stands upon a great plain where wheat barley and potatoes grow well, and where many cattle find excellent pasture. Horses sheep and swine likewise enjoy the climate. In both cities the people have respect for earthquakes, building their adobe houses low in consequence of them, and with iron gratings over the street windows on account of the thieves, and even then not feeling safe when the shaking comes or the thieves appear. There are business blocks in the centre of the cities built of stone and bricks, some of two stories.

Bolívar was the Washington of all this region, and his effigy in marble is everywhere. The Ferdinand he had to fight was even less of a man than the George whom Washington opposed; but all the same Bolívar became the father of republics, and let us hope that some of them will become in due time, if they are not already so, good and great ones.

Bogotá has a mint and several banks but no carriages. Equestrians and occupants of sedan-chairs are permitted passage along the narrow streets. The national capitol, on the south side of the plaza de la Constitucion, and containing the halls of the senate and house of representatives, besides the offices and residence of the president, is a massive two-story edifice, with yellow stone façade, which cost a million dollars. Here likewise is a school of fine arts, an opera house, and a national library and national museum.

The trade winds of intertropical regions, atmospheric currents arising from the action of temperature and the earth's diurnal motion, were great aids to early commerce as they became properly understood and utilized. Their movements are continuous on both sides of the equator, in the southern hemisphere, north, from northeast to southwest, south from southwest to northeast; in the northern hemisphere, north, from north-north-east to east-north-east; south, from south-south-west to west-south-west; at the equator from east to west. The world's trade winds are broken by the continent of the two Americas, interposing its entire length across the world's expanse of waters, where otherwise the two greatest of oceans would be thrown into one, as indeed the fifteenth century cosmographers thought them to be. In the south Pacific the trade wind springs up some distance from the shore of South America, and blows toward Australia. The northeast current is regular between latitude 2° north and 25° south, though in summer it veers northerly. These are the winds which carried Magellan so successfully across the vast unknown wilderness of waters, and helped the old rich-freighted galleons between Acapulco and Manila.

Humboldt reported an ocean current which flows along the coasts of Chili nearly to the equator, modifying and making more habitable by its cool moisture the rainless regions of Peru. In the heated waters of Polynesia rises a current which flows south along the eastern coast of Australia to New Zealand, giving delight to the coral-reef makers that here construct their atolls. Central and South America receive their moisture from the meeting of the northeast trade winds of the Atlantic with the southeast trade winds of the Pacific, and the rains wrung by the high summits of the Andes from the clouds thus formed feed the great rivers flowing eastward, while the winds descend the western slope dry and cloudless, leaving behind a rainless region watered only by the melted snows of the mountains. Within the limits of the movable equatorial calms, which surround Panamá from June to November, it rains almost incessantly; during the remainder of the year, when the northwest winds prevail, it is the dry season at Panamá, though even then it sometimes rains. The annual variations of the trade and calm wind belts are about 1,000 miles in latitude. The zone of equatorial calms is in July and

August between 7° and 12° north latitude; in March and April between 5° south and 2° north latitude. The variations of the zones are governed by the sun. The southwest winds reach the coast of southern California late in autumn, bringing rain. In California the land is cooler than the ocean in winter and warmer in summer; hence the sea winds are condensed into rain in the former instance and not in the latter.

The empire of the incas comprised every climate, and was capable of growing all the products of every zone. Along the dizzy precipices of the cordillera roads were constructed, the chasms spanned by bridges, while on the mountain side were terraces of hanging gardens. There is practically no rain on the Peruvian seaboard, owing to the lofty snow-capped Andean chain, where are peaks 21,000 feet high and more, which breaks the southeast trade-wind coming over Brazil from the Atlantic, and wrings from it all its remaining moisture, leaving it to descend the western slope cold and dry, to be charged with fresh moisture only on reaching the Pacific. The prevailing wind along the coast is from the south. There is a fog from June to September which sometimes amounts to a drizzling rain; from November to April the air is dry and the sky clear. Mean temperature at Lima 70°. The rain is heaviest in the mountains when it is hottest and driest on the coast. Irrigation is effective. The city stands 512 feet above the level of the sea. Winter here is from June to November, during which the air is cold, from 57° to 61°; in summer from December to May, the mean temperature is 72°. Callao is the port of Lima, the temperature of the latter city ranging from 60° to 80°. Rain is very rare; practically there is none.

The climate of Chili is equable and healthy, the interior warmer than the coast. North of latitude 27° it seldom rains. The mean temperature of Santiago is 70°. South of latitude 27° it rains in June July and August, which are the winter months of the southern hemisphere. Coming northward from Cape Horn, the climate of Chili opens cold wet and boisterous, and turns to scorching heat as the capricorn tropic is entered, the land extending from ocean level on one side to snow line on the other. The rainy months are June July and August, during which time the wind is northerly, while

for the rest of the year it is from the south. Winter opens with June, spring with September, summer with December, and autumn with March. Chili has frequent temblores, with a thorough shaking up once in ten years, and a grand focusing of earthquake forces once in about fifty years. Seventy-two severe earthquakes have occurred in Peru since 1575, Callao being well-nigh destroyed in 1745, and Arequipa in 1868. In the north, the northeast winds meet those from the southwest at about latitude 40° , and precipitation follows.

The climate of Victoria, Australia, like that of California is exceptionally fine. In fact, all round the Pacific the conditions are favorable to health wealth and happiness. There are extremes of heat and cold, of course, in places, and some malaria, but there is enough left of earthly perfection in regard to all that make for man's welfare as to justify Dante in placing his Terrestrial Paradise in the middle of this ocean. Queensland has a tropical climate, but it is salubrious, and white men live there in considerable numbers as miners, herders, sugar-workers, and all kinds of mechanical laborers. Mean temperature of Melbourne $57^{\circ}6$; of Sydney $62^{\circ}6$; of New Zealand, 55° .

In the centre of the Pacific, the climate of the Hawaiian isles is peculiar to itself. From the warm moisture of the seaboard to a wintry mountain height the distance is not great. For the most part the atmosphere is clear; there is fog, not much mist, and no sunstrokes. A cool ocean current comes in from Japan rendering the temperature from two to ten degrees lower than in other lands on the same line of latitude. Nevertheless, it is always wet on the windward side of the islands, where the precipitation is heaviest, and where the ocean rain-clouds first strike the mountain tops.

The trade winds come in from the east in March and continue for nine months, not always in temper mild and benignant, but upon occasion angry and boisterous. The tidal wave is not a welcome visitor, when it comes rushing and roaring in from the ocean, toward the frightened inhabitants in form of a water-wall dashing itself upon the shore, flooding farms, floating houses, throwing into wildest confusion men women and children, dogs, canoes, and household effects, killing some and half killing the rest with fear.

Honolulu is on a hot, moist flat, but radiating thence are

valleys covered with taro and rice fields, where the visitor can become dry and cool. A light rain falls at Honolulu nearly every night, quite different from the floods which drop on Molokai and Hilo, which are measured not in inches but in feet. At the old capital, Lahaina, it is still warmer. The isle of Hawaii has hundreds of waterfalls dashing into the sea. The scenery of Kilauea and Haleakala is sublime, but for quiet landscape beauty the garden isle is Kauai. The mean temperature of the Hawaiian islands is 75°; extremes 65° and 85°. Honolulu temperature for five years gives the highest 88° and the lowest 54°. On Maui the temperature is higher, and on Hawaii lower; Oloa, 60° to 80°; mean temperature of the sea 70°.

I have said that all round the Pacific its borders are lined with volcanoes, active and extinct. There are 23 in Chili alone. Peru has many volcanic peaks, though not generally active, the highest ranging from 19,000 to 22,000 feet. Kamchatka has twelve active and twenty-six extinct volcanoes below latitude 57°. The whole chain of the Kuriles is of volcanic origin, and on several of the islands are active craters. New Zealand has a number, also Mexico and Central America. Says Professor Shaler, of Harvard, in his *Aspects of the Earth*, "It is in the region round the Pacific ocean that we find the kings of this race of giants. Around the shores of this great area of waters we have a singularly continuous line of volcanic vents. Counting only those which have been in activity since the beginning of the present geological period, the aggregate probably amounts to many hundreds."

The climate of Japan, like that of California, is varied, the southern isles, near the tropics, basking in perpetual summer, while the Kuriles partake of the arctic cold of Kamchatka. Winter fills the mountains with snow, from some of whose peaks it never disappears. After summer are heavy rains, after winter lighter ones.

The winds are southerly at Yokohama and on the Pacific coast of Japan; in the sea of Japan the south-west monsoon prevails from April to September. As a rule the wind is southerly from May to August, and in calm weather land and sea breezes alternate as elsewhere. The typhoons, or violent revolving storms, similar to the cyclones of the Indian sea and the hurricanes of the West Indies, come once a year, from July to September.

The earthquakes of Japan have been far more frequent and destructive than any known to history on the opposite coast. Without going back to tradition, 286 B C, when Mount Fuji rose from subterranean realms and Biwa lake was formed, we have authenticated the destruction of the imperial palace in 416, and severe shakings up of these isles scores of times since, one in 1855 destroying 16,000 buildings. Among the many active and inactive volcanic peaks rises 12,000 feet the sacred mountain Fujisan, conspicuous far out at sea, with a crater 500 feet in depth, and visited by pilgrims in early summer. The Malayan archipelago is a nest of volcanoes, where eruptive energy has reached its height. Here are more great cones than in any other equal area in the world. I will give a few examples of the freaks nature here sometimes plays.

Japan can boast of many earthquakes and great destruction of lives and property; as at Yeddo, in 1703, when the lives destroyed numbered 190,000. In 1721, 400,000 were killed at Peking, and in 1731, 95,000; in 1746 at Lima and Peru, 18,000; in 1797, in Quito, 41,000; in 1830, at Canton, 6,000; in 1859, in Quito, 5,000; in 1861, at Mendoza, 12,000; in 1875, in Colombia, 14,000; in 1880, at Manila, 3,000; in 1883, at Java, 50,000; in 1888, at Kien Shin, 4,000. Not infrequently Japan villages are overwhelmed, like Simoda, in 1854.

The Aleutian islands are a volcanic chain along the whole length of which are warm springs, with here and there an intermittent volcano. Severe winter succeeds a cloudy spring and hot summer. The vegetation consists of low scrubby trees with bushes, grasses, mosses, and lichens. Vegetables are grown successfully, and in places the hardier grains. On the Alaskan coast are localities with a temperature of from 58° below zero to 95° above. There are points on the coasts of China and Japan where the temperature is 100°, but generally the climate is delightful. Extremes at Canton, 42° to 96°. Mean at Panamá 86°, at San Diego 65°, at San Francisco 59°, gulf of California 80°, Acapulco 90°, Valdivia, Chili, 52°, Santiago 55°, Valparaiso 58°. The sun and the salts of sea-water determine the circulation of ocean. At the extreme ends of the two Americas, near the north and south poles, the rainfalls are heavy; in the Chilian territory of Magellan the rainfall is so great that grain cannot be grown; but toward the north

it lessens, until in Atacama there is nothing more than an occasional mist.

Upon the line of volcanic activity, which extends from Japan to Java, the Philippines have frequent earthquakes and several burning mountains. The volcano of Papan-dayang, 9,000 feet above the sea, in 1772 had 4,000 feet of its top blown into the air and the débris distributed over forty villages. The eruption of Sumbowa, in 1822, was heard 720 miles away, while but 26 of the 12,000 inhabitants of the province escaped alive. About the same time Galongoon exploded, destroying 140 villages and killing 4,000 people. There was an eruption of Krakatoa in 1883, and three months afterward there was an explosion, heard 1,500 miles distant, which blew most of the island away, and raised waves in the ocean which, sweeping over the plantations and villages of Sumatra and Java, killed 30,000 people, and then struck across the Pacific, making themselves felt on the American coast and in the Atlantic. It is useless any one attempting a bigger earthquake story than this, with the expectation of its being believed.

From the northern end of the Philippine islands, a volcanic belt extends along their eastern side, thence to Celebes and Morty island, and on through Java and Sumatra, where are many active and extinct craters, with frequent earthquakes, and occasionally severe ones. Java alone has 45 volcanoes, and in 1772 a mountain was blown up and 40 towns destroyed.

The Philippine islands lie wholly within the tropics, the southern side being within four and a half degrees of the equator. The heat is trying, being moist and the air too often malarious. The bright sun of the dry season is often less difficult to bear than the close murky stifling atmosphere which comes with the rains. Manila always seems hot and moist, the narrow streets, after the manner of the Iberian towns, tending to make the place close rather than cool. Being within range of the monsoons, the Philippines are swept by occasional violent hurricanes; the monsoons bring rain to the east coast in October, while the rainfall on the west coasts is from May to September. Malaria and fever often attack the unacclimated in the low river and shore lands, while in the higher interior the air is as pure as it is balmy.

High temperature as marked by the thermometer is not always indicative of the severest or most disagreeable heat. Thus at Manila, where the climate is regarded so bad for Europeans, the average temperature for January is but 77°, for February 78°, for March 81°, April 83°, May 84°, June 82°, July August and September each 81°, October 80°, November 79°, and December 77°. On the lower levels of the Philippines the temperature is seldom below 60° or over 100°, yet the climate is far more trying than in places on the other side of the ocean where the extremes are 45° and 115°. But far worse than heat is the malaria; both however may be avoided by taking to the mountains where the air is cool, dry, and invigorating. During the monsoons the rain descends in torrents; the annual rainfall at Manila is 100 inches; in Agusan valley, Mindanao, 156 inches. Typhoons, originating in the Pacific, swing with a curve over these islands on their way to China, causing at times great damage. While Iloilo is nearer the equator than Manila, it is cooler at all seasons, owing to its situation close to the sea, and the prevailing winds. Though there are disagreeable times and places, the climate of the Philippines is by no means altogether bad. During the cool dry season, which is from October to March, the other months being characterized as hot and wet, the weather is in some respects delightful, though the northern islands are subject to storms, as they are in the line of typhoons which revel in the China sea, with a course from northeast to southwest. The time of their coming is from July to September, though they are liable to appear before or after these months, but seldom south of latitude 9°. Heavy rains attend the typhoons, all destructive of life and property.

Thus Jansen illustrates the Asiatic monsoon. "Sudden blasts come from the east; these are often followed by intervals of calm. The clouds gathering in the clear heaven, and driving across one another, indicate the strife of adverse currents encountering in the upper regions of the atmosphere. The electricity thrown off from these masses, in whose depths it mysteriously accomplishes in tranquillity and silence the mighty task imposed upon it by nature, then reveals itself in all its blinding, dazzling majesty. It flashes and its noises disturb the mind of the mariner with uneasy apprehensions, and no atmospheric phenomenon produces upon him a greater

impression than a violent storm in calm weather. Day and night the thunder growls; the clouds are in continual movement, and the darkened air, loaded with vapor, rages in whirlwinds. The struggle which the clouds seem at once to invite and to dread renders them more keenly athirst, and they have recourse to the most extraordinary means to collect water. When they cannot obtain it from the atmosphere, they descend in the form of a trumpet and greedily absorb it from the surface of the sea. These water-spouts are frequent at the changes of the season, and especially in the neighborhood of small groups of islands, which seem to facilitate their formation. The wind frequently prevents them from gathering form and density; but in their place wind-spouts rise with arrow-like speed, and the sea appears to make vain efforts to overcome them. The furious billows arise, foam, and roar in their passage. Woe to the seaman who knows not how to avoid them!"

China has three climatic belts, extending east and west; the northern belt, comprising Mongolia, lies opposite British Columbia and Washington, and is too cold for tea and rice. The central belt borders on the Japan and Yellow seas, lies opposite California, is drained by the Hoang-ho and Yangtse, has mild winters and warm summers, and grows successfully not only rice and wheat, but the better kinds of tea, with silk and cotton in the eastern part. It has the climate and the trees and plants of the south temperate zone, forest trees in the mountains, with the mulberry orange and bamboo, cotton sugarcane and jujube in the lower lands. The middle part is the granary of the Far East, and might supply the whole Asiatic coast with rice. The southern belt borders on the open ocean and the China sea, lies opposite the Hawaiian islands and Mexico and near the Philippines, and is hot; many of the plants of the temperate zone, however, are here indigenous, but are less thrifty than further north.

Hongkong was at first a very unhealthy spot, full of malaria and malignant fever, due largely it was thought to the upturning of the soil, which is a disintegrated granite, but by systematic works the place has become greatly improved in this respect. Yet it is not a healthy place, for even now at intervals there comes from the mainland or elsewhere a bubonic or other plague which leaves in trail a mortality so

appalling as sometimes seriously to threaten the prosperity of the colony. Of the climate Colquhoun says, "During the summer months, from April to September inclusive, when the southwest monsoon prevails, the heat and rain are great, and Victoria loses the benefit of the wind. From October to April the northeast monsoon prevails, and little rain falls. The air is cool and bracing, fires being in common use until the end of February. The temperature varies from about 40° to 90°, the coolest month being January and the hottest August. The average annual rainfall is about 80 inches, mainly contributed by the summer months. From time to time Hong-kong is visited, usually about the date of the autumn equinox, by typhoons, which work havoc among the shipping in the harbor and occasionally among the buildings on the land."

Englishmen live in India to administer its affairs, but not to labor; and these by taking good care of themselves, keeping out of the sun in the heat of the day, with long annual vacations in the mountains for those dwelling in the lowlands, and occasional visits to England, manage to exist for a while, though with life more or less curtailed by reason of the climate. It is true that their death rate, reckoned for a century, is less than that of the natives; but this proves nothing, except that the natives die too easily. So with regard to Frenchmen in Martinique, Tonquin, and Cayenne, some of them can live there long enough to establish and conduct colonial government and collect taxes, but not with French institutions permanently to plant the French people in those parts. It is the same with the Dutch in Java, and all the European colonizers in Africa and the West Indies. The climate of the tropics may be beneficial for some diseases, but for the permanent residence of white men, there is abundant proof to the contrary.

The climates of China are more varied if possible than those of the United States. It may be said that all the phase of temperate torrid and frigid zones are here presented in endless variety. The winters of the northern provinces differ little from those of Siberia, while in the south are places where one has to endure the heat of hottest India. Between these two extremes, in the temperate zone, between the valleys and mountains, the sea and the plains, there is a world of beauty and variety.

Korea has a charming climate, alike for natives and foreigners. For nine months of the year the sky is bright and unclouded, with a dry warm air by day and cool nights; during the hot, rainy season, which comes in July August and September, the air is cooled by sea breezes, and is seldom oppressive. Of the 36 inches annual average rainfall, 22 inches come during the rainy season. The climate of tropical Hainan, an island in the China sea near the mainland, varies with the varying altitudes of the interior, which is a fascinating conglomeration of mountains and valleys.

Half of the island of Formosa lies within the tropics, and the whole of it has a somewhat treacherous climate. During the months of June July and August, the heated atmosphere carries a degree of moisture at once oppressive and enervating. Typhoons come in September, when the tropical storms tend to clear the air. October and November, in the northern part, and in the higher altitudes, are charming months. The rainy season is from December to February, when the fall is heavy. Owing to the presence there of the Japan current, and the mountain-tops which pierce the moisture-laden clouds, the heavier rainfall is along the eastern side of the island. Growth and decay being alike rapid, the air is thick with malaria except when the monsoon drives it away. Malarial fever here assumes the form of general and universal scourge, natives and foreigners suffering alike. Asiatic cholera is also dreaded as a pestilence, the bacteria sweeping over the country at intervals with fatal effect.

The typhoon, or ta-fung, great wind, of the Chinese, springs up under the hot sun of the Indian ocean, sweeps over the Malay and Philippine archipelagoes, and continues along the coast of China to Japan, in its course wrecking ships, tearing up trees, and demolishing houses, all at a loss of thousands of lives and the destruction of much property. Felix Julian thus gives his experience of a hurricane which caught the frigate *La Belle Poule*, and in which he fancied he discovered the direction of the gyratory movement of cyclones. "The breeze blew from the southeast," he says, "the sea rolled heavily. Towards evening the barometer sank abruptly beneath the lowest limit marked on its scale. The wind as it freshened veered to the south; it gradually increased in force, and ended by breaking loose with irresistible violence. At

midnight, in spite of the most energetic exertions, the dismasted frigate, without helm, without sails, lay on her broadside, with her rigging in tatters and her deck swept by a furious sea. It was not until two hours later that we reached the centre of the cyclone. A sudden calm succeeded the first crisis of this atmospheric convulsion, but it was of brief duration. The winds which had abandoned us in the south reappeared in the west and north with the rapidity of lightning. We entered the second segment of the circle of the storm. Caught this time on the left, our ship keeled over anew, unable to resist the enormous pressure directed against her side."

"Their ordinary form," says the author of *La Mer*, "is that of a funnel. A seaman overtaken by one said to me, 'I saw myself, as it were, at the bottom of a crater of an enormous volcano, around me nothing but darkness; above, an aperture and a gleam of light.' Once involved in it there is no hope of drawing back; it holds you in its grasp. Savage roarings, plaintive howlings, rattling and shrieks of the drowning, the groans of the unfortunate vessel which having sprung to life again as in her own forest, bewails her approaching end; and all this appalling tumult does not prevent you from hearing the shrill hissing of serpents in the shrouds and rigging. Suddenly, silence! The nucleus of the wind-spout then passes afar in a burst of horrible thunder, which deafens and almost blinds you. You recover yourself. It has rent and split the masts, and not a sound was heard!"

The climate of the Japan islands is influenced by their proximity to the continent of Asia, the changes being less slow and more pronounced than in more distant isles. The temperature on the continent becomes very cold in winter, and this affects the air of the islands, being below freezing everywhere throughout the country, except in the vicinity of Okunawa. Snow at times clothes in white the entire group, though in the southern part it remains but a short time. In summer the great continent, being raised to a high temperature, the islands are affected accordingly, though not in such a marked degree as in winter. The winds are likewise governed by the heating and cooling of the continent, being toward the mainland in summer and away from it in winter. As the continent cools in autumn the continental atmosphere be-

comes denser, and the pressure increases until strong winds from the south-southwest prevail. On the other hand, when the air of the continent becomes heated by the suns of spring and summer, it becomes rarer and lighter, with southeast currents. So that with southeast winds in summer, and northwest winds in winter, the mountain systems meanwhile running southwest and northeast and dividing the islands into two sides, front and back, the amount of precipitation differs on the two sides, as well as during the two seasons.

Japan has some four or five hundred temperature and rain-gauge stations, all provided with mercurial barometer, wet and dry bulb thermometers, maximum thermometer, minimum thermometer, windvane, anemometer, rain-gauge, and atometer. At some of the stations observations are taken hourly. The islands are so mountainous, the one level tract being the plain of Kwantō, that temperature varies with the altitude, from far below freezing to over 120°. Autumn is warmer than spring. There is less variation in the velocity of the wind at night than by day, when it begins to increase at sunrise, and reaches the maximum at four o'clock. The strongest winds come in December and January; the least wind is from August to October. Some of the most violent gales of the year are in summer, when the mean velocity is at the minimum.

The humidity of the atmosphere is governed by temperature, being relatively great in summer and small in winter, with the maximum in August and the minimum in December. And as the variations of temperature are influenced by locality, it is so with regard to humidity. On the back Nippon, for instance, the minimum humidity is between April and May, and the maximum in July; on the front Nippon the maximum is in July and the minimum in February. As the country sits in the sea, the relative humidity is high everywhere, though highest at Hokkaido, the mean of the year being 85, and not lower than 79 in the driest month. In July it reaches 91, owing to the cold current from Kamchatka, which strikes the warm air of the islands and produces dense fogs. As to the sky, during the day the clouds hang heaviest over the land, and at night over the sea. On the back Nippon the amount of cloud is great in winter and small in summer;

on the front Nippon it is the reverse. The mean annual sunshine is in duration about two-fifths of the day, but the variations are different on the two sides of the islands. So with precipitation; the rainfall is greater on the back Nippon, which drains into the Japan sea, in autumn and winter than in spring and summer, while on the front Nippon, which faces the Pacific, the reverse is the case.

CHAPTER XIX

MINES AND MANUFACTURES

It is worthy of remark that all the countries round the Pacific are essentially metalliferous, abounding in silver and gold, while, however much of iron and coal the Atlantic seaboard may contain, there were never present, with some few exceptions like the isthmuses which connect the two Americas, and which belong to the Pacific as much as to the Atlantic, any large deposits of the precious metals. On the shores of the Mediterranean, and in India and China gold was found sufficient for the requirements of the ancients, but the vast deposits of Australia and America were held secret until the world broadened, and commerce required more currency.

Great as was the effect upon the mind of man, in the work of illumination and enlightenment, of the discovery and exploration of the Pacific ocean, the effect of the precious metals found at various times and in various ways along its shores on the world's finance, commerce, and manufactures was none the less marked. The early gold-gatherings which were sent to Spain were felt in the factories of England and Flanders; the gold of California vitalized the industries of the United States and saved the credit of the nation during the civil war; the gold of Australia gave the impetus to England's colonization and spread of empire that make her now the mistress of the world.

The gold of the Pacific; how tell the story! Marco Polo and Mandeville went to China many centuries ago, and when they returned hiding in ragged raiment stores of precious stones, they told of the great khan and far Cathay, how there were cities whose temples were roofed with gold, so resplendent that when the sun shone the eyes could not rest on them. And the streets were paved with silver, and the very portals of the palaces studded with gems. Toward the north was opulent Zipangu, whose wealth no man could tell.

Cross now to the other side and see where Columbus came in search of these great riches, telling Christ if he would give them him, they should rescue his holy sepulchre from the infidel Turks. The Genoese would find a short way to this Far East, to this Cathay and Zipangu on the other side of India; but the long drawn continent of the Americas obstructed him, and though he sought diligently for a passage through or round this land, he found it not; so he picked up a little gold and went home and died.

A rollicking adventurer from Spain, Balboa by name, finding himself one day bankrupt on the streets of Santo Domingo, to escape his angry creditors and get to sea, had himself headed up in an empty cask and rolled on board a vessel bound for Darien. Assuming in due time the leadership of a colony established there, and hearing of a sea toward the south, where were gold and pearls, with a small party he adventured thither, found the great South sea, found the gold and pearls, and finally found death, the death of a traitor, but falsely accused by a jealous governor, whose deeds were sanctioned by a sovereign all too ready to cancel the services of his discoverers by killing them.

It was in the bay of Panamá, in the year 1513, when the valiant Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, helmeted and cased in steel, with drawn sword waded far out into the water and took possession of that great sea for the king of Spain. He called upon the waves to hear him, and upon the winds to witness the solemn act, that he then and there took possession of all those waters, of the shores they washed and the islands they encompassed, of the treasures they contained, gold and gems and pearls, fishes and birds, and the people that inhabited their lands, all this for his sovereign lord the king, whose right he would maintain against all comers. Far to the south that voice was heard, and to the north, and across to Asia; the porpoises and sea-gulls heard it, and the cormorants of the cavalier's own country; for soon came Spain demanding from the nations allegiance and service, acknowledgment of ownership by reason of the pope's promise and the antics of the adventurer whom his king had so quickly beheaded out of the way. And in the train of this Spanish claim to domination came ravening wolves, one wolf going hence to the north and one wolf to the south. The wolf who went to the north was called Cortés, and he to the south Pizarro.

From Cuba Hernan Cortés set out with men and ships, some half dozen years after Vasco Nuñez had discovered the South sea, to find wealth and adventure in Mexico, his first chivalrous act being to cheat his patron, Velazquez the governor, out of the entire outfit, all in the line of loyalty, religion, and Spanish honor. Coasting northward the wolves heard of the mighty Montezuma, how he ruled as God and man all that region from sea to sea, and had stores of gold so great that houses could not contain them. Whereat the wolves smiled, and burning their ships for fear of repentance, trotted off to the capital, to catch this great king, who granted them admittance, mistaking the chief wolf for an expected ambassador from heaven. Traitorously these Spanish wolves robbed the great king, and then traitorously slew him, all in the line of loyalty, religion, and Spanish honor.

The wolf who went south, another six years later, with a small band of adventurers, also found a great and opulent nation, but just then weakened by war, so that a handful of mailed cavaliers might turn the scale either way. The king of this country saw the strangers, and listened to their tale in wonder. As easily as Montezuma had been done to death by Cortés, Atahualpa was entrapped, robbed, and treacherously slain, all again in the line of loyalty, religion, and Spanish honor.

In neither Mexico nor Peru was the use of iron known in those days, but gold and silver were abundant, and among both Aztecs and Peruvians were many skilled artisans, workers in gold and feathers. After Cortés had made Montezuma prisoner, he promised his release on payment of ransom, which freely came forward in form of gold in dust, quoits, leaves, and trinkets constituting to some extent media of trade. All the while the Spaniards demanded more, increasing the ransom under some trivial plea from time to time, until the spoils amounted to \$6,000,000. In like manner in Peru collectors were sent to distant parts, tributes were imposed, and tombs and temples profaned to gather in the required ransom. For Atahualpa had said, "I will fill this room as high as you can reach with gold, if you will let me go; and I will fill that room twice full with silver." And the plunder here was twice as much as that in Mexico.

How the world advances! How different these times from

those, swords turned into pruning-hooks, lions and lambs sleeping sweetly together, and the rest. War machines are so nicely oiled now, French manners so much more Frenchy; and the brotherhood of man and the sisterhood of women, and freedom fraternity and equality have come; justice humanity and the rights of man have come; universal liberty and universal equity have come; culture refinement and sweet charity, all, all have come. And yet Cortés in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru seem to me very like France and Germany in China.

Some centuries pass, during which there is continuous gold-gathering on both sides of the Pacific, and then California. Here the performance is quite different. The love of gold remains, but the love of glory has died away. No thought of conquest or conversion, but just a huddling of humanity from every quarter of the earth, and a rushing hither and thither about the Sierra foothills, grabbing up the dirt and washing out the metal, roaring and swearing and drinking and fighting, many of them dying in their frantic attempts to secure more and more of the sweet stuff. Five hundred ships lay at anchor in San Francisco bay in 1849, three-fourths of them deserted, while 50,000 diggers camped in the chaparral.

Among the more immediate and proximate effects of the discovery of gold in California was to bring together representatives of rather pronounced types from every nation of the earth, from southern California and Mexico first; then from the Hawaiian islands, Oregon, and South America; also from the Atlantic states, Europe, India, Africa, China; and with the others a full delegation from the penal settlement of Australia. Until the coming of these last, Sydney ducks as they were called, there were no better behaved or more honest people on earth than this conglomeration of gold-seekers, who never locked doors, but left the stuff in tin cans or broken bottles on the shelf while away at work during the day or off carousing at night. It was the better class of young men who had come, representatives from the best of every nation, the intelligent and enterprising, not the lazy rich nor the squalid poor. And for a few brief months in 1848 and 1849 there was order without law. But later, when the birds of evil omen appeared, with robberies murders and incendiarism, then popular tribunals sprang up, and hangings became easy and frequent.

This California gold excitement advanced the development of western North America a full half century. Settlement was slowly creeping westward when the cry was called, and at a bound it leaped over half a continent, from the Mississippi to the Pacific. The region intervening was then, and for some time afterward, occupied chiefly by buffaloes and Indians, and another quarter-century passed before they were greatly cleared away, even with the Pacific seaboard populated. Few of the gold-gatherers came to stay, though many remained, principally because they could not get away. These, and others who a little later came to make a home here were a brave, chivalrous, and liberal-minded people, and so remained, and so became known and recognized the world over, until with civil war came that greater than the Australia convict curse, the railway monopolist, who with the aid of the government crushed the spirit of the people and supplanted enterprise with desolation.

The gold development which followed the occupation of California, the rich discoveries in Australia shortly afterward, followed by continued rich finds in Nevada, Montana, Colorado, and finally the great uncovering of gold and diamonds in Africa, while civilized humanity was fast overspreading the earth to the obliteration and extermination of weaker peoples, completed the transformations of the century. California has given to the world in precious metals not less than \$2,000,000,000; Nevada and the Rocky mountain states as much more. This money went east to make rich those who are too apt to grudge the coast its just due in the way of aid toward development, all which with the advent of the New Pacific let us hope will be felt no more.

For the first decade after discovery the annual yield of gold in California averaged \$53,000,000; second decade, \$36,000,000; third decade, \$19,000,000; fourth decade, \$14,000,000. The total annual mineral product of California which in 1895 was valued at \$22,844,664, was in 1898 \$27,389,079, gold being first in importance, then copper, and then quicksilver.

As soon as the general character of deposits and the distribution of the gold became known, a series of mining excitements set in, rushes hither and thither in search of some great harbor or home of gold. In 1852 there was the Gold Bluff excitement, it having been reported that on the beach above

Trinidad the ocean waves had thrown upon the shore ship loads of gold. Then Kern river became the attraction, stages from Sacramento and all points being daily loaded to their fullest capacity. The Fraser river mines nearly depopulated San Francisco in 1857; and then Washoe, as Nevada was called, followed by a decade of fierce gambling in stocks at San Francisco, from the evil effects of which the country did not recover for thirty years. Men will rush upon any number of unknown evils, hidden from immediate view, in order to attain pleasure and power, or the substance which most of all symbolizes pleasure and power.

From \$150,000,000 in 1851 the world's annual production of gold has fallen to \$100,000,000 at the present time. It is scarcely to be expected that new discoveries and increased facilities will keep pace with the increased demand for the purposes of currency and the arts, although there is more gold in the ground than has ever been taken out of it, and more men and better machinery with which to mine it. The world's gold coinage was \$437,719,342 in 1898 as against \$195,899,517 in 1896.

The United States now manufacture iron for England, Russia, Japan, Africa, and Australia. The Alabama and Pennsylvania furnaces began to furnish ship plates and frames for European yards, when the conclusion was reached that if we could do this better than any one else, we could build the whole ship, and so we began building the best steamships, as once before we had revolutionized sailing vessels in the evolution of the Baltimore clipper for the California trade.

Both the Cascade-Nevada and the Rocky ranges have their starting-point in the highlands of Alaska, the former running parallel with the coast until lost in the California peninsula, the latter continuing on to the southern end of South America.

Oregon's wealth is in her grain and grass fields, rather than in her mineral deposits; yet of these latter there is no small store, as coal and iron, all the precious metals, besides cinnabar, nickel, copper, fine stones, and marble. So it is with Washington; both of these states have given forth and still possess much metal.

Washington coal was first shipped to San Francisco from Bellingham bay, from a mine opened within the city limits of

Whatcom, owned by the Bellingham Bay Improvement company. Bituminous coal suitable for steamer and railway engines is shipped by the Blue Canyon Coal company, whose railroad from the mines and bunkers at tide-water afford the best facilities. Then there are the Fairhaven company's mines, and many others. Of the 211 shingle-mills in the state, one-fourth are at Whatcom. The salmon pack of Puget sound is large, Whatcom alone having ten canneries employing 3,000 persons. Also tributary to Bellingham bay are the Mount Baker gold mines, forty miles distant.

Nevada likewise came on apace, with its Comstock bonanza, and its Pioche and Bodie districts; then Utah and Arizona, Idaho and Montana, Wyoming and New Mexico. And last of all Alaska. Indeed, instead of particularizing, one sweeping assertion will suffice for all, and be not far from the truth, namely, that throughout this vast area of mountains, valleys, and sandy wastes, on every side of the Pacific, the earth is largely impregnated with the precious metals, with here and there large deposits of the baser sort. Nevada has given in a single year precious metals to the value of \$50,000,000, and in all some \$800,000,000. Utah also has some great mines, and is a better agricultural state than Nevada, whose chief industry now is stock raising. Arizona is essentially a mining country. For some years past the New Mexican bullion product of gold and silver has averaged \$4,000,000 per annum.

The silence of the ages was broken in British Columbia by the cry of gold on Fraser river in 1857. The days of the fur hunters were then numbered. Neither the native men nor the native beasts could long live in the vicinity of roaring camps of miners fresh from the gold-fields of California. Provisional government, restricted hitherto to the island of Vancouver, was extended over the mainland, and the colony of British Columbia took the place of the Hudson's Bay company monopoly. From Fraser river the hunt for gold extended to Thompson river, Quesnel, and Cariboo; to Vancouver and Queen Charlotte islands, and later to Omineca, Stikeen, and Klondike. Valuable coal deposits were early found on Vancouver island and the mainland, which proved of great value in the general development.

From the discovery of the rich auriferous deposits in the bed of Fraser river, which sounded the death knell of the fur

monopoly in these parts, to the present time, mining has been the chief industry in British Columbia, though stock-raising and agriculture are gradually assuming larger proportions. The output of coal from Nanaimo is large, while the port of Vancouver, at the mouth of the Fraser, where the Canadian Pacific railway and the Asiatic line of steamers come together, is growing rapidly into prominence.

Thus we see what wonderful revelations of mineral wealth have been made between the Rocky mountains and the Pacific ocean north of Mexico within the last half century. First were the hundreds of tons of placer gold found strewed for five hundred miles along the Sierra foothills, not to mention other hundreds of tons locked up in quartz. Then there came to light the gold fields of Oregon and Washington, and the rich deposits along Fraser river, in British Columbia, and in the Cariboo country, and on almost all the little tributaries of the upper Columbia. After this arose the Pike peak episode, when men swarmed and delved in Colorado with meagre results for twenty-five years before they found the famous Cripple creek deposits, scarcely fifteen miles away from the scene of their earlier efforts. During this time Central city, it is true, had given out half a million of gold annually, and Leadville the silver and lead peculiar to its mines, and there was some other mining in southwestern Colorado, but all this was but little compared with what followed.

Mining in Alaska, and the rushes thither at various times, the difficulties encountered, the sufferings endured, altogether form an episode unparalleled in the human race for riches. The adventurer knew well enough in a general way what was before him; he knew that the time for work was short, the difficulties certain, and he had no ground on which to build great expectations, as in California, Australia, Colorado, and Montana. Dim in the distance, they were unknown quantities, hardship success or failure, and the unknown is ever full of fascinations, and is one of the mainsprings of progress. Few indeed, comparatively, would adventure in any thing, commerce, mining, manufactures, or even education and a profession, were the end visible at the beginning. Not one in a thousand who came to California for gold met with any marked success; not one in ten thousand who went to the Klondike to get rich, succeeded in doing so.

Off over the terrible White pass, where so many met their death from cold and starvation, thousands rushed madly for the gold fields of the Yukon, as if for all these many centuries the treasure had not lain there enshrouded in snow waiting the day of this awakening. Some twenty millions a year Alaska and the Klondike country are giving to the world, while the world gives to Alaska and the Klondike country forty millions a year for taking it out. Such is mining.

The great rivers of Siberia, the Lena, Yenisei, and Obi, flow into the Arctic, the occupants of the last two having trade with Archangel. In these mountains and streams of the far northeast are many minerals, gold silver copper and lead, while along the Amur are emeralds, topaz, zinc, arsenic, antimony, and plumbago. The Nerchinsk silver mines have been worked since 1700. In nothing is the contrast greater between this and other parts of the world than in the metals found around this ocean. There is gold in other lands, but the Pacific is literally gold-rimmed. And likewise silver; the veins are well-nigh continuous from Patagonia to Alaska and round along Asia to Australia. So on both sides of these waters, and on the islands thereof are copper, iron, and coal.

Japan is full of mineral wealth. Marco Polo, who never was there, used to say that the palaces of the princes were covered and ceiled with gold, which veracious report so excited the Mongolian emperor, Kublai Kahan, that he made a futile attempt to possess himself of the country. From 749 A D, when gold was first mined and melted, during the country's long seclusion, none of the precious metals were sent abroad, and so it became rumored about the world that Japan was full of gold. It is said that the Portuguese exported during the period of their sway, from 1550 to 1639, nearly £60,000,000. The Dutch also carried away large quantities of metals, the gold and silver exported during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries being estimated at £103,000,000. Iron and copper ores have been worked in Japan since the tenth century. The steel sword blades of the Japanese are of excellent quality. Copper is employed largely in household articles, and the exportation of that metal has been enormous. Japan has also lead quicksilver and tin, and coal is plentiful. The Japanese government has established an iron foundry in Fukuoka prefecture with a capital of about \$10,000,000.

In regard to the mineral resources of China, it is safe to say that the country has never been prospected nor the discovered mines exploited to any considerable extent. There are parts of the Chinese empire of whose mineral deposits no more is known than was known of the wealth of California, Australia, and South Africa a hundred years ago. Who shall say what of silver and gold and precious stones, of iron and coal the mountains of Tibet and the upper tributaries of the three great rivers do not contain? We know that the southwest, Kweichau and Yunnan, is full of mineral wealth, which cannot be utilized until roads are opened. The Chinese empire has not everywhere that dense mass of population which perhaps the alleged four hundred millions lead us to imagine. The region is so immense that even four hundred millions do not fill it all, only the seaboard side and along the great rivers being densely populated, the far away interior and western side being as yet uncleared in places of its savages and wild animals.

The coal fields of China some say are the most extensive in the world. Iron the same. Gold and silver have not thus far put in so conspicuous an appearance, but there are some valuable deposits in Manchuria and other bordering regions. In all the zones of the western highlands gold is found, and in nearly all the provinces, notably in Manchuria and Shantung, with placer deposits on Han river, and on hundreds of other streams. The metals of Yunnan and Kweichau are lead zinc tin and iron, as well as coal copper cinnabar and sulphur. Copper and lead developments are conspicuous in south China, from Hupei to Hunan provinces. Coal has been used extensively from early times, in the arts and in the household, by those living near deposits, powdered anthracite being sometimes mixed with earth, sawdust, or dung, in the proportion perhaps of five or seven to one. There is abundance of coal in places, in the north of Chihli and in the basin of Taiyuen-fu, for instance; the anthracite collieries of Chaitang and Kaipsing are extensively worked by European methods with success. Pingting-chau is another coalfield, and there are remarkable deposits of iron and coal in the Shansi region, as elsewhere noticed. Here alone is a Pennsylvania of wealth. Then there are the fields of Honan, of Shantung, of Weihien, and a hundred others, known and unknown.

Along the Yangtse river and in the northern provinces, are extensive iron and coal fields. In Hunan province alone there are 21,000 square miles of coal, besides extensive forests of good timber. The iron mines worked near Hankau are not of the best deposits in China. In the hills of Anhoui are iron and lead; on the Thibetan border is gold, and the salt of Kokonor is as plentiful as it is fine and white. The mines of the Chinese company at Tong Shan employ 8,000 to 10,000 men, and put out 1,500 tons of coal a day. The company owns six steamers to carry coal to various ports; overseers receive \$20 to \$60, Mexican, a month, and European or American superintendents from \$100 to \$300 a month, gold. This company operates a silver mine in Mongolia, the machinery for which was supplied from Chicago. An example of Chinese prejudice and stupidity is found in the chronic opposition of the authorities to the development of underground wealth. At Ichang, 1,000 miles up the Yangtse river, are large coal deposits, and yet the steamboats which go there are obliged to use coal imported from Japan.

Importation of foreign salt is prohibited, the industry in China being a government monopoly, from which is received 14,000,000 taels on a basis of 34,000,000,000 pounds consumption. Holes are bored in the ground for salt. The chief salt-works are in Lutswun; in the valleys of Hinchau, Tai-yuen-fu, Pingyang-fu, and Sian-fu; price here from seven to 20 cash a cattie for a brown and bitter article of very inferior quality. A triangle of 1,500 square miles, with Tzelintsing for the apex, and the Min river from Chingting-fu to Sui-fu for a base, will contain 1,200 or more salt wells, with an average diameter of six inches, and a depth of from 500 to 6,000 feet. While our ancestors were eating raw meat without salt, these ingenious barbarians were boring for it through solid rock, as some of the wells of the dynasty of Han, the wall-builder, attest. In the Wonsan district of the Peng Yang province of Korea are rich gold mines worked by Americans. Of the precious metals Korea yields about \$3,000,000 annually; there is excellent undeveloped coal, with abundance of iron and some copper. Gold-bearing quartz is worked by an American company in the province of Phyongan, where a concession was obtained and machinery introduced. Korea exported gold in 1896 to the value of \$1,390,412.

Formosa is composed geologically of sandstone, slate, gray-stone, shale, gneiss, limestone, and granite. Coal is scattered over at least two-thirds of the island; petroleum and natural gas are found in places. Though rock salt is plentiful on the land, the natives prefer to get their salt from sea water. The method is peculiarly their own. Sea water is poured upon the hot sand until a crust is formed, which is boiled in sea water until sufficient salt is obtained. Sulphur is plentiful, and there are indications of iron. Chinese miners from California found gold on the Kelung river in 1890 while digging for the construction of a railway bridge.

In the province of Shantung are many diamonds, found here and there scattered along the low sandy ridges, or among the stones of the foothills. They lie as when washed out by the rains; the natives say they cannot find them by digging. Some of them are small, of tea color, and of little value, but are in demand for drill points; some are as large as a hazelnut, and of fine quality. "The mineral resources of this province are something wonderful" says the consul at Chifu. "The Germans know what they are about. Twenty-five li, about 8 miles, southwest of this city are beds of good soft coal, which the natives mine. They make a good article of coke, which we use in our stoves. It cost $5\frac{1}{2}$ cash per cattie, that is, about 60 cents Mexican per 100 catties, 26 cents per $133\frac{1}{2}$ pounds. In the same region iron abounds. Forty-five li, 18 miles, west of the city is a small hill composed of what seems to be phenomenally pure red oxide of iron. For that matter, the south extremity of this city rests upon a hillock from which good ore crops out. Coarse native pottery is made near the coal mines above referred to. Far to the north of the city, in the mountains of I Sui and Ming Yin are deposits of gold, silver, and lead of unknown value. A native friend of ours a few years ago organized a company and opened a silver mine in Meng Yin. They produced, with very crude methods, excellent silver in paying quantities, but the usual thing happened, the jealous neighbors objected, and the officials stopped the work. I have just heard of a placer mine recently opened on the west bank of the I Sui, about 160 li, nearly 65 miles, north of this city. My informant visited it in person. It was worked at night and several thousand cash worth of gold was taken out of every bucket full of sand."

An imperial edict, issued on the 2nd of August 1898, creating a bureau of control for railways and mines reads as follows: "Railways and mines are now-a-days the most important in this empire. We have already had the Tientsin-Shanhaikuan and the Tientsin-Peking railways built and in regular working order for some time past, while steps are now being taken for raising funds to build the Shanhaikuan extension to the Taling river, Niuchwang and vicinity. As for the Canton-Hankau and Hankau-Peking lines, full control had been granted the Head Commercial company to find ways and means for the construction of these railways, and matters appear to be now taking definite shape in this connection. Then as to mines, we have the Kaiping colliery and the Miho—Amur—gold mines as the most successful, so far, among the many mining enterprises embarked upon, and we have already further commanded those in control to seize every opportunity to extend the works of the two mines above noted. We are, however, apprehensive, in view of the number of provinces in the empire and the various conditions of men who will attempt to open mines of all sorts in the future, that a diversity of methods and ensuing confusion will be the result, which would, of course, be detrimental to the principal object we have, of getting the fullest advantages obtainable out of each and every undertaking in this direction. It is therefore highly important that there should be a central bureau to direct, under a single system, the working and exploitation of mines and railways in the empire, and we hereby command that a bureau of control for railways and mines be established in Peking, to the chief commissionerships of which we now specially appoint two ministers of the Tsungli Yamen, namely, Wang Wenahao and Chang Yin-huan. The said chief commissioners shall from henceforth have special control over the opening of mines and construction of railways throughout the empire, and companies formed for the above purposes will in future be required to apply to the said commissioners for permission and guidance in their operations." In the province of Shanli a British syndicate secured a concession which is to result in the unlimited production of iron and steel.

Minerals impregnate the surface earth of almost the entire Philippine archipelago. The elevated auriferous gravels of

Mindanao are suitable for hydraulic washing, and in the streams is placer mining. In the province of Abra, on Luzon, there are also placer and hydraulic mines. Lapanto has gold quartz veins as well as auriferous gravels, while near at hand are copper mines. The streams of Benguet, Nueva Ecija, and Camarines Nore carry gold. In various parts of the islands are deposits of iron so pure that separation is made in the roasting.

In Australia, Victoria began to be settled in 1834, the country giving itself up to wool-growing. But a change quickly came when gold was found at Buninyong, Mount Alexander, and Ballarat, the yellow metal thereafter becoming king. At Ballarat one man gathered 31 pounds in a day, a nugget weighing 106 pounds was found at Bathurst; Victoria yielded 48 tons of gold in one year. The total product of 1852, 1853, and 1854 in New South Wales and Victoria was \$231,000,000. The gold mines of Coolgardie are valued at \$80,000,000. Among the famous Australian nuggets were the "Welcome Stranger", found in Victoria in 1869, weighing 3,286 ounces, and valued at £9,534; the "Welcome", of Ballarat, 2,217 ounces, £9,325; the "Blanche Barkly", 1,743 ounces, £6,905, and another gold lump of Ballarat weighing 1,619 ounces; from which huge specimens the precious stuff scales downward in size to particles like fine-ground maize.

All the ordinary minerals abound in Chili, auriferous veins, rich silver mines, copper, iron, zinc, and gypsum. Coal deposits extend along the coast for 100 miles, or more, sloping down to the edge of the ocean, and in places under the ocean. At Coronel the mines are profitably worked for quite a distance under the sea. The great Cousino coal mines, whose output represents millions of dollars, are at Lota, 25 miles from Concepcion. Important developments have been made at the coal mines on Aranco bay and Puchoco. Seams of coal five feet thick begin at the shore and run down under the sea, in places for miles. Over the seams are water tight layers of slate and shale, so that the tunnels are quite dry. The best appliances are now in use in working these mines, which are lighted by electricity, electric trolley trains bringing forth the coal from under the sea. The output of the Lota mines in 1898 was 1,000 tons a day, 50 men being employed at a wage of 90 cents or \$1 a day Chilian money, being

equivalent to 30 or 35 cents American money,—about one-tenth of the wage received by workers in the coal and copper mines in the United States. The town of Lota was established and built up by Cousino, who owned coal copper and silver mines, besides smelters and landed estates. He employed 3,000 men at one time, all transportation being done in his own steamers. Jutting out over the coal-bed is a high peninsula, where is the park and palace of Lota, and where Cousino left his widow with an income of \$1,000,000 a year. Alas! that she too must die.

The wealth of Peru! The term is a household word, significant not of broad acres and fat cattle; but of metal, yellow metal of the kind that shone on Cuzco's temple of the Sun when it was stripped for Atahualpa's ransom. Yellow metal, and white; the latter being what we fancy in speaking of Potosí and the riven sides of the cordillera.

Ecuador has an abundance of all the precious and base metals, and is a good grazing and agricultural country. Conspicuous among the rivers flowing into the Pacific are the Esmeralda and Guayaquil, the chief seaports being Guayaquil, Manta, and Esmeralda. Quito, the capital, stands above the level of the ocean 9,453 feet, in a temperature of 56° to 62°. Vegetable life and minerals abound.

In Colombia, along the Darien shore and across to Panamá, is where the North American gold gatherings began, when Rodrigo de Bastidas traded his trinkets there, and Columbus came, and Balboa; these and others, here and in Costa Rica and Guatemala. A rich mine of manganese at Viento Frio, thirty miles east of Colon, is owned and worked by Americans.

The entire republic of Mexico is surfaced with silver and gold. The uplands are richest in these deposits, but all along the Pacific terraces, from Sonora to Oaxaca, one metal alternates with the other in forming a chain of valuable mines. In the northern part of the republic, the deposits seem rather to follow the line of the mother ranges on either side of the plateau, but in the central part the mines are massed without order in the states surrounding the Anáhuac valley, as Hidalgo, Querétaro, and Morelia. There is a metalliferous belt in Guanajuato which has yielded for centuries, and is still yielding largely, as the Valenciana, whose output from 1766 to 1826 was \$226,000,000. Since the coming of the Spaniards, Guana-

juato has given to the world not less than \$1,000,000,000, and Zacatecas almost as much, while the yield of Hidalgo has been if any thing still greater. Yet great as has been the product of the mines of Mexico, probably there is no safer field for mining enterprise at the present time than this. Nor are the precious metals alone abundant; in Durango and elsewhere are mountains of iron, in Querétaro lead, in Guerrero and Lower California copper, and in various sections are found zinc, tin, bismuth, and quicksilver. Then there are fields of coal, as in Puebla and Tlaxcala; and mountains of sulphur, like the famed volcano Popocatepetl, whose crater one of the captains of Cortés descended for sulphur to make gunpowder for use in the capture of Mexico. This famous fiery mountain was lately sold to an English syndicate for \$250,000. In Sonora are beds of graphite, and in Vera Cruz and Tabasco asphaltum and petroleum. All this, and fine marbles, onyx, and precious stones every where in endless profusion. In Lower California, fifty miles south of Ensenada, is the Tepustete iron mine, whose proprietors secured facilities for shipping the ore to Japan, where there is a demand for it, and also to the new smelter at Port Angeles, on Puget sound. Near the Tepustete mine are valuable graphite and mineral paint deposits.

I have but brief space left in which to speak of manufactures; yet enough, for the New Pacific is not as yet bordered by a superfluity of factories, or its waters disturbed by the din of industrial machinery, howsoever in the future it may be.

While Great Britain has the lead in shipping, the manufactures of the United States have so increased as to be now second to none; and so long as the coal supply for the Pacific is in foreign hands, that prime necessity for industrial development should be admitted free of duty. England and her colonies in their coal resources dominate to a far too great extent the industrial development in the Pacific.

Formerly we drew largely, even for our own consumption, on England and France; now there are but few articles in the manufacture of which we cannot compete successfully with any other nation; and great as has been the importance of our export trade in the past, it will assume greater importance as the years pass by; for if we cannot find markets

our manufactures will decline, capital seek other channels, and laborers be thrown out of employment. Until recently iron rails were shipped to America from England; now Pittsburgh iron is placed in Calcutta at a rate less than Great Britain can compete with. And fortunately for us foreign markets can be successfully cultivated to almost any extent. California, where the best facilities are afforded for the manufacture of a great variety of articles, and where manufactures have only begun to develop as compared with their capabilities, might furnish many articles not now on her export list to Central and South America, to Australia, British America, and the coast of Asia, to say nothing of the rest of the world. It is true that an Englishman will consume many times more of our manufactured goods than a Malay or a Mongol; but that United States exports to the 5,000,000 of Canada should be more than to the 350,000,000 of China seems somewhat out of proportion, particularly if the comparison is limited in proportion to the American states of the Pacific.

The cotton current from New Orleans to Liverpool for the thousand mills of Manchester and Lancashire and Bolton and Oldham, has been turned toward California and China, where men and machinery can do what can be done elsewhere. The cotton manufactures of England, which in 1800 were £200,000 in value, had reached £76,000,000 in 1860, when the civil war caused the closing of English mills by the score. In some such ratio will be the increase of industries round the Pacific during the coming century.

The cotton belt of the United States is changing from east to west. Originally Virginia, Georgia, and the Carolinas were the cotton-raising centre; then the area was extended to the Mississippi; now three-fourths of the crop is grown west of that river. The south Atlantic states have mills enough to spin all or nearly all the cotton they raise, leaving little for the New England mills, or for export. As the cotton-raising capacity of Texas, Kansas, and Arkansas fills up, and the industry gradually extends westward, the cotton-raising centre of the United States will be nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic ocean. In its westward march the plant improves; the harvesting is facilitated by the rainless autumn, and insects are less troublesome.

Thus the cotton-growing area of the United States, esti-

mated now at 20,000,000 acres, will become still further enlarged, and exercise a powerful influence over the destinies of the Pacific coast. Fears might be entertained that the low prices incident to large production might check the cotton-growing were it not for the new markets opening in Asia. China and Japan alone can use all the cotton we can raise, to say nothing of the now naked hordes of Africa and the isles of the Orient, who with progress will be compelled to put on clothes. The Far East has hardly yet begun the use of cotton. One-half of the human race live in climates where the little protection needed for the body is best furnished by cotton cloth, and in order to place the commodity within reach of all the price must be low.

This necessity is being met; the world's cotton production has doubled during the last ten years, and trebled within twenty-five years. Egypt, India, and China can raise cotton, and also manufacture it; but the southern planter of the United States, with ever increasing available lands and ever increasing cheap negro labor, with his capital, his experience, his home institutions and surroundings, will always be able to compete successfully with the rest of the world. With these facts before us, it is clearly evident that the most suitable place for the erection of new mills is the coast of southern California, practically near at once to the base of supply and to the market. It is comparatively a short haul and down grade, the shortest and easiest way from the great cotton growing centre to the Pacific, where the healthiest climate and best facilities are at hand for the manufacture and steamers ready to take the product at small expense to every shore of the greatest of oceans.

The time has passed by when our cotton must go to England for manufacture, to be brought back by us as cloth. The time is rapidly passing by when Texas cotton will be sent to New England, or even to North Carolina, for manufacture into cloth for the markets of the Far East. With four cents to the grower, as some predict will be the price of cotton within the next decade, the future mills of the California coast can be supplied at five cents, and limitless markets found at a trifling cost by ocean transportation. Every advantage is thus offered for successful competition with the other manufacturing of America, and with any which may be established in Asia.

The growing and manufacture of cotton is as yet one of the world's primitive industries. New methods of farming will be introduced and new machinery invented; and if Americans, with their usual energy and intelligence, continue to improve in manufactures in the future as in the past, they will control the cotton industry of the world. Through selection and adaptation to soils superior plants will be engendered, and economic cultivation will be developed on large and systematically organized plantations; so that, as long as the new land lasts—which will be for a long time yet—more cotton to the acre and at less cost will be produced than has been the case heretofore, that is to say until a permanent four-cent, or perhaps three-cent basis is reached. However great the value of the Nicaragua canal to the nations on the Atlantic, to those on the Pacific it will be much greater, provided the men of the Pacific will make it so; and of all others the southern states of both the eastern and western seabords will be the most benefited. Texas cotton can then be landed from vessels at the future southern California mills at a trifling cost without the aid of any railway, and thus the southern states will participate in the advancement of the Pacific.

Favorable conditions for extensive manufacturing exist nowhere in the world as on the several Pacific seabords. Near the coast on every side are all the raw materials found anywhere else in the world, metals fibres and fuel, animals and plants and all that they can give, with water, wind, steam, electricity, and every other power, and with good climates and the best and cheapest of skilled labor. Let the mind and materials be brought together under the proper conditions and management, and great will be the results.

Of the Chinese in India, Lord Elgin says: "That the most active, industrious, and enterprising race in the eastern world should be regarded as a source of weakness rather than of strength to a community, implies *prima facie* a certain degree of mismanagement. The Chinese who have been attracted to Singapore by its freedom from commercial restrictions and advantages of position, have contributed to make it what it is, the most prosperous settlement in the East. Without Chinese labor neither the Malay nor Philippine archipelago, nor Siam, nor Cochinchina would have sugar or tin for their exportation."

When the free and intelligent peoples of these Pacific seaboard shall have emancipated themselves from their industrial superstitions; when the barriers of race prejudice shall be removed and unrestricted intercourse established; when new fields of enterprise shall have been opened by new and enlarged ideas and measures; when skilled industry and raw material can be brought together under favorable conditions of capital and competent management; when in every land all legislations impeding or restricting commerce shall be laid aside; when an apathetic indifference to the welfare and progress of neighboring communities interdependent on each other shall have been overcome, and all of our grand potentialities have the full exercises of their powers, we shall then see round these Pacific waters a transformation such as the mind of man has never dreamed of.

Economists partially demonstrate that well-paid labor is the more profitable for manufacturers, and will successfully compete with cheap labor on its own ground. The control of the markets of the world in iron and other articles has passed, and is passing, from England and other low-wage countries to the United States, a high-wage country. This can be accounted for only on the ground of superiority of skill and application, and improvements in the economy of production and manufacture. There are some articles, however, which cannot be rightly placed in this category, where for generations cheap labor has been perfecting itself in the production of a superior article. This is shown in regard to certain Asiatic goods, where our government for example found it necessary to impose a duty of 75 per cent on Habutai silk, which costs from eighteen to thirty cents per square yard, and from 250 to 750 per cent on Chinese pongee silks.

It is not a question of wages, the superiority of Americans in certain lines of manufactures, but in American mind and American methods. Gumption, the Yankee farmer would call it, who thrives on his hundred acres while paying his help twice as much as his neighbor who fails. It is genius of success as against the genius of failure. Successful Americans, like poets, are born, not made; or at least they are first and the best part of them born, while the other part may be developed. Next after methods of our own is that over-ruling spirit of all success, work. As an Englishman visiting the

Baldwin locomotive works in Philadelphia said: "It seems that everyone in America works harder than in England, from the president of a large firm down to the office and tool boys. It is work, work, work, and not a mere attempt to put in eight or ten hours a day." In reply to which he was told: "American workmen are paid higher wages than any in the world, but their labor is cheaper in the end. For instance, here in this country, if we can find a way or devise a machine by which one man can do the work it had required two men to do, we put one man to do the work, and the other man we place somewhere else. The American is satisfied with this arrangement, for he sees advantage ahead of him if he applies himself with industry to his work. It is as our English friend remarked, 'Everyone works like their very lives depended on how much they accomplished.' The Englishman is different. He will say, 'I am doing two men's work,' and then, instead of doing it like the American and earning his spurs, he merely puts in the allotted number of hours. The free and general use of machinery is another reason why America is ahead of the world. American workmen use much more machinery than other workmen of the world, and the machines in themselves are far superior to foreign makes. Machine work is always much cheaper, more trustworthy and accurate than hand-work." The following average rate of weekly wages paid by competing countries was compiled by the Massachusetts bureau of labor.

OCCUPATION,	Great Britain.	Germany.	Austria- Hungary.	Russia.	China.	Japan.	United States.
Blast-furnace, men.....	\$5.96	\$4.28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Machine-making, men.....	7.80	5.00	\$4.46	\$3.38	.....	.....	\$11.68
Miners.....	5.57	4.28	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Cotton-manufacture, men....	6.14	4.03	.....	1.55	.....	\$1.05	8.30
Cotton-manufacture, women..	3.71	2.38	.....	1.75	.....	0.56	5.90
Wool and worsted, men.....	5.64	.....	.....	1.90	.....	.....	8.30
Wool and worsted, women....	3.22	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6.05
Boot and shoe factories, men...	5.80	4.65	3.64	2.92	.....	.....	12.70
Boot and shoe factories, women	3.04	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7.88
Carpet-making, men.....	6.46	4.28	.....	.....	.....	.....	9.10
Carpet-making, women.....	2.69	2.38	.....	.....	.....	.....	6.87
Silk-manufacture, men.....	5.40	.....	.....	2.07	.....	1.05	10.68
Silk-manufacture, women.....	2.45	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.24 to 01.05	6.57

If the Asiatic artisan be not permitted to enter the fields of skilled labor beside the white man, he will follow his vocation at home and send the product abroad. This he is already doing in the manufacture of cotton cloth, furniture, and other articles in the production of which he proves an adept, and will in due time compete successfully with all the world, and supply a great portion of it with his handiwork. An import duty may be placed on these articles which will afford the white laborer some protection, but no tariff will ever be able to make up for all the advantages of cheap material, cheap labor, and cheap living in China and Japan. Thus our artisans by insisting on less work, will have less work to do. The Asiatic will learn, and will labor, if not abroad then at home. England once took our cotton and returned it to us, greatly increased in price, in cloth. China will do the same, and will also supply Europe and her colonies. The fundamental laws of trade can no more be subverted than the laws of gravitation. And in this way the nations of the Pacific will be brought together in a better relationship than that of a union of labor or race amalgamation.

On the western coast of the United States, wages are no higher than on the eastern, except in regards to household service, while the cost of living is less, and the climate better adapted to continuous labor. With manufactures well established, skilled artisans can live comfortably and lay up money on a wage at which a family could scarcely live at the east or in Europe. Silk-spinners and male weavers receive in Yokohama seventeen cents a day, while female weavers are paid two yens a month, or about four cents a day.

In the progress of manufactures in Oregon the making of lumber came first, then ship-building, flour milling, salmon canning, and finally woollen mills, iron founding, and the making of lime, paper, flax and linen twines, and other like articles. Portland and San Diego, as well as the cities of the Sound and San Francisco, aspire to ship-building, with dry-dock and all the facilities for naval construction work. For lumber-mills and ship-building Puget sound affords the best facilities. Here, likewise, are coal deposits, and a long line of manufactures coming forward, such as foundries, machine-shops, smelters, tanneries, and fish-canneries. During 1898 Washington built 147 vessels, aggregating a tonnage of 28,774 tons.

The fisheries of British Columbia led to the first industrial movement after fur-gathering, grazing, and a little agriculture. Salmon were at first dried, smoked, salted, and put in barrels; later they were canned fresh. Then came sawmills, flour mills, and tanneries; breweries and boatbuilding; and factories for making boots and shoes, furniture, pianos, doors, soaps, matches, and cigars. Victoria manufactures cigars, some being brought from eastern Canada; the supply imported from the United States is not large, owing in some degree to excessive customs duty; the excise duty on home manufactures of tobacco is less.

Pacific coast goods, Asiatic and American, such of them as are suitable should have representation at the Russian annual fair held at Nizhni Novgorod, which during the last decade has assumed larger proportions than ever before. To develop more rapidly the mineral resources of the Ural mountains, and in the region traversed by the transsiberian railway, Russia grants free admittance for ten years to all articles for use in the Ural or Siberian mines. Here is a prospective market for all the mining machinery made in the United States. This of course applies to that portion of northern China which Russia has so unceremoniously taken possession of, Manchuria and the country through which the transsiberian railway runs as it deflects to Peking, Tientsin, and the gulf of Pechili on the west, and to Korea on the east, while the direct line to Talienwan and Port Arthur will pass through the rich mining districts of Shansi, and on to the Hoang-ho river. One thus writes: "In possession of a Chinese frontier of 4,000 miles, Russia is making the best use of her opportunities to assimilate to her own people the inhabitants of all northern China. In offering free trade for machinery to be used in the mining industry, the tsar practically invites the great manufacturing states to aid him in the conquest of the populous east. The development of the mining interests of the Russian and Chinese empires, the building of railroads, and the navigation of rivers, with the opening of the tea, silk, and rice countries through which they run, not to speak of the new line of railway through Afghanistan to the frontier of India, are enterprises in the execution of which Russia needs the coöperation of the great industrial nations of the world."

Wages in eastern Siberia, though not yet reduced to fixed

rates, are higher than in western Siberia, and much higher than in China, and yet are only about one-half of the rate ruling in north-western America. At Vladivostok mechanics receive one dollar a day, and laborers half a dollar. Considering the climate, the cost of living, and the absence of many of the essentials of progressive industry, we shall never expect to see many flourishing manufactories there. The government has leather works at Tomsk, where hides from the western steppes of Siberia are tanned and worked into merchantable stock.

San Francisco is a manufacturing as well as commercial city, all the leading industries being well represented. Prominent among the manufactures of California are iron and steel works, agricultural and mining machinery, ship and boat building, flour and feed mills, leather and other works. Throughout the interior are irrigating and electrical works, fruit curing and canning, oil, powder, and pottery works, and scores of other active industries. Thousands of tons of beet sugar are now made in California, and beer for the million. We build some ships but we should build more. So long as we have at hand steel and wood, abundance of material and every facility for shipbuilding, and \$179,000,000 freight money is paid on our exports, we need not complain of lack of occupation. The silk manufactories in the United States aggregate in value \$150,000,000, the product growing from \$6,607,771 in 1860 to about \$150,000,000 in 1898. On both sides of the Pacific, in temperate and half-tropical latitudes, the best facilities are afforded for growing the worm and weaving the silk. San Francisco and New York merchants, some of them, have their own plantations of tea in China, of coffee in Central America, of sugar in the Hawaiian islands, of cocoa in Mexico, and of hemp and tobacco in the Philippines.

In the manufacture of textile goods in Japan, spinning-wheels have given place to mills, which are well scattered throughout the empire. There is a large silk factory at Kioto, and woollen factories at Osaka and Tokio. The porcelain and silk factories of Kioto are still carried on mostly by hand labor with the crudest of tools. Silk weavers get thirty cents a day wages, and boy helpers twelve cents. Paper is made from the bark of the same trees that supply leaves

for the silkworm. Osaka and Hiogo are the manufacturing centre of Japan. Raw cotton is imported largely and spun into yarn, when it finds a ready sale throughout the entire Asiatic coast. Cotton-spinning and other machinery, also white sugar and leather are largely imported. During the money stringency which fell on Japan in the autumn of 1898, large quantities of American cotton accumulated at Osaka, importers being unable to take it up. Millions of dollars worth of other goods, mostly from the United States, were at the same time stored in Yokohama and Kobe, as the merchants for whom they were imported had not the means of paying for them. In the manufacture of cotton goods, the Asiatics first feel their way by importing the yarn and weaving it into cloth on their own looms. Then, obtaining machinery, they finally perform the entire work. Thus far, however, they have been able to compete with American manufactures only in the coarser grades. Japan now works up 27,000,000 pounds of raw cotton, and turns out 24,000,000 pounds of yarn per annum. The manufacture of cotton into yarn and cloth is a large and growing industry in Japan, and is also rapidly coming forward in China. Carpets and rugs are made at Sakai, a suburb of Osaka.

The extensive manufacture of clocks in every part of Japan, has stopped the importation of all except the cheapest grades. In Nagoya are seven factories, which with the factories of Kioto, Osaka, and Tokio, produce 30,000 clocks a month. The manufacture of matches, begun twenty years ago, has assumed large proportions, as there are now no less than fifty factories on the islands. Japan manufactures smokeless gunpowder, bringing the alcohol from Illinois in train lots. There are in Japan three factories each for the manufacture of mousseline de laine and ribbons, the latter in Tokio, Mayebashi, and Hamamatsu.

Japan is developing coal oil to an extent which will affect the market for American oil in China, as capital and energy will not be found wanting to develop the industry. The manufactures of India, China, and Japan are beginning to take their place in the Asiatic markets in competition with American and European, and while Asiatic manufactures of articles hitherto made abroad will not immediately find place in America and Europe, the time may come when they will do

so. Japan is already well started in the manufacture of goods to meet the requirements of people of every land, and China is fast coming forward to administer to the wants of civilization. With the aid of the directing American mind and American machinery, the millions of deft Chinese fingers will go far in ministering to the wants of the world.

Among many other things which prove in the end a profit or a loss, the Japanese have taken up the manufacture of glass. Says the *Japan Times* of July 1898, "Side by side with the satisfactory development of various lines of industry, the glass-making business is languishing in its preliminary stages. To account for conditions in this line of industry, it is alleged, in the first place, that in Japanese establishments there are no experts or skilled workmen, while the engagement of foreign experts is rendered impossible, owing to the heavy pay required by the latter; secondly, the cost of coal and labor is out of all proportion to the prices of the manufactured article; thirdly, as the result of competition among the factories of small means, proper finish is wanting in the articles produced, so that the market is flooded with foreign-made goods. There are at present private factories in the capital, where the products are limited to beer and medicine bottles. The Tokyo glass factory is the only place where chimneys for use in light-houses, as well as other articles, are manufactured to any extent, but nowhere has the manufacture of window-glass yet been started. The depression in the trade has compelled all the lamp-chimney manufacturers in Osaka to suspend business for a month. It has been arranged by the union that each factory shall deposit the sum of 250 yen, which will be forfeited in the event of a breach of the agreement."

The telegraph and telephone service in Japan is owned by the government, the machinery coming mainly from the United States. Japan makes a poor quality of leather for export, but when a good article is required it is brought from abroad. The Japanese leather is used for making satchels, furniture coverings, cheap shoes, and machine belting. The two principal tanneries in Japan are at Osaka and Tokio.

The Japanese are making rapid advance in shipbuilding, having just completed at Nagasaki the largest steamship ever built outside of the United States or Europe. The vessel,

called the *Hitachi Maru*, was constructed by the Mitsu Bishi company for the Nippon Yusen Kaisha, and was about twelve months in the yards, and the same company has already a sister ship in the works. Near the engine works of the Mitsu Bishi company is their new granite dock, all with the latest improvements. The company employs 2,000 men; laborer's wages 60 sen or 30 cents a day, artisans one yen, or 50 cents, and upward. Wages are advancing with the increased cost of living. As to cheap labor in Japan, it is said that while the Osaka Watch company pay their workmen 40 to 50 sen, or 20 to 25 cents a day, as against \$3 a day in the United States, one American will accomplish as much as seven or eight Japanese, and with all their ingenuity and skill, applications and cheap labor, the Japanese cannot make profitable the manufacture of watches and like industries.

The world of manufactures owes China something on the score of her inventions. Pity that the mariner's compass that guides the spoiler's ships to her shores, and the gunpowder with which to blow open her gates for the entrance of foreign devils with their uncelestial contrivances, should have originated in the land thus injured by them. The celestial empire offers alluring prospects to American enterprise. With her hungry hordes advancing rapidly in all the arts and appetites of advancing thought and purpose, she will require to know much which America can teach, and to have many things which America can furnish. With her great resources her exports now are next to nothing, being one seventh of those of France, with seven times the population. There are mines to be developed and manufactures to be established; the yield of coal and iron, of gold silver and lead will be limitless, and under proper direction the Chinese laborer and artisan are among the best in the world.

Silk and cotton manufactures in China are situated mostly in the western part of the temperate zone, it being too cold in the north and too hot in the south for the profitable development of those industries; nevertheless silk of some sort is grown in all parts. Steam filatures under foreign management are now established in Shangnai, Canton, Hankau, Chifu, and Chingkiang. Cotton-growing has not as yet assumed very large proportions, though cotton manufactures are increasing. There were in 1899 a dozen mills perhaps in the

cotton-growing region from Shanghai to Hankau and Tchang. An impulse was given to building of cotton and silk factories by the concession to import machinery to Japan in the treaty of Shimonoseki. With raw material and cheap labor without limit, textile manufacturing is making a rapid advance in China. The advance in the price of foreign cottons, and a consequent decline in imports tend all the more to stimulate manufactures on the Asiatic coast.

Within a few years great industrial changes have taken place in China, a revolution in some branches of manufacture having been brought about by railway, steamboat, and telegraph construction, and the introduction of American machinery. The branches most affected by the Shimonoseki treaty between Japan and China, which gave Japan the right to manufacture certain articles in China without taxation, are in cotton and silk; hence ginning mills, weaving mills, and silk filatures sprang up on every side, threatening to make of Shanghai in particular an oriental Manchester. Mukden is a comparatively clean city, with broad streets and fine residences. Its manufactures are large and lucrative, the more important being silk weaving and the dressing of furs. Shanghai has a cigarette factory, with a constantly increasing demand for the product. Silk manufacture here is also increasing. There are in operation about twenty-five steam filatures in Shanghai, and several at Hangchau and Suchau in process of construction.

In an old-time factory the hum of machinery is never heard; the work is all done by hand. The industries of every considerable town include those of the carpenter, blacksmith, tailor, shoemaker, weaver, dyer, stone-cutter, brickmaker, jeweler, undertaker, workers in gold, silver, pewter and brass, and lime and charcoal burners. Workmen and artisans' wages are from twenty to forty cents a day. The leading Hongkong local industries are rope-making and sugar-refining. The raw sugar is brought from Java, Manila, Formosa, and southern China; the refined sugar is sent to California, Australia, India, Japan, and to several of the ports of China. The rope is made mostly from Manila hemp. Contracts for river and ocean vessels have been freely given to English ship-builders, who have their agents constantly in the field soliciting contracts. Englishmen and Americans are also on the ground

seeking contracts for building railways and manufactories, in view of the present and future industrial development.

As American greatness continues to grow, and worshippers at her shrine increase in numbers, the traffic in Asiatic enginery for the expression of American feeling enlarges, until the quantity of fire-crackers of the long past Fourth-of-July's, as compared with that of the present time, sinks into insignificance. Long before America or her independence was known or thought of, fire-crackers were made and used in China, first to frighten away spirits of evil, and secondly to arouse the spirits of pleasure at weddings, births, and new-year celebrations. There are no large factories with mechanical inventions for this manufacture, but the fire-crackers are made in shops and the houses at which they are sold. Kwantung is the principal province for this industry, and the chief ports are Kowloon, whence in 1897 were sent out 24,074,267 pounds; Canton, exporting 1,067,200; Lappa, 907,733 pounds; and Swatau, 656,533 pounds, the whole 26,705,733 pounds being valued by the Chinese imperial customs at 1,993,082 haikwan taels, or \$1,584,151. The larger part of these shipments were by sailing vessels to New York, at a freight rate of from \$2.25 to \$4.25 per ton of forty cubic feet. Large as is the export of this article, it is small as compared with the fire-crackers used in China, whose devils are legion and at times annoying. Thirty women and ten men make 100,000 firecrackers in a day, which is from 6 o'clock in the morning till 11 o'clock at night, and there are in China seven such days to the week. An expert workman earns from seven to ten cents a day.

Korea manufactures but little for export; the paper, mats, blinds, fans, and brass and copper utensils there made, all of the coarsest fabrication, are used by the Koreans themselves, for the reason if none other that no one else would care to have them. They could do well in the culture of silk, and could extend their rice plantations, were their rulers disposed to leave them some of the results of their labor, and help them to get started on the road to prosperity and wealth. In ancient times the Koreans made fine pottery, as found in the royal tombs; they taught the art to the Japanese, who a hundred years ago came down on the Koreans in force and carried off pots and potters, so that now Japan fattens on the theft, while

the poor Koreans have forgotten all they ever knew. So few are the manufactures that the middle class are almost entirely without skilled occupation. They must either live in idleness like the upper class, or apply themselves to rude labor for mere subsistence like the lower class.

A tough paper is made in Korea, as strong as vellum, some of it oiled; also window blinds of split bamboo and grass mats. Manufactured ginseng pays an excise duty of \$16 a cattie. On their native looms they weave yarn, for which a large demand is springing up. Of brass, many articles are made, among others dinner sets. From old designs black lacquer is inlaid with mother of pearl; they also embroider in silk and gold thread. The cabinet-makers do some really fine work in the way of bureaus and boxes of solid chestnut, and in maple and peach veneer with brass fastenings.

On the island of Formosa grows the paper-plant, from the pith of which the so-called rice paper of commerce is manufactured. From this paper artificial flowers are here made, and at Hongkong sun hats. The distillation of camphor from the water in which has been boiled chips of the root, stump, and branches of the camphor tree is one of the most important industries of the island. From the varnish tree is made a good varnish, used in cabinet-making. Pottery is made by the savage Malays, mixing and moulding both being done by hand. Chinese potters at Sakaeng, in the north of Formosa, use a horizontal wheel, like the one spoken of in biblical story, and used even now in Palestine, where no doubt the Chinese obtained it, if indeed the Jews did not get theirs from the Chinese. The proposed railway through Formosa and the improvement of Kelung harbor will require no small quantity of American material and machinery.

Raw material in China is abundant, and skilled labor as low as ten cents a day; so that the opportunities for manufacturing are of the best. In the cotton factories of Wachang the operatives are paid from four to eight cents a day. Flour mills even in the interior are taking the place of mortar and pestle, which are still used however, as well as the ancient method of grinding by turning one large rough stone placed on another by means of ox and pole attached. On a par with ox or horse grist-mills are ox or horse saw-mills, which after all offer advantages over the rip-saw method by which the

United States forest clearings were largely made. Each one of a thousand small saw-mills should pay well in China.

It is in and near the tropics that the fullest conditions are found for the production of material for manufactures and food for men. Yet in the absence of skilled artisans and efficient administration there is a lack of manufactures in many of the most important branches of industry. There are many large cigar and cigarette factories at Manila; some of them are owned by Germans Swiss and English, and employ each 4,000 operatives. The Spaniards have an electric plant, telephone exchange, steam and horse tramway, and brewery. There is a steam rice mill, a sugar refinery, a German cement factory with 70 hands, a Swiss umbrella factory, a Swiss hat factory, an English cotton-mill of 6,000 spindles. Pina cloth, woven from the fibre of the pineapple, is costly, and worn only by the wealthy, an elaborately embroidered pina gown being valued at \$1,000 to \$2,000. The tobacco manufactory is conducted on a large scale, in rows of rooms filled with women. It surrounds a court, on entering which a noise and din strike the ear not unlike that of a large cotton factory. The finest shops are kept by Chinamen. The 30,000 Chinese in Manila are divided for purposes of taxation by the government into four classes, merchants, shop-keepers, artisans, and laborers.

The sugar factories make nearly all of their machinery. The Honolulu Iron works give good satisfaction. Two factories manufacture the 10,000 tons of fertilizer which is required every year to sustain the land under continuous crops. About 700 tons of hard coal for manufacturing purposes are brought each year from the United States, but most of the coal here used comes from British Columbia, Australia, and New Zealand.

In Australia the labor unions are stronger than in the United States; wages are higher and time shorter; eight hours being the rule. In Melbourne wages are 100 per cent more for twenty per cent less time than in London, and yet the cost of products are scarcely twenty per cent more in the colonies. New Zealand offered a prize of \$10,000 for the best process, mechanical or chemical, of treating the native fibre of New Zealand hemp, which works up into a fabric as soft as silk. Carriages are made in the colony of Victoria under a protective duty of £40 each, the wood for the same being obtained from the United States.

Wages along the South American coast vary somewhat according to locality, being higher in the cities and seaports than in the country. Thus common, or peon, labor, which in the interior is from 20 to 30 cents a day, is from 50 to 75 cents at Valparaiso, and \$1.25 at the nitrate works. Factory operatives are, female 22 to 90 cents a day; male, 40 to \$1.20; mechanics \$1 to \$3.50 a day; servants wages \$2 to \$20 a month. In Chili, tobacco and playing-cards are government monopolies, and no person may grow the one or manufacture the other without special permission, which is seldom granted. On such tracks of folly and vice, with lotteries and intoxicating drink, the wheels of justice and legislation are made to revolve. Bolivia and Chili manufacture and export copper. Valdivia manufactures large quantities of sole leather, shipped largely to Russia via Hamburg, good tan bark being plentiful in south Chili. Soap is an important article of manufacture at Valparaiso, the caustic soda being brought from England. Flour sacks are made in Chili from United States cotton, but gunnybags for wheat, nitrate, and ores are brought from India via London or Hamburg. Four large breweries at Valparaiso manufacture most of the beer used in the country, distributing it liberally up and down the coast. Rolling stock for railroads is made mostly in the country, though some of it is imported. As in New South Wales, nearly all the railways of southern Chili, and the manufacturing connected with them, are in the hands of the state. There is very little cloth made in this country, the greater part of the cotton and woollen goods consumed being brought from England. There are many large tanneries in Chili, but they are employed only on the coarse hides of the country, some of the production being thus used for a low grade of native leather, and some of them sent to Germany. The good leather is brought from England. Boots and shoes are extensively made, mostly by piece and prison work. The better quality is imported from England principally, though some comes from Germany. Saddlery and harness are made at home; also leather belting.

Loveto, situated near the headwaters of the Amazon, is fast becoming an industrial centre, manufacturing as well as commercial. But owing to the excessive freight rates over the crest of the cordillera there is but little trade intercourse between these two parts of Peru, even the manufactures of chev-

iots, blankets, and buckskins seldom finding their way in large quantities over the mountains. Guayaquil, the chief port of Ecuador, has extensive tobacco and cocoa factories, and exports lumber and various fine woods.

In Colombia the sierra reaches a height of 23,779 feet, perpetual snow covering the summit. Although there are some manufactories, agriculture is first among industries in this republic. Some work is done in metals, all of which are here plentiful. Great discoveries are yet to be made in this region, as it has been but partially prospected. There are also virgin forests of precious woods, the indiarubber, cinchona, sarsaparilla, cotton, indigo, and many other commercial and medicinal trees and plants. Bogotá has glass-works, distilleries, and sulphuric acid and cigar factories, while Panamá makes hats and exports cotton, coffee, tobacco, silver, cinchona bark, and indigo. Turtles and pearl oysters abound. The manufactures of Nicaragua are not large; they consist of sugar, soap, aguardiente, coarse leather and common furniture, most manufactured articles being brought in from abroad. In the other Central American states manufactures are much the same.

Mexico has scores of breweries, the bottles coming from Germany. Thus far there has been no bottle factory in the republic, though Chihuahua is seriously considering establishing one in that section. Manufactures in the city of Mexico have increased three fold within twelve years, and they would increase still faster but for the high cost of fuel, wood being \$18 a cord and coal \$20 a ton, a Mexican dollar being worth about half of an American dollar. On the other hand manufactures have been stimulated by a high protective tariff, high rate of transportation, and the depreciated currency, making the cost to the consumer of an article manufactured in the United States nominally about five times the original cost. But though fuel on the table land is scarce, there is good water-power in places, and cheap labor everywhere. Woollen clothes, blankets, carpets, prints, underwear, hats, and shoes, once imported are now manufactured in Mexico by modern machinery obtained for the most part from the United States. Shoes are even sent into the United States.

CHAPTER XX

COMMERCE OF THE PACIFIC

IF the earth is primarily for the use of man, then the sea is primarily for the use of commerce; for in no other way can the world of waters be so successfully subordinated to the benefits of the human race, as in bearing the surplus products of one country to another to the ultimate advantage of all.

In the midst of a world of intellectual and industrial activity, of startling thought and daring venture, we find pre-eminent above all other powers and potentialities, Commerce. Wars command our interest; politics and industry, the railway and the mines, have our attention; but all are tributary to King Commerce, whom the tsar serves, and to whom Salisbury and sweet William bend the knee. And the great field for the new commerce of the coming century is the New Pacific, where so lately reigned supreme barbarism and savagery.

As agricultural and industrial pursuits may be said to constitute the body politic of the nation, so commerce is its vital blood, without which there is little life or progress. For the main-springs of human action are found in the wants rather than in the wealth of mankind, and commerce is organized for the supply of those wants, as well as for the accumulation and concentration of wealth.

As a matter of interest to the human race, commerce now assumes the position formerly occupied by discovery and sea adventure. The earlier voyages into and around the Pacific were not so much for purposes of territorial acquisition and legitimate trade, as for gold-gathering with valueless trinkets, or in connection with soul-saving at the point of the sword.

Henceforth commercial supremacy as a nation signifies first of all trade with eastern Asia, Australia, the South Sea isles, and the west coast of North America, that is to say supremacy on the Pacific. No sea power will hereafter pretend to the

first rank unless it is a power on the Pacific, the Pacific being first of oceans, its waters the broadest, its shores the richest, and its islands the most important. And great as has been prosperity and the growth of wealth in the United States during the past century, all will pale into insignificance before present developments. The opening of the Orient to our commerce will be but an incident to the general uprising of the industrial world, in which America and all the countries around the Pacific will play prominent parts.

England leads as a maritime nation, with a steamship capacity in 1898 of 11,576 vessels, aggregating 18,887,132 tons, and a sailing-vessel capacity of 28,885 ships, aggregating 8,893,769 tons, the latter declining in number and capacity as the former increases. Next in steam tonnage is Germany with 1,625,521 tons, while next to England in sail is the United States with 1,285,859 tons, followed by Norway with 1,144,482 tons, and Germany with 535,937 tons. France has 925,682 tons of steam tonnage, the United States 910,800 tons, and Norway 628,493 tons. Great Britain's largest trade is with India; then follow Australia and the United States. Yet England reserves no advantages to herself over others in her Indian trade, while India is at liberty to send her products anywhere.

The greater part of England's colonial empire has been created within the last half century. A hundred years ago her West Indian possessions were highly esteemed, but now, though not diminished, they are of comparatively little value. Thus we see that even tropical lands may depreciate in value, owing perhaps as much to political or economic, as to physical or commercial, causes. The inhabitants of these declining isles have no standing, and every country great or small should guard well its credit. There can never exist true commercial intercourse between nations without confidence and credit, and these can be established only by proper laws and regulations, backed by individual integrity. England loans to her colonists £800,000,000 at a lower rate of interest than she loans elsewhere, because she knows her own people, and knows the money will be paid. England is far from her own country nowhere in the world, and hence she is in a position to dominate the world commercially. She is never far from a market, or from a source of supply; never far from a naval or coaling station of her own.

To most men Alaska seemed a superfluity when the purchase was made, but we see now a good use for it in the north Pacific, as the Hawaiian and Philippine islands may be useful to us in the middle Pacific. Commercial federation upon some sound basis has been proposed for Great Britain throughout her broad dominions, involving the formation of a fiscal parliament, with power to impose a special duty of two and a half per cent on all imports, which would furnish a fund of £9,000,000 to carry out the purposes of the federation, which would be to promote a cohesive force, and provide markets and regulate transportation.

As the United States becomes the first of commercial nations, New York steps to the front as the chief commercial city of the world, the proud supremacy held for several centuries by London having at last crossed the Atlantic to the metropolis of America. This, as the work of a century; how will matters stand at the end of another century? For 87 years prior to 1876, when the tide of international commerce first turned in favor of the United States, there were but 16 annual balances of trade in our favor, while during the 23 years succeeding that date there have been but three annual balances against us. During the period first named imports averaged \$167,000,000 per annum, and exports \$141,000,000; during the latter period the imports averaged \$667,000,000 a year, and the exports \$811,000,000.

At the beginning of the year 1899 the authorized capital of organized trusts or combines amounted to some \$3,000,000,000, and the work of organization was going forward more rapidly than ever, even the powers of Europe making moves in that direction for the purpose so far as possible of monopolizing the commerce of the Pacific.

Exports from the United States to Great Britain are increasing while our imports from that quarter are decreasing, the increase of late being notably in grain, metals, fruit, meat, and cotton. The increase in agricultural exports is due to the increase in both quantity and value. The increase in manufactured exports is owing largely to the increased iron products. To this and other branches of manufacture cheapening processes have been introduced. Iron ore and coal have been found in various parts, near boat landings, with such natural and artificial conveniences and proximity to

navigation as to lessen the cost, and thereby increase the demand. These, together with the differentiation in trade, are among the causes which have given to America commercial preëminence. Our commerce has been not inconsiderable for a century past; the war with Spain, however, convinced the world that henceforth the United States would be a great power, not only in international politics but in foreign commerce, successfully contesting for trade the world over, and capable of protecting her rights and interest therein. The foreign commerce of the United States, aggregating for the fiscal year 1897-1898 \$1,800,000,000, being of exports \$1,200,000,000, and of imports \$600,000,000, exceeds that of either France or Germany, and is second only to that of Great Britain. The business prosperity in the United States during and after hostilities with Spain must not be attributed to the war, but rather as coming without regard to it, and because the people were somewhat indifferent as to its cost. It was the same in England. Not for ten years had business and stocks been so active. Most of the manufactories in both England and America were run at their full capacity, particularly those handling iron and steel; one company or a combination of companies was incorporated under the laws of New Jersey with a paid up capital of \$200,000,000.

Should our national government ever deem it advisable to have a defined policy in commercial matters, whether with its own distant possessions or with other nations, it will be one such as England has cultivated in her colonies, and with all the world, and not like those of France and Spain,—that is to say it will be a free and enlightened policy, giving to all the equal right to buy and sell at their best advantage, even as to-day the New York merchant and the Liverpool merchant stand upon precisely the same footing in sending goods to India or Canada, while the Calcutta and Montreal merchants can buy their goods wherever they like. Such an opportunity, which is and will be ours, is all we require with our growing manufactures to build up a trade around the Pacific such as the world has never before anywhere experienced. A generous, liberal policy in trade, as in everything else, is not only the best but the most profitable. It is not the narrow-minded, penurious man or government that thereby becomes the most wealthy and prosperous. Were the same business

policy pursued at New York and Chicago as at Washington, the world's commercial supremacy would never have removed itself to this side of the Atlantic.

To take rank as a first-class commercial power the United States must have more shipping, and stop paying \$150,000,-000 every year for transportation; and to accomplish this the government should take such steps as are necessary. If the authorities at Washington are not familiar with the business, or have not the intelligence or energy or money to do this, let them learn methods from the Japanese, and borrow money in China, and man our ships with Malays, only let us have a merchant marine worthy of our position among nations and our pretensions as a sea power. It is surely unnecessary to speak here of the first principles of national development, or to consider how Phœnicia, Italy, Holland, and England each became great through their sea commerce; and now when the United States has every opportunity and every incentive to lead the world in the carrying trade, our maritime men sit down and begin to figure up the difference in seamen's wages, and the amount of money mail contracts and ship subsidizing will draw off from such legitimate purposes as political campaigns, soldiers' pensions, and the like. Americans should blush to have their mails and goods carried in foreign bottoms, even though it cost twice as much to carry them in their own vessels. While squandering hundreds of millions annually on worse than useless things, Americans should be ashamed of the legislation which allows demagogues, bribed by railway magnates, to impede progress by defeating such measures as an interoceanic ship canal. I should be loath to say that I think the Japanese a better people than the Americans, who so lately brought them out of their isolated barbarism; but there are some things which these Asiatics can even now teach their teachers.

The expanding commerce of the United States immediately following the war was manifest in the unusual demand for ships and the increased activity in ship-building. The administration decided not only to retain all vessels purchased during the war, but to confine trade between American and Porto Rican ports to American vessels. It was realized at once that notwithstanding industrial supremacy had passed to some extent from Europe to America, we are far behind

some others in the carrying trade. And we saw again, as we have seen before, that we never shall be a great commercial nation so long as we depend on others for our carrying. We may think to get this done by others cheaper than we can do it ourselves. So thought Spain when she turned over her manufactures for America to France and Flanders, and, handing over in payment therefor the gold from America, lapsed into laziness.

England's policy has been not only the protection of her merchant marine by means of subsidies and mail compensation, but to encourage ship-building by placing contracts with her own builders, who were thereby enabled to equip yards and construct dry docks, not only at home but in every part of the world. These plants in 1899 reached in value \$100,000,000, and their building capacity was 4,500,000 tons, as against some 300,000 tons in the United States. Every harbor on the Pacific coast should be alive with this industry. Under wise systems of subsidies all the great powers are encouraging ship-sailing and ship-building, the United States the least of all. In Germany the industry is now nearly equal to that of Great Britain, no less than twenty-four men of war having been delivered from her yards to foreign governments within the past three years. The state railways are employed in the transportation of material at merely nominal rates, so as to enable the ship-builder to construct the best possible craft for the smallest amount of money. The duties on iron and other materials for ship-building have been reduced. It is against the United States especially that the competitive energies of Germany are directed, and with the determination to be before us in the Asiatic trade. Up to a late date the yearly contributions for the support of steamship lines to the east coast of Asia have been,—by Great Britain, \$1,250,000; Spain, \$416,000; Russia, \$405,000; Austria, \$306,000; Italy, \$277,000; United States, \$40,000. As the commissioner of navigation remarked, "we have deluded ourselves into the belief that the Pacific trade will become ours without taking ordinary precautions to meet competition." For maintaining steamship lines to certain ports in Australasia, Oceanica, China, and Japan, the *Nordeutscher Lloyd* Steamship company now receives from the German government 5,590,000 marks, or over \$1,330,000 a year for fifteen years. This is

about three times as much as Germany was previously paying for postal and commercial subsidies in that quarter.

A century before the revolution American colonists seemed more alive to their shipping interests than the people of the United States do at present. It was for the protection and promotion of foreign commerce primarily that the federation of the American colonies was consummated, and it was trade impositions and the infringement of our maritime rights, which led with other causes to the American revolution. The war for independence destroyed commerce and ruined ship owners. But by tonnage duties, discriminating customs, and other means of protection, American shipping was revived in 1789, and in 1810 ninety per cent of American commerce was carried in American ships, whereas now ninety per cent of American commerce is carried in foreign ships.

To attribute England's success and America's failure in the ship-building and navigating business to economic conditions, as some put it, is absurd. The fault is in the men who make the conditions, economic or otherwise, or fail to make them, or in the government, which fails to make possible natural conditions. There are no economic differences worth mentioning as regards the ship-building industry, in Europe or America, or even Japan, unless it be that the United States has natural advantages over both the others.

It is no fault of American ship owners that they cannot compete with foreign subsidized ships. If we are to have a merchant marine it must have government protection, as has the shipping of other nations, else we want no interoceanic canals or Asiatic archipelagoes, no open doors or spheres of influence. We can build as fine steamers as any other nation, —instance the American line across the Atlantic, which could not exist but for its mail subsidy. We can build fine warships, and fine lake and sound boats; yet we must stand idly by and see Great Britain and Little Japan getting away with our carrying trade because our government is too shortsighted or too indifferent to protect its own interests. There is much talk about the duty of the United States to the Philippines; less is being said of the duty of the United States to the United States. The public money is taken to fight Spain and capture islands, only to see our commerce fall to other nations who see the benefit of sustaining their own commerce.

A northern railroad man figures up that "a ship of 5,000 tons capacity, leaving the Pacific coast every day in the year, would carry 1,500,000 tons annually across the Pacific ocean to Asia. What would it cost? A bonus of \$2 per ton would insure the building of ships as fast as the shipyard could turn them out; \$2 per ton would amount to \$3,000,000 per year. Our country cannot stand still. She must go ahead or backwards. If the present changes in the Orient bring about the results in China that have been brought about in Japan, you will find a greater development of trade on the Pacific ocean in the next 25 years than the world has ever seen in its history."

Three millions a year for ten years this man says will place the United States on an equality with other nations as commerce carriers, a sum equivalent to one-tenth the cost of the Spanish war, one-fortieth of the expenditure in pensions, one-half as much as we spent on the starving reconcentrados of Cuba, one-hundredth part as much as is wasted in personal patriotism; that is to say in that kind of service of country which seeks the good of the person instead of that of the nation. Of the benefits to our western seaboard of so insignificant a sum as this we are assured that "its disbursement under proper restrictions would convert the Pacific coast from a mere producer of raw materials into a manufacturing country. Stretches of river bank which have never known the sound of industry would become great shipyards, rivaling those of Maine in the palmy days of American shipping. Forests which would not be touched for years, probably ages, would be the scenes of wondrous industrial development. Pacific coast products which otherwise go to waste or find sale at prices barely sufficient to cover cost of raising, would find sale at fair profit in the markets of the world."

One course or the other the United States government, in justice to itself and its business men, should adopt and consistently follow. Ordain either to have or not to have a commerce. Everyone knows that to become a great commercial nation a merchant marine is necessary, and for a merchant marine ship-building must be subsidized. If government will not protect its commerce, it is better so to declare, and let its people abandon the effort. England has been subsidizing ships for half a century, and is doing so now. The policy of

the United States has been different; hence while England's shipping interests have been increasing those of the United States have been decreasing. Hitherto the lakes, rivers, and railways, the last with their tariff discriminations of all the traffic will stand, and their subsidized rascalities protected by the government to the ruin of the people and the country, have developed abnormally certain sections of the United States, and left other sections undeveloped.

The acquisition of a line of tropical islands extending half way round the earth, from the West Indies to China, with an interoceanic canal, and an air-line double-track railway from Kansas City to San Diego, owned and operated by the government on a basis of running expenses or less, or both government canal and government railway, would revolutionize the commerce of the world. All such work done by the government for the benefit of the people, as cheap postage, a parcel post, the midcontinent desert bridged by a railway, reclamation of desert lands by irrigating systems, if operated even at a loss, comes back to the public a thousand fold in the form of increased revenue and wealth.

The president seemed fully alive to the requirements of commerce in connection with the new acquisitions. Of communication with the Hawaiian islands, in his message of December, 1898, he says: "The annexation of Hawaii and the changed relations of the United States to Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, resulting from the war, compel the prompt adoption of a maritime policy by frequent steamship communication encouraged by the United States under the American flag with the newly acquired islands. Spain furnished to its colonies, at an annual cost of about two million dollars, steamship lines communicating with a portion of the world's markets as well as with trade centres of the home government. The United States will not undertake to do less. It is our duty to furnish the people of Hawaii with facilities under national control for their export and import trade. It will be conceded that the present situation calls for legislation which shall be prompt, durable, and liberal."

The average yearly imports and exports of the countries round the Pacific prior to the war were about \$2,000,000,000. It is safe to say that during the twentieth century this traffic will be increased ten or twenty fold. During the ante-bellum

period, but a comparatively small portion of the Asiatic trade was with the Pacific United States; what it will be in the future, how much of it will come to the west coast, and how much go to the east and to Europe, depend upon the quality of manhood that inhabits these shores from this time on. The time was when to be of California was a matter of pride, was to carry wherever one went the halo of gold and commerce and romance. This was before the merchants of San Francisco were ground into the dust beneath the iron heel of commercial despotism, before the American government lent its aid to ruin the fairest portion of its possessions, by advancing to a band of robbers the money and credit to monopolize the fruits of industry, for a full quarter-century, of a section which at that very moment was doing more than all the others combined to sustain the government credit during the crisis of civil war, by pouring into the Wall street coffers a steady stream of four or five millions of gold a month, which even then could not be kept below from 150 to 250 per cent premium above the national promises to pay.

A Boston editor writes: "Great, however, as has already been the effect upon the west of the war, we have nevertheless seen but the beginning of good things. We have been accustomed to think of the east as the maritime section of the United States and of the west as the agricultural and mining district. But there are unmistakable signs that the Pacific coast of the North American continent was designed as the greatest seat of commerce the world has ever yet attained. The future is, of course, a mystery, but if anything may be safely assumed, it is that the Pacific ocean is destined to become a magnificent highway of trade."

"All commercial nations are now fighting for trade," says the governor of Oregon regarding the Philippines, "and in their race of cupidity and inordinate ambition China is threatened with partition. We need the business of these islands. Exchange of products, natural and artificial, would be mutually beneficial to them and to us. We must find an outlet for the surplus product of our fields and forests, our factories and workshops; we must share on equal terms with all other nations the opportunity for trade in the Orient, which our possession of the Philippine islands affords us."

With its past record for aid and loyalty to the federal gov-

ernment, and the certainty of a brilliant future, a future such as the wildest dreams of avarice and enterprise have never reached, the least the nation should do, for its own sake and the sake of the Pacific coast, is to bridge the desert with one or two lines of transcontinental railway, owned and operated by the government, on a basis of running expenses or less, and thus besides furnishing itself with the means of cheap and rapid transportation for its mails, its troops, and its munitions of war, superior to those of any interoceanic canal,—while bringing nearer the two sides of the continent and shortening the distance to its island possessions, at the same time deliver from a power threatening soon to become greater than itself a liberal minded and patriotic people. Possibly the people of the Pacific coast are expecting too much in the way of benefits to accrue from the canal. Like all good things it will prove a benefit if they bestir themselves to make a proper use of it, otherwise not. Conditions there may be under which it will prove to the American Pacific coast a disadvantage. First of all, it is very clearly to be seen that unless we have a merchant marine of our own, we had better have no canal, as the ships of other nations will come in and carry off our commerce. When England and Germany can pick up their traffic in China and carry it through the canal to their own door, they will scarcely trouble themselves to call at any American port, either on the Pacific or on the Atlantic side. The internal commerce of the country can no longer be carried on in ox carts, nor by railway monopolies charging ox-cart freight rates. And if a New Pacific is ever to take its proper place in the world, there must be some shorter way opened into it from the Atlantic than round Cape Horn.

A great commercial corporation for the past fifty years has been the Pacific Mail Steamship company, its operations now extending half round the world, from New York to Hongkong via Panamá, San Francisco, and Yokohama. The company was established in 1847 under an act of congress authorizing the secretary of the navy to contract for a steamer mail service for ten years, sailing once in two months or oftener, from New York via Charleston Savannah and Havana to Chagres, across the Isthmus to Panamá, and thence touching at San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco to Astoria Oregon, thus bringing the two great seaboard of the United States into

closer relationship than that afforded by water round Cape Horn, or by land across the United States.

In accordance with this authorization a monthly mail service, at a yearly compensation of \$199,000, was awarded to Arnold Harris, who assigned the contract to William H. Aspinwall, and the company was incorporated with a capital stock of \$400,000. Three steamships were built, the *California*, the *Panamá*, and the *Oregon*, and sent round Cape Horn to take their places in the line. But while these were on the way, great things happened; California became a possession of the United States, the construction of the Panamá railway assumed more definite shape, a treaty with Mexico gave the California country to the United States, and the magnitude of the gold discoveries in the foothills of the California sierra became assured. The result was that none of these steamships touched at ports on the Atlantic, or got past San Francisco on the Pacific; the route became settled, New York to Aspinwall, and Panamá to San Francisco, stopping only at Acapulco for coal. Opposition lines were established at various times, both by way of Panamá and across the Isthmus of Nicaragua, but the great Pacific Mail continued its course and dominated transpacific traffic until the northern lines were established. The capital stock of the Pacific Mail company was increased first to \$2,000,000, then to \$4,000,000, and finally to \$10,000,000.

In regard to the prospects and possibilities of the Pacific states, Chauncey Depew said before an audience in the Auditorium, Chicago: "The open market of Japan and the open markets of China will absorb not only all the wheat grown upon the Pacific coast but all it can possibly produce. Its markets will be so great for our steel rails, our machinery and electrical appliances, and our agricultural implements, that with a merchant marine on the Pacific, Oregon Washington and California will in a few years be among the richest and most productive states of the union. There is in the trade the opening of a new field for labor and new opportunities for capital. The congestion of our market will be relieved, causes of panics will be diminished, the fierce competition among ourselves will be lessened, the farmers of the west and the middle west and of the northwest will find themselves better able to compete in the markets of Europe with the Argentines, Rus-

sia, Egypt, and India. The wheat of the Pacific coast will go to the Orient instead of to Liverpool. Civilization and christianity and orderly liberty following the flag will bestow inestimable benefits upon distant semi-barbarous and alien races. There will be to our own people reciprocal benefits which come from a thousand millions instead of 70,000,000 of people waiting the products of our soil, the results of our agriculture, the outflow of our mines, and the surplus of our mills, our factories, and our furnaces."

Each side of the Pacific is the natural markets for every other side; all the islands give products to the mainland and receive products in return. The disadvantages of the Pacific coast in distance from markets and cost of transportation are now in a way to be obviated by nearer consumers and reciprocal trade. The wheat which California has so largely shipped to European and other distant ports will go to China, where the entire product of 20,000,000 bushels, and many times more from the other wheat producing states west of the Rocky mountains, will find consumption as flour. Before the war flour, oil, cotton cloth, and machinery, were sent to the Philippines from the United States; with the occupation of those islands by Americans and the development of new industries new wants will be created, and a thousand things now not thought of will be sent thither from the Pacific coast.

California sends canned salmon, canned and dried fruits, and wheat, to England, flour to China, fresh and dried fruit and wines to the midcontinent and eastern United States, quicksilver and mining machinery to Mexico, and eastern raw material and manufactured articles to every port of the Pacific. Oregon sends wheat to England and flour to China. With her moist air and fertile soil she may double her wealth every twelve years. Washington sends flour, lumber, and a long list of her own manufactures to Alaska, Japan, and China. Connected with the university of California is a college of commerce, which will prove an active influence in the development of the New Pacific, not only in the way of preparing students for mercantile pursuits, but in the study and solution of those economic questions upon the lines of which the commerce of the Pacific is destined henceforth to be evolved.

From San Francisco are now established lines to every

quarter, the northern and southern American coasts, Asia, Australia and all of the more important islands. For the Philippine trade are appointed two new steamships, the counterparts of the historic *St Louis* and *St Paul*. To San Francisco should be transferred the tobacco and cigar trade of the Philippines which once made Barcelona one of the richest cities of Spain. In China and Japan and in all the islands the Manila cigar is extensively used. Likewise hemp and sugar San Francisco will consume in quantities, and pass on through her portals, from the old east to the new, the rich stuffs of famed Cathay. Here will always be the chief rendezvous of government troops destined for the Pacific.

By way of San Diego, on the steamers of the California and Oriental company, the gulf states send cotton, and the midcontinent and Pacific states flour, beer, mining machinery, agricultural implements, and other manufactured products of these parts, to Japan and China. The return cargo consists of general oriental goods for the same and other sections of the United States. This is the natural and best route,—to be still further shortened in the near future by a short cut direct from San Diego to Yuma,—between the midcontinent, gulf, and southern Pacific states to the Hawaiian islands and the Far East.

To his government, in 1898, James Longstreet, United States commissioner of railroads, reports: "With Cuba and Porto Rico producing tropical products, our annual demand for which is to the extent of \$225,000,000, about one-third of our entire imports, will in a few years be entirely furnished from these new possessions, and our own products taken in exchange, while now our exports to these islands, I believe, do not exceed \$15,000,000 annually. Heretofore, under their former control, every effort has been made to discourage business intercourse with Americans. Under the new order of things in these islands every effort will be made to encourage trade with us, and when the population is doubled in numbers and is increased ten times in ability to produce and consume, which is not an unreasonable anticipation, what then will our trade amount to? It is almost impossible to imagine. Less than 35,000,000 British colonists in Australasia exchange products to the amount of \$650,000,000 annually. It is only reasonable to suppose that in a few years

the trade with our new possessions will fully equal if not surpass this, and the United States must control the bulk. Furthermore, the vast volume of wheat and other cereals which now find their way from the middle western grain prairies to Asia and other countries of the western hemisphere via the Atlantic seaports will, in a very few years, reach these same destinations via the Pacific seaports, and with this changed condition will come vastly increased tonnage and revenues to all the transcontinental lines. It may be timely just now to suggest that the government construct and operate a first-class double-track railroad from Kansas City to San Diego by air-line route. This will open the shortest line, measured by the map, from Boston, New York, and Philadelphia to the coast and along the coal fields of the east and west this side of the Rocky mountains, and making the most direct line from our great commercial centres to the Sandwich islands and the Philippines. This with other lines now working overland may prove ample for the wants of commerce to the Pacific coast and the Orient, holding trade and travel within our borders pending the experiment of a canal through the isthmus.

Nearly one-half of the total foreign trade of both the United States and Great Britain is with tropical countries. In this respect the states of the Pacific seaboard of North America are specially favored, as holding the key to the tropical trade of the Pacific, that is in being so situated as best to supply all products of the temperate zone, and all American manufactured products. There is no difficulty in our obtaining all the foreign trade we desire if we use ordinary industry and intelligence to obtain it. We must simply manufacture the goods that foreigners require, and sell them at prices and under conditions more attractive to the buyer than those which our competitors can or will offer. If we sit down and wait for trade, or even hoist our flag expecting trade to follow it, we shall be disappointed. No trade will follow the flag without due action and consideration, particularly the carrying trade. We have so long been accustomed to remain quietly at home, and have foreign goods brought to us and our own carried away in foreign bottoms, even prospering under this narrow policy, that we do not sufficiently realize the change incumbent upon us to make under the new conditions,

and that we must now do our own carrying or give up business.

Every means should be employed by the merchants and manufacturers of the United States to introduce their goods, not upon the coast only, but into the interior of China, where the competition is less and the possibilities limitless. The native merchants are of course opposed to this, preferring to keep the business in their own hands; and they have many advantages, knowing the country, the people, and the goods required. But until the foreign manufacturer can himself carry his goods direct to the consumer, or to the provincial dealer, and explain their nature and use, there will never be a very large demand. Said the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce in their report, speaking of trade with the Chinese: "They will not advance towards foreigners to seek their trade until foreigners have pressed it on them. Foreigners must provide the means of bringing different parts of the empire into close communication; they must also to a certain extent create the wants which they wish to supply, by offering their goods and introducing them to the customers. Commerce everywhere requires to be energetically pushed to be successful, and this is particularly true of the trade in foreign manufactures in China. Though the Chinese are themselves incapable of originating any such improvements, they are very ready to avail themselves of it when provided for them. But the spirit of enterprise is all on the side of the foreigners, and the onus of every forward movement in commerce must necessarily rest on them." This was written more especially for the benefit of Englishmen, but it is equally good advice for Americans, and applies no less to all the countries round the Pacific than to China.

Permanent exhibition buildings at all the principal Pacific ports, American, Australian, and Asiatic, where samples of United States products and machinery could be seen and examined would be of the greatest advantage. Neither the Chinaman nor the Spanish American is satisfied with circulars, or any kind of printed or pictured descriptions; they like to see the thing itself, and understand it. The Chinese are shrewd traders, and look thoroughly into men and things before parting with their money.

Our Pacific coast merchants and manufacturers may profit-

ably take a lesson from the Germans in commercial methods, more especially in regard to their dealings with South America, which have trebled within the past six years. Chambers of commerce were opened by them at Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Ayres, and Montevideo, while exhibits were made at home of the wrought-iron and other industries of South America. Every body knows that commercial relations once established continue and grow under favorable conditions; sales of one article lead to sales of another, and thus we see American barbed wire sent to Japan by German exporters, who are able to buy it in the United States cheaper than they can make it. In their trade theories and practice the Germans exercise their characteristic thoroughness. They are as skilful in the invention of new methods, as they are persistent in carrying them out, and tenacious in holding trade when they get it. It is interesting to read what the French consul at Hongkong says of them: "As soon as German commercial travelers land they begin to study the language; a slight knowledge obtained, they undertake with unequalled persistency to persuade some native merchant to give them a trial order. As soon as the goods arrive, they visit their client, and if he makes any complaint they assure him that the fault or error can be readily corrected or avoided in the next order; if necessary, they finally make a considerable reduction in the amount of the bill. When the day of payment arrives, another visit is made. This time the purchaser is told he need not press himself to settle the whole account; a partial payment will suffice if he is willing to give a new order. If the client consents he is trapped. Although the merchandise may be inferior to French or English makes, it offers to the dealer the great advantage of cheaper prices and greater profits. The consumer becomes accustomed to it and hesitates to pay the higher price for the better article. Thus, at the expense of many apparent concessions and much hard labor, relatively small however in proportion to the results, the market is opened to German goods. It is afterwards comparatively easy to enlarge it." And thus the United States consul at Iliogo writes: "It is probably true that the German exporter understands the native taste better than any other. The markets here are full of small wares from Germany, put up in attractive style and in small quantities to find ready sale. Another point in favor of

German exporters is the fact that they do not confine themselves to the quick and ready methods of others, but stay upon the ground until they get the trade. It would be well for Americans to note a little more closely the fact that the markets of the east cannot be obtained entirely by wide-awake methods, but that much patient and persistent effort is required."

The reports from other United States consulates as to the methods which might be employed by merchants and manufacturers for increasing their business in the various parts of the world are not without interest. Says the consul at Japan: "Trade is not nearly as large as it might be if our manufacturers in the United States would give the attention to Japan that they do to the overflowing markets at home." From Honduras: "American manufacturers could probably increase their trade by making goods of special styles and patterns to suit the trade." From the consul at Bolivia: "This is where the Americans fail, or rather where they have never taken hold; to speak Spanish and reside among the people are indispensable." From the consul at Mexico: "The manufacturers and merchants of the United States do not as thoroughly understand the demands of this trade as those of Germany, France, Great Britain, and Spain." New South Wales: "In boots and shoes the business can be largely increased if the manufacturers will pay more attention to the peculiarities of the trade here." New Zealand: "We should have faster and more modern vessels plying between San Francisco and these colonies, and we should subsidize our sailing vessels trading to Australasian ports, so as to enable them to reduce the freight charges on American imports to the colonies, and thus encourage trade which cannot otherwise be alienated from the British manufacturers. I am confident if a generous and intelligent effort were made in the way of studying and cultivating the tastes and peculiar requirements of the people, we would in a few years divide a much larger proportion of the trade with England than we do now." Consul at Melbourne: "To increase the business relations between the two countries, the best way would be for some of our manufacturers to establish agencies and carry stock here." From our consul at Victoria: "The trade between this colony and the United States is not by any means what it should be, and

it depends solely upon our manufacturers to increase it." From Tientsin: "If our merchants would provide for sample warehouses at Hongkong, Shanghai, and Tientsin, and send good, live, and responsible Americans to manage the same, they would be astonished at the increase in their exports. The Germans are preparing to adopt this method, and, unless checkmated, will make sad inroads on the trade we now have. They are also getting ready to publish a paper in the Chinese language, especially to advertise their products." From our consul at Ecuador: "With proper effort our merchants could do a great trade with this country." From the consul at Colombia: "Branch houses should be established in these countries, thus assimilating the home market with the foreign." From our consul at Peru: "Drummers with samples should be sent round in lieu of the mass of circulars and catalogues."

Strange as it may appear, the merchants of Portland and of Astoria differ as to where should be the entrepôt of commerce in Oregon, at the mouth of the river by the sea, and convenient to sea-going vessels, or at the head of navigation, in the heart of the country that furnishes the supplies. Astoria thinks she should be the New York and Portland the Albany, whereas in her own eyes Portland is Paris and Astoria Havre. As a matter of fact, grain and flour ships load at both places, naturally preferring the one nearest the sea, other things being equal, but ready to go where the cargo may be obtained if necessary.

Attempts to send one of the products of Oregon to sea without a ship proved rather unsuccessful. Rafting logs and boards from the Columbia down the California coast was pleasant and profitable until storms came and broke them up, scattering the lumber.

Washington is especially adapted to maritime commerce, owing to the forests and inland waters which afford rare facilities for shipping and ship-building. Unite to these forests those of British Columbia and Alaska, and we have here more timber suitable for spars and ship-building than anywhere else in the world. The same may be said as to fisheries, while the agricultural resources of Washington are greater than is generally known. Washington sends to Alaska miners' supplies; to Vladivostok general merchandise; spars and railroad

ties to Hongkong, Shanghai, and Nagasaki; flour to China and Japan; and lumber to nearly every Pacific port of North and South America and Asia. Puget sound imports rose from \$95,441 in 1883 to \$7,066,131 in 1897; exports in 1883 \$1,770,219, in 1897 \$11,864,925, the latter consisting largely of lumber, flour, wheat, and other cereals. Ships from Seattle go to Australia with lumber, returning with coal for the Hawaiian islands, sugar from there to San Francisco, and back to Washington in ballast. Again, lumber to South America, guano thence to Europe, and back in ballast.

Seattle and Tacoma send to the Hawaiian islands lime for the sugar refineries, flour, beer, bran, grain, hay, lumber, coal for the government, and general merchandise, and receive in return sugar, coffee, fruit, tea, silk, rice, and general Asiatic goods; to Japan and China these favored cities send flour, beer, oil, and stoves, and even cotton has been sent north by rail from Alabama to take this route to the Orient. Three competing transcontinental railways come to Bellingham bay and Puget sound; the Canada Pacific, the Great Northern, and the Northern Pacific. Coastwise railways also extend in every direction.

British Columbia depends chiefly on the United States for a food supply, while manufactured articles are brought from eastern Canada and England. About one-quarter of the flour supply comes from Manitoba; canned meats from the United States, except mutton and sheep tongue, which are brought from Australia. Though less in price, Canadian hams and bacon are not so well liked as the American; oats, corn, barley, and hay are supplied by the United States. In fruit the Australian competition with the American is light. Of manufactured goods England and eastern Canada supply hats, caps, woollen and cotton clothing, and general drygoods, while the United States furnishes heavy bleached cottons, ginghams, and shirtings. Agricultural implements and mining machinery come from the United States, and cutlery from England. The province is largely populated by the English, who in the main prefer their own goods; nevertheless it is said that the sale of American goods can be largely increased by the due exercise of intelligence and energy.

The Asiatic steamers of the Canada Pacific railway carry proportionately fewer Pacific coast products than the lines

from the United States, and the British Columbian imports from China and Japan have not as yet assumed very large proportions. Most of the transpacific traffic from Vancouver, which is very large and constantly increasing, consists of European goods, and merchandise from the eastern and middle United States. The same may be said of the Puget sound lines, and in fact of all the lines; but with an established and growing trade with eastern Asia, thousands of new industries will spring up all along the American Pacific seaboard.

In transpacific voyages the northern lines claim advantage in distance, but this is offset by the cold, drizzling weather encountered. In truth, so far as physical conditions are concerned there is little to choose, each latitude having its advantages and disadvantages. Where there are so many fine lines, and from all the principal ports, one would scarcely care to spend much time running up and down the coast in making a selection. All sea-voyages are more or less monotonous, but all need not be dreary, and the monotony of comfort seems usually to shorten the time. Few care to follow a far northern circle, where the weather is always cold and stormy, even though the distance be less, and even though icebergs cannot find their way through the shallow Bering strait; for the greater safety and comfort of the more southern route will leave one with fully as much time at his disposal on this earth in the end. From Vancouver to Yokohama the steamship time is three days less than from San Francisco to Yokohama, which is fourteen days, more or less. But from San Francisco or San Diego the voyage is pleasanter, especially with a stop at the Hawaiian islands.

Alaska has commerce with Canada and the principal coast cities as far south as San Francisco, receiving supplies of every kind and sending out fish, furs, and metals. A sale of seal-skins is held in London every year, at which as the supply becomes less the prices are advanced. A year's catch off Copper islands, on the Siberian coast, was represented by a cargo of bear, seal, and other skins from Petropaulovski valued at \$1,000,000. Whalers are still found in these waters, the catch running in value from \$100,000 to \$200,000 each vessel in bone and oil. Vladivostok has had commercial intercourse with Portland and Vancouver for many years.

Russian trade with China began at an early date, three cara-

vans reaching Peking during 1658-77. A Russian embassy under Eberhard Ysbrand Ides was sent by the tsar to Peking in 1692, and in 1715 certain Russian prisoners were permitted to settle in Peking, an envoy being sent four years later by Peter the Great to establish commercial regulations between the two empires. By treaty of 1727, one caravan between Novgorod and Peking each way might be freighted once in three years, but after twenty years trial the long journeys proved unprofitable, and were less frequently made. Russia's exports now amount to about \$400,000,000 per annum, and imports a little less, the former consisting of grain, hemp, eggs, cotton goods, and iron ware, principally to Asiatic countries, and the latter, raw cotton, silk, and jute, and the manufactures of iron.

Though the Russians as yet have not a large commerce, being restricted in their manufactures to local and provincial supplies, they are nevertheless active and intelligent traders, being more particularly interested in Mongolia and north-western China. It is not a little remarkable that in times past Moscow and Tobolsk merchants have been able to send their goods by caravans to Lanchau, and compete with Englishmen in that city. And Russian traders are gradually gaining a foothold in central as well as in western and northern China. They understand better the ways of the Chinese; they are nearer akin to them; they learn their language, show outward respect to their superstitions and traditions, and flatter their vanity in many ways. The Russian is content to advance slowly; he is shopkeeper as well as trader; while exercising rigid self-denial he will accept small profits. Whatever his opinion may be with regard to the honesty, morality, religion, civilization, or general intelligence of the foreigner, the Chinaman has few prejudices and no patriotism in trade. With him the fashion never changes; but the cotton which is the best for the money and cuts for his garment with the least waste, is the kind he will buy. He is shrewd and sensible in his economies; he likes luxury, but is content with poverty; he seldom buys what he cannot afford. Articles new to him he is ready to accept if economical and useful.

Vladivostok, the terminus of the transsiberian railway and commercial metropolis of the northernmost Far East, is the distributing point for the fertile region south of the Amur.

Hakodate, and Niigata, and thirteen other ports where foreign trade is permitted under certain restrictions, but only under the Japanese flag.

Railway development in Japan was begun by the English, who have always maintained the lead in locomotives and supplies, but of late the Americans are gaining ground. Railroad iron which formerly was sent from Belgium and Germany is now supplied mostly by England and the United States. So with other articles in iron. Cotton-spinning machinery, of which great quantities are used, comes from England. The manufactures of Osaka, the cotton spinning and weaving centre in Japan, are assuming large proportions, supplying not only the domestic market, but finding their way all along down the Asiatic coast. In supplying paper-making, electrical, and other machinery, the United States stands first. The Japanese buy heavily of tobacco in Virginia, Kentucky, and North Carolina. Butter they obtain in California; price in Japan thirty to forty cents a pound. United States trade with Japan is gradually increasing, the leading items sent thither being raw cotton, pig iron, steel rails, kerosene, manufacturing machinery, and locomotives. Export duties were abolished in Japan in 1898, the reduction of 2,500,000 yen in the revenue in consequence being more than compensated for by the increase of import receipts. The organization, public and private, known as the Japan Central Tea association, which includes the tea-growers, traders, and exporters of Japan, backed by the Japanese government, is putting forth every exertion to gain the ascendancy for Japanese teas throughout the world, by local introduction as well as marked displays in exhibitions of products, as those at Chicago, Omaha, and Paris.

If America is a menace to British commerce, Japan is a menace to American commerce. Less than three-quarters of a century ago the Washington government sent an expedition to the Japanese to deliver them from barbarism. The Washington government now needs an expedition from Japan to teach it how to spend some of the superfluous wealth of the nation for the benefit of the nation.

Japan sends to the United States tea, raw silks, and cocoons, some \$20,000,000 worth a year, buying in return some two or three million dollars worth of coal oil, clocks, and like articles.

England will not drink Japan tea, but will sell Japan cotton, woollen, and iron goods, as much as she will buy and pay for.

Profitable commercial relations between the United States and Japan have scarcely yet begun. America has done much for that country, and can do more, while the arts and industries of Asia can be utilized by us to a far greater extent than has yet been done. The mineral and agricultural possibilities of Japan are great, while in some of the arts which combine utility and beauty they are superior to many other nations. Their skill in pottery and porcelain, their lacquer ware, carvings, wall papers, textile fabrics and embroidery command the admiration of the world.

There are some 12,000 Japanese residents in Korea, with 250 mercantile firms. About 2,500 Chinese live at Seoul and Chemulpo, and there are a few American and European residents, some of them doing business at Nagasaki and Chemulpo. The currency before the China-Japan war was a copper cash, 500 to the dollar; they have now the Japanese yen, and a twenty cent piece, the unit of a new fractional coinage; also a five cent nickel and a five cash copper. Banking facilities are given to Seoul and the open ports by the Dai Ichi Gingo and fifty-eight banks of Japan.

Probably never before in the history of the world, not in India of the old nor in America of the new, has there been such a devouring hunger manifested for other men's lands, or such fierce rivalry for trade, as now displays itself among the nations of Europe, with regard more especially to China. All the great and small of the world, kings lords and commons, those who affect to despise trade and those who live by it, all seem to have turned shopkeepers in a large or small way, and go prowling around the world like ravenous wolves, eaten up with jealousy lest some one of the Christian brotherhood should snatch from the heathen a bone or two more than his alleged share.

Since the visit of the first trading ship from the United States in 1784, friendly relations with China have been continuous. Between China and India of the east, and the western world of Europe, and around the Mediterranean, commerce was early established, mention being specially made in the early Chinese writings of trade with Yatsin-Kwoh, supposed to be Rome. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the

two streams of traffic had marked out for themselves plain channels, in which commerce continued to flow until diverted by the discoveries of Vasco da Gama and Magellan.

While others do our carrying; while an American steamer in a Chinese port, Hongkong being British, is a rare sight, yet American trade in China is constantly increasing. In 1893 the exports of Tientsin to the United States were 940,871 taels; in 1894, 1,751,800 taels; in 1895, 1,818,881 taels, the last amount equivalent to 2,425,000 Mexican dollars. The United States trade with China was in 1896 more than one-seventh of the whole, exports having increased 126 per cent in ten years, and being a third more than those of Germany. The cotton cloth sent to China in 1897 amounted to \$7,485,000, or nearly one-half of all our exports of cotton cloth. Next to cotton is kerosene oil, the Chinese demand for which has trebled in ten years. Yet, United States trade with the Orient is not what it should be; and it is not what it will be if it is given the attention which commerce elsewhere has had by the people of the United States. Not long since our imports from Europe were largely in excess of exports; now we send there twice as much as we get from there, whereas we buy from China and Japan more than twice as much as we sell them. And this while our goods are the goods of the foremost civilization, while their goods are the goods of barbarism. True, Europe being civilized wants the articles of civilization; but the Asiatics are some of them on the road to common-sense, and when four hundred millions of them arrive at that happy stage American factories will have enough to do.

In the latter part of 1898 China experienced more rapid and radical changes than during any previous period of her existence as an empire. The opening of inland waters to foreign commerce, and the granting of railway and other concessions to foreigners on liberal terms exercised a beneficial influence against the inroads of the all-absorbing powers of Europe. The volume of United States trade in China was increasing year by year long before the war with Spain, until in 1897 it was second only to that of England, was double that of Germany, and represented fifteen per cent of the total of all nations. Cotton has displaced kerosene as the leading article from the United States, as a cheap and acceptable article of food supply will some day displace cotton. With cotton gar-

ments and cheap food, two hundred millions of human beings who never have known what it is to be decently clothed and have enough to eat can be made happy. Wheat flour is too costly for the common people. Corn as a life-sustainer is relatively half the cost of wheat, and by eliminating the germ, or oily portion of the grain, in its manufacture, the meal does not damage in transit. Now let an acceptable food article be found at half the cost of meal, and the millions of Asia may be fed. As it is rice remains as hitherto, giving the hungry poor of China more of vitality for the money than any thing else as yet discovered.

America's influence in the Far East has been largely disinterested, and always for the good of the Asiatics themselves, which is more than any other nation can truthfully say. We have never coveted their lands, nor forced upon them any of our products or poisons. We were the first to show to Japan the way out of the clouds of her barbaric environments, and for which we demanded no recompense, neither in the way of advantages in trade nor in the old-time harvest of souls. Neither are we hungry for advantages now. We have some rights, and these are all we desire. The United States people need new markets for their increasing manufactures, further use for their mineral and agricultural resources, and wider opportunities for their engineers and artisans, as well as occupation for a large and intelligent industrial population. But all this they are satisfied they can secure without wrongfully appropriating the lands, or in any wise subverting the rights of another. They have given freely of their own lands. No fraud or diplomacy, or spheres of influence, or wriggings and wranglings were necessary for the Dutchman, the Frenchman, or the Irishman to find his way into the United States. And there is too much of this country still unoccupied to permit the indulgence of an inordinate craving as yet for any part of China.

All the European powers are eager to lend money to the Chinese government, and thus obtain a mortgage on the country and an excuse for further intermeddling. Russia is an Asiatic as well as a European power, and a borrower rather than a lender, securing her looted lands in China by an orthodox title and then improving them. Thus Russia is now indebted to France for \$400,000,000, spent on the transsiberian

tea from this section to Russia are rather increasing than otherwise. Indeed, but for the Russian demand, the Shanghai tea trade would show a large decline. Flour is entered free of duty, and the trade is rapidly increasing, American brands preferred. The government requirement for uniforms under new army regulations caused a demand for woollen cloth which continues to some extent. Matches are largely imported from Japan. Shanghai also receives in quantities sugar, drinking stock, ginseng, time-keepers, bags, and small articles. To the American Trading company at Shanghai regular shipments of lead are made from Puget sound. There is a growing demand in China for American drillings and sheetings. In demand likewise are American watches and clocks, food-stuffs and stoves, small-ware paper and groceries, builders' hardware, canned and dried vegetables and fruits, butter and condensed milk, wheat, corn, flour, beer, and kerosene.

Goat-skins are shipped from Chinkiang to the United States and Europe. Large quantities of grain are shipped from this port; also beans and peas. Ground nuts are grown in the provinces of Honan and Kiangsu, the oil of which is used as an illuminant and for cooking. Lily flowers, from which a popular drink is made, are shipped to southern China and the Straits. Hankau now exports cotton cloth, as well as silk and tea. Japanese and Shanghai cotton yarns are sent to Kiu-kiang and other points.

The two chief articles which Hongkong receives from the United States are flour and kerosene, sending in return silk piece goods, rice, clothing, opium, and tea. This being a free port, and general depot for English products on the coast of Asia, most of its merchandise enters for transshipment. Hongkong receives in round figures from China merchandise to the value of \$25,000,000, and sends into China \$45,000,000 worth of goods per annum.

Martin in his *Cycle of Cathay* thus tells the story of an American financial venture in China. "Some years ago an American syndicate made its appearance with a formidable backing of capital, aiming at something like a commercial conquest. It was represented by a versatile Polish count, who by resorting to oriental methods, which come natural to Russians, carried the outworks with the greatest ease. The viceroy Li, who had the initiative in such matters, was persuaded to

agree to a loan of fifty million dollars, to be employed in the establishment of a national system of banks and mints, there not being at that time a mint in the empire except for copper coin. He was to permit them, in return, to construct and run railways, to be handed over after a term of years free of cost. A preliminary contract was signed, and it looked as if China was emerging from the age of brass to have the ages of iron and of silver all at once. But the terms required to be sanctioned at Peking. It failed there, and the world imputed the failure to the incompetence of the agent. Never was imputation more unjust. The true explanation was the alarm awakened among European diplomats by that startling outbreak of American enterprise. 'Do you know why the count's scheme failed so signally?' said one of them to me. 'The German minister came to me, and the other ministers, and holding up a copy of the contract exclaimed, "There, gentlemen! see what the Americans have got. If we allow this thing to go on the Yankees will sweep the board. Then we may as well put our commissions in our pockets and quit the field." Nothing would do but we must go with him to the yamen to enter protest. And so that brilliant enterprise was killed. Whether the United States minister could have done anything to defeat this counterplot, if he had known it, is doubtful. But it is highly probable that the opposition would not have had time to organize if the agent had observed due secrecy; or if instead of tarrying at Tientsin he had pushed on to Peking and taken the United States minister into his confidence, even without buying up a prince or two. The United States might then have had a bonanza, instead of seeing all the good things turned over to our neighbors."

The Chinese importation of yarn from Japan is assuming importance, though made of Chinese cotton which pays a duty on entering Japan, and destined to be returned to China as yarn. This state of things cannot last, as the Chinese are as well able to manufacture their own cotton as are the Japanese to do it for them, and pay duties and transportation besides. The Chinese are surely as skilful and thrifty as the Japanese, and can work for as low or a lower wage.

Interprovincial trade can be almost indefinitely increased with proper transportation facilities. The great commercial entrepôts and centres, as Tientsin, Chinkiang, Yangchan, Su-

chau, and other cities, pulsate with the New Pacific life which beats upon the seaboard, but the great interior knows nothing and feels nothing. Away from the rivers and canals, where the traffic by steamers and small craft is large, the movements of men and products are restricted. But imperial railways are projected and in course of construction; imperial telegraphs are reaching far out on every side, from the capital to Manchuria and Siberia, to the seven treaty ports, to the border of Burmah, and by connections from all the principal cities of China to all the principal cities of the world. Banking and the postal service are also well begun. Besides the steamers on the Yangtse, 7,000 junks, some of them carrying 100 or 150 tons, are engaged in up-river traffic, including a multitude of tributary streams, boatmen receiving pay by the trip, and not by the week or month. Cotton can be grown cheaper in India than in China; this, with the great advantages of spinning by machinery, which few Chinamen as yet understand, is bringing forward Indian yarn to the detriment of Chinese cotton culture.

Newchwang is a port of growing importance, owing to the export thence of native produce and Chinese productions, and the imports of foreign goods. The walled city of Mukden, the Tartar capital, situated well back in the interior, is the great Chinese emporium of furs, whose trade extends to all parts of the world. Next to furs it does a large business in grain and beans. It has many rich merchants, and the banks are important institutions.

Since the Japan-China war the Koreans have prospered. Trade has increased from \$3,000,000 in 1893 to \$11,000,000 in 1897, owing partly to the occupation of the peninsula by Japanese troops, partly to the scarcity of rice in Japan while the harvests in Korea were good, and partly to the impulse given to progress which always follows a general shaking up of people and politics. The smuggling operations in the unopened ports were checked by the Korean steamship lines established, proving also beneficial to the government. The imports of cotton goods and exports of gold have both increased. The Japanese manufactures from American raw cotton are in demand throughout Korea, where also the watches of Japan are sold. The United States exports to Korea machinery, flour, and kerosene, besides groceries, household

utensils, and personal articles. The machinery is for mines, railroads, and agriculture.

Besides the trade of the Far East countries with Asiatic treaty ports and foreign lands, there is no small traffic in junks with the non-treaty ports of China, Korea, and Japan. Says Isabella Bird Bishop, writing for England, "Our great competitor in the Korean market is Japan, and we have to deal not only with a rival within twenty hours of Korean shores, and with nearly a monopoly of the carrying trade, but with the most nimble-witted, adaptive, persevering, and pushing people of our day. It is inevitable that British hardware and miscellaneous articles must be ousted by the products of Japanese cheaper labor, and that the Japanese will continue to supply the increasing demand for scissors, knives, matches, needles, hoes, grass knives, soap, perfumes, kerosene lamps, iron cooking pots, nails, and the like, but the loss of the trade in cotton piece goods would be a serious matter, and the possibility of it has to be faced."

Korean imports for 1886 were \$2,474,185; exports, \$504,225. Imports for 1895, \$8,088,213; exports, \$2,481,808. Should the increase continue proportionately for the decade following, which is by no means improbable under the new régime, the imports of 1906 would be some \$30,000,000; exports, \$12,000,000. In food supplies, Korea is for the most part self-sustaining, importing however a little wheat. Of manufactured articles the Koreans buy cottons and kerosene, Chinese silks and grass-cloths, and Japanese yarn, which they weave into cloth. The United States sends to Korea tobacco, drugs, time-keepers, and drinks. Imported goods are carried into the interior from Fusan, two-thirds of them by river and one-third by pack men and horses. The Naktong river is navigable to Sangchin, 170 miles; there is a projected Seoul-Fusan railway.

The Koreans have a fancy for foreign goods, as muslins, cambrics, unbleached shirtings, and lawns. The demand for woollens is not so large, their own wadded cotton clothes suiting them better. The consumption of American coal oil is large, displacing as it does fish oil and rushlight. They are also partial to American matches. The Koreans export rice, beans, whales' flesh, dried fish, and hides. Since 1883, when Fusan was opened to trade, the foreign population of that city

has increased from 1,500 to 7,000; while since 1885, when one steamer of the Japan Mail Steamship company called once in five weeks on its way to Vladivostok, the foreign trade of Fusan has risen from \$386,000 to nearly \$3,000,000, and the arrival of steamers is of daily occurrence.

On market day, which in some places comes every five days, in the narrow streets which wind among the wattle-huts of a Korean town, are seen, displayed on mats lying on the ground, cotton cloth and thread, wooden combs, straw shoes, dried fish, and seaweed, dark colored barley sugar, tobacco pouches and pipes, cord and paper. In the villages there are no other shops than these. A large mat will hold perhaps three dollars worth of goods; but in the larger towns and cities there are many shops whose stock is worth never more than five or ten dollars. These have for sale, in addition to above, bamboo hats, glass beads, coarse pottery, candlesticks, spittoons, goggles, fans, inkstands, and the like.

With the reorganization of the Korean government in 1894-5, on the basis of Japanese protection and independence from China, educational systems were remodelled and foreign trade assumed new proportions. On this peninsula are 12,000,000 independent people, all clad in cotton, and engaged for the most part in cultivating by primitive methods the rich valley lands which lie between the mountain ranges. For their rice and beans there is an unlimited demand beyond seas, and for their ever increasing cotton requirements they will learn to spin and weave the raw article, or yarn from abroad, which they now require in the form of piece goods. The market for all Korean exports except rice, that is to say beans, paper, seaweed, fish, cowhides, and ginseng, must be found in China and Japan alone; imports are from England, India, and the United States.

Before the coming of Magellan there was a large trade between the Philippines and China, interrupted now and then by typhoons and pirates, but on the whole profitable. This was ended for a time when Spain took possession, and by royal edict diverted traffic to the yearly galleons to Acapulco. In 1764 began direct trade with Europe via Good Hope, all goods from Manila being as ordered by the government, and carried in Spanish ships; and as if there were not impositions and restrictions enough, a monopoly of Spanish commerce in

the Far East was in 1785 bestowed on the Royal company of the Philippines. Slowly, toward the end of the eighteenth century, small concessions began to be made.

An English commercial house was established at Manila in 1809, and in 1834 the monopoly of the Royal company terminated. Until 1842, when Cebu was opened to commerce, Manila was the only port for foreign trade in the Philippines. And although Jamboanga, Sual, Legazpi, Tacloban, and Iloilo, are also open for trade, only three, the last named with Cebu and Manila, are regarded of much importance. Manila ranks with Batavia and Calcutta as a trade centre. As the chief port of the islands, not only the products of the Philippines, but foreign merchandise flows thither in great quantities. Under Spanish misrule the imports and exports were about the same, some \$16,000,000 annually, the former consisting of cotton woollen and linen goods, coal and iron, and hardware earthenware and machinery, and the latter, besides metals, being the usual productions of the tropics. In 1897 the aggregate trade was a little above the average, Spain's commerce amounting to about five million dollars; England bought to the value of \$6,223,426 and sold \$2,063,598; the purchases of the United States amounted to \$4,383,740, sales \$94,597. The Philippine sales consisted chiefly of hemp, sugar, tobacco, and cocoanuts, and the purchases were of cotton silk and woollen manufactures, machinery and metal manufactures, groceries, drugs, paper, shoes, liquors, and small goods. Japan's Philippine importations for 1897 amounted to \$1,332,300, mostly in coffee, sugar, flax, and cigars, returning manufactures of cotton and silk, fish, beer, beans, coal, and small articles. Following the conquest, vessels registered as Spanish property were permitted to carry the flag of the United States and claim protection thereunder.

The term open door, as applied to the Philippines, does not mean free trade, as the islands will have their tariff and pay the same duties on products of the United States as on those of other countries.

From the interior of Luzon, and from the more distant provinces, hemp, sugar, tobacco, and wood are brought to Manila, and constitute the greater part of Philippine trade. The silk merchants are an important factor in inland commerce. In every town, in common with other traders, they

have their shops. The products of the country are brought to the town in baskets, and offered for sale to a great extent on the open street, or hawked about the place.

Next to Manila, Iloilo, on the island of Panay, in the centre of the Philippine archipelago, is the largest and most important town. Since it was thrown open to foreign trade by Spain several years ago, its imports of European and Chinese goods have largely increased, while exporting sugar and other island products.

The retail trade of the Philippines is mostly in the hands of the Chinese, and after them come the Spaniards, or creoles, who with the mestizos constitute the wealthy merchant class. Englishmen lead in dry goods and ship chandlery; the Swiss and Germans are importers of general merchandise, and export hemp and sugar. Before the fall of Manila cotton yarns were brought from Barcelona. There is a heavy demand for American beer. The conquest of Manila seems to have created a new thirst all along the Asiatic coast, islands and mainland. As new lines of steamers were established, from Puget sound, San Francisco, and San Diego, the resources of the brewers were taxed to their full capacity. With the enthusiasm of victory every thing American became immediately popular, from beer wine and whiskey to clothing groceries and machinery, particularly at Hongkong and other British ports. Said an English naval officer: "I am pretty well informed as to matters in the Orient from having sailed in and out for many years, and this is why I notice these changes favorable to everything American. It's simply marvellous what the victories of your country have done to arouse enthusiastic friendship for you over there. It is very plain to me that by taking advantage of the changed conditions, as you certainly will, the entire business of the Orient will be practically revolutionized. The possibilities are enormous, and you have driven in an entering wedge that will surely open the way to a splendid commerce."

In all the islands, in Porto Rico, Cuba, Hawaii, and the Philippines, business at the beginning of 1899 was in a flourishing condition, and rapidly increasing, though in the places where rebellion had been so lately rampant, some little time was necessary in which to recover from the effects of war. Before insurrection 2,000 ships entered the ports of Cuba annually; the time will come when there will be 4,000, and then 8,000.

Before annexation the Hawaiian islands were importing some six millions annually, and exporting products to the value of about fourteen million dollars, most of which trade was with the United States, and the chief article of export was sugar, with some coffee, pineapples, and bananas. Then and since, nearly all the requirements of the Hawaiian islands were supplied from the United States Pacific coast, general merchandise flour and fruit from California, flour grain and hay from Oregon, and lumber from Puget sound, sending in return sugar and tropical fruits. The islands have steamship intercourse direct with San Francisco, San Diego, Puget sound, Japan, China, and Australia. Freight rates to San Francisco \$5 a ton by steamer and \$3 by sailing vessels. Passage \$75 and \$100; steerage \$25 and \$30. The imports of 1897 were 76.94 per cent from the United States; 11.85 per cent from England and her colonies; and the remainder from Germany, China, and Japan in about equal proportions; of the total exports, 96 per cent was sugar, of which article, with rice, hides, wool, coffee, and fruits, 99.62 per cent went to the United States. Europe sends to the islands cement, crockery, corrugated iron, oils, paints, tin, and twine; immediate requirements may be obtained from San Francisco. Cotton goods, boots and shoes, and felt and straw hats are sent in quantities from the United States.

By act of congress the maritime laws of the United States were extended over the Hawaiian islands, the interisland trade to be regulated by the laws governing internal commerce in the United States. The islands were established as one of the customs districts, with Hilo, Mahukana, and Kabiutius as sub-ports of entry, the collector's office to be at Honolulu.

The articles of commerce most offensive in tropical transportation to the sailor are sugar, coffee, kerosene oil, and pine lumber. A vessel full of raw sugar becomes so sickening as to drive every man to the deck, day and night. Coffee is but little better, while a fortnight with pine lumber in the tropics gives the mouth a resinous taste throughout the entire voyage.

Next in commercial importance to Hawaii, among the isles of midocean and the south Pacific, are Samoa and Fiji, whose people buy largely of kerosene, flour, and canned and dried fruits and fish. About one-half of the total imports of the Society islands is from the United States, and consists of all

the grain, timber, and kerosene used, and from one-quarter to three-quarters of the salted and canned provisions, wines, oils, paints, tobacco, and cotton cloth imported.

When Samoa was the rendezvous for the sperm whale fishery, the islands had quite a trade, but since then it has been confined mostly to the sale of its staple product copra, or dried cocoanuts, worth from \$40 to \$60 a ton. In the oil obtained from copra lies its chief industrial value.

The Sulu islands connect the commerce of the Philippines with that of north Borneo. Siam, with 8,000,000 inhabitants is larger in area than Japan, and the third independent kingdom in Asia. The city of Bangkok has 600,000 inhabitants. The people like cheap cloth of bright colors. They also buy flour, canned goods, sewing-machines, clocks, watches, and electrical machinery. The commerce of the Carolines is largely controlled by the Germans. The trade of New Caledonia is for the greater part with Australian colonies and with France. Breadstuffs go thither from the British colonies, and wines, and small manufactured articles, from France. In return New Caledonia sends mineral ores and metals to France, nickel and cobalt ores to England, and chrome ores to Australia.

The island continent of Australia, whose possibilities are limitless and whose development is but just begun, should be one of the best of markets for the products of California Oregon and Washington, being nearer to these states than to the eastern coast and England, and communication being easy and frequent.

Ninety per cent of the trade of New Zealand is with England, and the greater part of the other one-tenth is with the United States. The exports to England consist of live cattle, frozen beef, and mutton, wool, and all kinds of farm and dairy products, including butter cheese and cereals. New Zealand sends also to the Australian colonies farm produce, particularly when crops fail from drought, which occurs frequently in the colonies, and has considerable trade with Samoa, Fiji, Tahiti, Raratonga, and Norfolk island. From the United States New Zealand obtains tobacco, kerosene, and hardware.

To the colony of Victoria is sent from the United States tobacco, lumber, oil, and agricultural implements. Some wheat and flour have to be sent to New South Wales, owing to

occasional failure of crops. Lumber is brought here from Puget sound. Hence to the United States go tin, coal, wool, marsupial skins and shale. Auckland and Sydney obtain bananas and pineapples from Samoa; also limes and pineapples from San Francisco. All foreign steamship lines have their terminus at Sydney, the commercial metropolis of Australasia. Weekly communication with London is had by vessels of the two companies, the Peninsula and Oriental, and the Orient Steamship company; first class fare £60 to £70, freight £2, 10s per ton. A monthly service to Marseilles is supplied by the Messageries Maritimes company, and monthly to Amsterdam by the Norddeutscher Lloyds company. Besides these there are lines to Hongkong, San Francisco, and Vancouver, and fleets of fine vessels for the intercolonial trade.

Writing in *Problems of Greater Britain*, in 1890, Charles Wentworth Dilke remarks: "I said in *Greater Britain* that in the relations of America to Australia lay the key to the future of the Pacific, and the Americanisation of Hawaii—the most important group of the islands in Polynesia, and one by its central situation destined to become more and more flourishing as time goes on—as well as the recent action of the United States with regard to Samoa, go to show that I was not far wrong. Germany in 1868 had hardly been heard of as a Pacific power, but even now her hold upon the islands that are mainly under German influence is rather commercial than political, and caused by the enterprise of the Hamburg houses which at the time when *Greater Britain* appeared, already had their branches in the western Pacific. We may possibly one day obtain by exchange New Caledonia, which lies in the very centre of the sphere of British influence in the western Pacific, or, at all events, bring about the neutralisation of the group with stipulations against differential duties, and that cessation of transportation for which we have successfully bargained with the Germans. Australia and New Zealand and Fiji form neighbours too powerful for the continued independence of the French settlement in their midst, unless it should become wholly harmless, after the manner in which the French settlements in the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Madras and in other parts of India have been brought within the British Indian system. While at one end of the Malay archipelago we have annexed south-eastern New Guinea, at

the other end we have obtained a dominant position in the northern portion of the island of Borneo. The first of the modern charters to great trading companies for the occupation of territorial dominions, as I have pointed out, was that granted by Mr. Gladstone's second administration to the British North Borneo company in the immediate neighbourhood of our island colony of Labuan. More recently we have obtained protectorates over Brunei and Sarawak, chiefly for the purpose of preventing the possibility of the interference of any foreign power in those countries, which lie close to our great commercial settlement of Singapore, and upon the track of our Australian trade through Torres straits. In the Malay peninsula, off which Borneo lies, we have also recently undertaken the protectorate—already, in fact, virtually ours before that time—of Johore and other of the Malay states. The western states, which face India and lie upon our track of trade, have long been within our influence; but our direct action in the north-eastern Malay country is more recent. The extraordinary development of trade at Singapore is a matter rather for statisticians than for me, except as regards mere mention; but I may point out the not altogether encouraging fact that the increase appears to be with foreign countries, and with our colonies and dependencies rather than with ourselves. Our great success in the Malay peninsula has lain in enlisting upon our side the warm and even enthusiastic coöperation of the Chinese. We may congratulate ourselves upon the fact that, while the French have failed to sufficiently conciliate the Chinese race to induce them to confer prosperity upon the French colonies in Further India, we on the contrary have tempted the Chinese to settle the Malay peninsula now for many generations. I have seen Chinese magistrates at Penang whose ancestors have been magistrates there since immediately after the foundation of our settlement one hundred and five years ago, and who have completely identified themselves with the interest of Great Britain. The latest of the Malay states to come within the circle of our protection has been Pahang, which will follow Perak and the others in the growth of cultivation and of trade. In no part of the world can we point to more obvious results from good government than throughout the Malay peninsula, where England in fact presides over a federation of Malay princes to whom we

have taught the arts of success, but to whose former subjects we have added a vast immigrant population of Chinese. In upper Burmah, recently annexed to India, the Chinese are pushing their way at every centre of activity. They have flowed into the country since our troops have occupied it, and many of them have married Burmese women, who much prefer to be kept in plenty by the Chinamen to being drudges of the men of their own race. The future of the Burmese provinces of India, as that of Malaya, lies in the development of great natural mineral and agricultural wealth by patient Chinese labor."

And at a later date John D. Connolly, formerly United States consul to New Zealand, remarks: "There is a wide field in Australasia at present if we only take advantage of it. The sentiment of the people toward America and American products and manufactures is as genuine and kindly as it can possibly be. I take it to be our duty to cultivate and encourage that generous friendship. We are losing trade every day owing to the deficient size and slowness of our present line of communication. The vessels are neither large enough nor fast enough. I am informed that freight has to be shut out here nearly every trip. This should not be so. I am told that only recently so much freight for the colonies had been shut out that the merchants had to charter a sailing vessel to take the surplus cargo to Sydney, New South Wales. This only feeds the Vancouver line and injures this port."

Trade with the Pacific coast of South America can be greatly increased. A revival in mining, which industry has been somewhat neglected, would call for mining machinery, in the manufacture of which California has become famous. Agricultural implements will likewise be in demand, besides the many other articles in the manufacture of which the United States now competes successfully with Europe. Thus far, however, our showing is not as good as it should be.

In South America, England France and Germany have the largest part of the trade, and for obvious reasons. Millions of British money have been spent in the development of the Plate river region, through which means the British have taken care to secure trade. The British also control the foreign shipping and banking trade of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. The Frenchman sells cheap goods, while the Ger-

man studies the market untiringly, and adapts his business to the necessities of the country. As in Mexico, American merchants and manufacturers have not yet applied the requisite energy and skill for successful competition with Europeans in South America.

Chili imports about fifty million dollars worth per annum of sugar, cattle, coal, cotton and woollen goods, groceries, steel goods, and lumber, and exports in nitrate, copper, silver, gold, wheat, barley, iodine, hides, and other articles to the value in round numbers of sixty million dollars a year. The export of nitrate amounts to one million tons, valued at seven million dollars, the latter amount including the export duty. The cattle for Chili come from Argentina, and raw sugar from Peru. Great Britain supplies textiles in the form of shirtings, drills, prints, baize, and other cloths, woollen as well as cotton; also bar and sheet steel and tin plates; coal, galvanized bar and pig iron, and linseed oil; also clothing, shoes, engines, and machinery, instruments and implements for the arts and industries, railway and shipping supplies, cotton and linen thread, and many other articles, particularly those for domestic use. Germany takes the lead in piece goods, cotton and woollen dress goods, telegraph supplies, nitrate refining machinery, small wares, wire, and wall-paper. The United States is first in coal oil, iron nails, and agricultural implements. Spain supplies Chili with cigars, Germany with cigarette and cheap printing paper, pianos, and toys, and Peru with silver bullion. Except iodine and nitrate of soda, all of the staple exports of Chili are produced in the United States.

Chili has two subsidized lines of coast steamers, and her European as well as Pacific trade is rapidly growing. There is here as well as in Peru a good field for active and intelligent industry with capital. At present the people confine their purchases in the main to what they have been accustomed, but with an enlargement of ideas they will become larger consumers. Germany imports from Chili about \$9,000,000 annually, nearly half of which is nitrate for fertilizing exhausted lands. Next in importance are sole-leather, hides, gold, and copper. In return Germany gives woollen and cotton goods, iron articles, and sugar.

Trade opportunities with Peru are among the best on the South American coast. Callao obtains from Chili charcoal

and lumber, rice from India, Asiatic products from China and the Philippine islands, and coal from Australia.

The Germans who are in Bolivia speak Spanish fluently, are truthful and reliable, study the necessities of the country, and so command the trade. Residence among the people being one of the essentials of success, here as elsewhere in Spanish America, the Germans have the advantage of the business men of the United States, who find too many advantages at home to justify them in leaving it in large numbers for a life among the half-civilized societies of South America, where there are no spots set apart for foreign colonies and spheres of influence as in China. The United States stands next to England in exports to Ecuador, the leading articles being kerosene, flour, lard, barbed wire, and lumber, the last named being also sent to the Falkland islands via England. The San Francisco exporters of lumber, wine, fruit, wheat, and flour, have lately had cause to complain of Ecuador's discriminating against California in favor of Chili, as in violation of treaty with the United States.

The people of Colombia want their cotton prints 30 yards long, 22 inches wide, and packed in bales of 60 pieces each, and not more than two pieces of one pattern. This shows how carefully both merchant and customer consider economy in cutting and making the gown, and naturally they buy from the manufacturer who serves their whims. Again, all goods for the interior must be in strong water-proof packages of 125 pounds each, ready to be laid upon the back of a mule when it comes from the ship.

The two leading articles of export from Colon are manganese and bananas, while Panamá sends forth mother-of-pearl shells and ivory nuts. The ports of Panamá, Colon, and Boca del Toro, receive flour and lumber from the United States, and mixed manufactures from every quarter of the earth. Branch houses control the trade in all these tropical countries. Fairs are held three times a year at Magangue, on the Magdalena river, where from ten to fifteen thousand persons from every part of the republic meet and exchange commodities.

Netherland America now obtains from Mexico some of the manufactured articles formerly brought from Europe and the United States, but the trade of the latter is proportionately

larger than in Mexico, and susceptible of increase. Guatemala and Honduras could use more cotton and woollen goods, drugs, and groceries, while Costa Rica purchases from the United States cotton goods, hardware, galvanized iron articles and earthenware, based on competitive German prices. Merchandise for Honduras, from New York and Liverpool as well as from San Francisco, enters for the most part from the Pacific side through the port of Amapala. Goods are brought from Atlantic ports via Cape Horn and across the Panamá isthmus, the freight from Liverpool and Hamburg being a little less than from New York. The imports of Honduras are largely from the United States, and consist of cotton cloths and machinery from the east, and flour lumber and wine from the west coast.

Nicaragua has two ports of entry on the Pacific, Corinto and San Juan del Norte. Nearly all the exports, consisting of hides, tuna, and indiarubber, go to the United States. Nicaragua imports mostly from the United States flour, kerosene, iron articles, meats, groceries, vegetables, and beer wines and liquors. Not only may we expect a large increase in our Asiatic trade, but the commerce of the Central and South American republics may be cultivated with profit. We might furnish a much larger proportion of their imports with profit to them and to us. Says Mr Stuyvesant Fish, "The 36,000,000 of people living in the ten South American republics buy goods from other countries to the value of \$376,000,000 annually, of which we sell them only \$33,000,000. The five Central American states, with a population of 3,500,000, take foreign goods to the amount of \$23,000,000 annually, of which we sell them only \$5,320,000. Mexico, our neighbor, with rail connection at several places on our border, with a population of 13,000,000, buys abroad to the extent of \$42,000,000, but we sell its people only \$21,000,000. The West Indies, not including Cuba or Porto Rico, buy \$45,000,000 worth of goods in foreign countries, of which we provide \$15,000,000. The startling fact is that we buy yearly from the South American countries \$67,000,000 more than they buy of us; in other words, they sell us their products and with our money make purchases in Europe."

While the people of the United States buy more from Mexico than Great Britain, France, Germany, and Spain

combined, Mexico buys less from the United States than from these countries, whose merchants have held the trade so long that it is difficult to wrest it from them. They know the people, speak their language, and live among them; they study their wants, know the kind of goods to offer and in what size packages. They know how to sell so as to make a profit, and how to collect without offending. The United States obtain from Mexico coffee, tobacco, indiarubber, guns, textile grasses, fruits, hides, and dyewoods, furnishing in return agricultural implements, and mining and other machinery. Goods should be specially manufactured for Mexico, in the United States as in Europe, and put up in attractive packages of the proper size, with brilliant labels to catch the eye.

The republics of America should stand in with one another, in trade as in political matters. Were the American republic in China there would be no dismemberment of that empire by the powers of Europe; and were there no United States in America those same European powers would soon have their evil eye on the weak and factious parts now dominated by the mixed Spanish and Indian populations, even as the French Napoleon and the Austrian Maximilian once had their eye on Mexico.

CHAPTER XXI

A GLANCE BACKWARD

QUITE a contrast between Pacific commerce of the present day and traffic here fifty or a hundred years ago; but not greater than will be the difference between the present and a hundred years hence. A glance backward sometimes is as beneficial as a glance forward, for in comparing the present with the past are we best enabled to form some reasonable idea of what we may expect in the future.

The primary motive attending all discovery was trade, but trade like proselyting is of different kinds. The first comers to America were no more particular about giving fair values to the natives of America than are the continental governments to-day in their dealings with Asia and Africa; a few trinkets, glass beads and the like, a little religion consisting of talk and mummary, and all the gold within reach was the price, which if not freely given was taken by force. Hand in hand went forth robbery and religion then as now; let any one show if he can the fundamental difference in the European conquest of America and the European conquest of China.

Trade comes to mankind like respiration, unconsciously. We value less our own than another's belongings; and so the Indian would give ten otter skins for a red handkerchief, ten of which were not worth one otter skin. Traders and ship-masters used to regard it wrong in the unsophisticated savage to steal from them, but civilization never seemed to consider it wrong to steal from savages; and at the present day, in lieu of the savage pure and simple, as the naked wild man in primeval forest is becoming scarce, civilized or half civilized nations will do for European lootings if the lands are broad and the government weak.

Long before ever a white man saw the Pacific, before the

times of Polo and Mandeville, of Balboa and Magellan, trade was brisk all around this great ocean. There was commerce in ships between China and Japan, between China and the Philippines, between all the Asiatic isles and mainland shores, besides an inland commerce along the river courses and mountain paths, of the magnitude of which we can have little conception at the present day. Nor was this shore and inland traffic confined to Asia. On the American side it was the same; not so extensive, perhaps, but richer, more important, and more extensive than we ever shall know. Proof lies in what the conquerors saw, and in the writings of native historians. The balsas of the Peruvians were not so venturesome as the junks of the Japanese, whose wrecks have been found on the American shore as far south as California, but they plied the coast far and near, and visited such islands as were within their reach. It was so with the Aztecs in Mexico, and even with the wilder tribes of the north; they were all eager to interchange commodities, and besides the coast commerce their dealings extended far into the interior.

The Manila trade to Acapulco was confined by Spain within the narrowest limits, not unlike that of the registered ships from Cádiz to the West Indies. The crown furnished the ships, and paid the officers and crews. "The tunnage" says Richard Walter "is divided into a certain number of bales, all of the same size. These are distributed among the convents at Manila, but principally to the Jesuits, as a donation, to support their missions for the propagation of the catholic faith; and the convents have hereby a right to embark such a quantity of goods on board the Manila ship as the tunnage of their bales amounts to. Or if they chuse not to be concerned in trade themselves, they have the power of selling this privilege to others. Nor is it uncommon when the merchant to whom they sell their share is unprovided of a stock, for the convents to lend him considerable sums of money on bottomry."

It is strange that men as avaricious as the sovereigns of Spain, or their ministers, should not have seen how this system worked against them. The Chinese silks were sold throughout America, as well as in Spain, cheaper than the silks of Spain, to the utter ruin eventually of the silk manufacturers of Valencia. In like manner European linens were

largely thrown out of the American markets by these cheap Chinese silks, and the cottons from the Coromandel coast, thus rendering Mexico and Peru less dependent on Spain for their staple commodities than this grandmother of colonies liked them to be; and all for the enrichment of the Jesuits, and of the merchants and officials directly interested in the trade. In fact, efforts were occasionally made to have this system abolished, but in every instance the Jesuits proved too powerful for their antagonists.

The round trip occupied the greater part of the year, sailing from Manila in July, and reaching Acapulco in December or January; and sailing from Acapulco in March and arriving at Manila in June. Sometimes two ships sailed in company, and there were always reserve vessels at either end of the route in case of accidents. Some of these ships were quite large; one of them it is stated carried a crew of 1,200 men. Usually, however, they were from 800 to 2,000 tons burden, and carried crews of from 350 to 600 men, and forty or fifty guns. Being king's ships, the captain was called general, and carried the royal standard of Spain at the main top-gallant mast.

Although the value of the annual cargo was limited by royal edict to \$600,000 in value, it usually so far exceeded this sum as to bring the returns up to \$3,000,000. Suppose the goods to have been sold at Acapulco at three times their cost at Manila, which is not an unreasonable supposition when we consider the high duties, royalties, freight, commissions, and profits, the value of the cargo out from Manila would then be \$1,000,000, which is not far from correct.

On clearing the islands the eastward bound ships sail northward to latitude 30°, or beyond, where they meet the westerly monsoon, which carries them straight to the coast of California. The return cargo, aside from the silver for which the Manila goods were sold, amounts to little,—some cochineal, American sweetmeats, European millinery for the women of Manila, and Spanish wines, the last mostly for the use of the priests for alleged sacramental purposes. On leaving port, the vessel bound from Acapulco for Manila steers southward to latitude 14° or 13°, and thence straight for the Ladrões. Thus as before remarked these Spaniards seem to have sailed entirely around the Hawaiian islands every year for 150 years without seeing them.

The time usually occupied was six months for the eastward bound voyage, and three months for the return. Extreme caution in the navigation was exercised or affected, owing to the great riches on board, lying by unnecessarily, and rarely carrying a main-sail at night. Minute orders were issued by royal edict as to the navigation, the exact line of sailing both in going and returning, as well as to the quantity, kind, and disposition of the goods carried. On nearing the California coast, the Manila ship watched eagerly for a floating sea plant, which the Spaniards called porra, on seeing which they bent their course southward before sighting the shore.

As for water and fresh food for a six-months' continuous voyage, the galleons had their own way of meeting the emergencies. The latter, indeed, they met only by endurance; they had no fresh food, and consequently were seldom without scurvy on board. Water was carried not in casks but in earthen jars, with which every available space on ship board was stored, not only between decks, but on deck, even the rigging being hung full of them, so that a Manila ship on embarkation was a queer looking craft. All that could be carried in this way, however, would of course be far from sufficient for 500 or 1,000 men for six months, but for the rest they must depend upon the rain, which they say in latitude 30° never once failed them, as water enough was caught every voyage to refill the jars several times.

For a century or more the Portuguese derived no inconsiderable advantage on this "other side of the world" from the spiritual patent of Pope Alexander VI, regarded to a certain extent valid by all the European powers. On the shores of China the Portuguese were at first well received, until their impositions drove the Asiatics to retaliation. In due time the Dutch were upon them, and then the ascendancy was theirs, but only in their turn later to war on the Chinese. In regard to the China trade of this early epoch, a Hollander of 250 years ago writes: "The long residence of the Portuguese among the Chinese has made them perfectly acquainted with the merchandise of the country, and with the prices; they know better than other Europeans how to choose or procure to be fabricated by the Chinese the articles they want, whether for Japan, for the Indies, or for Portugal, as well

with respect to fineness and size as to patterns in figures. But the fortifications they have erected have caused suspicions that they are contriving to act the same part in China as they have done in Malacca and other parts of India; and this has instigated the Chinese governors and mandarins to increase exactions on them, to cross them on many occasions, and to make them consume their means in expenses, so as nearly to produce a stoppage of all trade between them."

Trade between China and Japan was once limited to ten Chinese junks a year, and all those must enter and discharge at one port, namely, that of Chapu, near Shanghai. And none but Chinese junks were allowed to engage in this business, hence Japanese junks were built more for local and coast trade. These Chinese junks carried to Japan sugar, spices, dyes, and drugs, and brought away copper, lacquered ware, dried fish, and whale oil. Even to this day few furs are worn in Japan, winter garments there being of cloth padded with wool. In China, however, rich furs please the rich, while even the poor wear sheepskin and like coarse pelts.

While the Manila trade with Mexico was thus continuing its course through the centuries, the Spaniards were pushing their way from the capital of New Spain in every direction for trade and occupation. Following the more pretentious military or maritime expeditions went the missionaries, attended by a few soldiers, and planted establishments in Texas, Durango, and Lower and Upper California. These in time became trading posts, where were exchanged for European or Mexican goods the products which by the labor of the natives the missionaries were enabled to raise.

Following the exploration of the California coast by Vizcaino in 1602, many projects were discussed, but little of importance arose prior to the expeditions by sea and land which resulted in the founding by Junípero Serra of a line of missions from San Diego to San Francisco bay, and bringing those two ports into commercial prominence. In the north, the Montreal fur traders had found their way across the mountains, and had established trading posts on all the principal streams, making their headquarters first at Astoria, where the Northwest company encountered the Astor expeditions, one of which had made its way round Cape Horn to the mouth of the Columbia river, where it was joined by the Astor over-

land expedition, which had followed the track of Lewis and Clark up the Missouri and down the Columbia. The Astor enterprise resulting in failure, and the Hudson's Bay company succeeding by purchase to the property and rights of the Northwest Fur company, a metropolitan post was established at Vancouver, on the Columbia, and later removed to Victoria.

United States commercial intercourse with the eastern shores of Asia began in earnest upon the conclusion of peace with Great Britain, following the revolutionary war. Up to this time Chinese tea, such as that which had caused the trouble in Boston harbor, had been brought to America in English ships. Our trade with China began with the exchange of ginseng for tea, and soon extended to cotton and crockery. In 1784 the *Empress*, Captain Green, carried to Canton as supercargo Samuel Shaw, who returned in the *Massachusetts*, and was United States consul in China from 1790 to 1794.

In 1785 an Englishman, James Hanna, sailed in a small brig from Canton to Nootka sound to trade old iron and coarse cloth for furs, which he successfully accomplished. To the same place the same year went from London the vessels of the King George's Sound company, under exclusive license granted them by the South Sea company, the furs thus obtained being exchanged for tea at Canton by special permission of the East India company. During this epoch of discovery and trade, vessels of different nationalities found their way to the Northwest coast, as those of Cook, Vancouver, La Perouse, Mears, Portlock and Dixon, and Kendrick and Gray, the last named being the first to enter the mouth of the Columbia river, and the first to carry the flag of the United States round the world.

The old whaling industry of Salem and New Bedford with arctic Alaska and Siberia is for the most part a thing of the past. The voyage lasted usually two or three years, the ships wintering at Honolulu, though whalers in Central Pacific waters used the harbors of San Diego and San Francisco, Sausalito being a favorite anchorage. It was a profitable business as a rule, though not altogether a pleasant one, living in the constant stench of oil and blubber in a vessel of 300 or 600 tons, subject meanwhile to the constant dangers of the

deep. Whalers endeavored to include among their supplies so far as possible live animals, pigs, and chickens, as well as vegetables and fruit. The natives of the arctic coast buy whale-boats from the ships and do quite a business on their own account. The primitive method was to fasten inflated whole seal-skins to the harpoon line, and so float the beast. But bombs shot from a gun after the iron is made fast to the whale, and exploding inside the body, have superseded the method which made of whaling royal sport, degrading it to mere butchery. The wages of the men are on a percentage basis, graded from the captain, who has from one-eighth to one-sixteenth of the cargo, to the steerage boy who is glad to get a two-hundredth.

On a sand-spit projecting from Cape Prince of Wales, at the gateway of the Arctic, was a settlement of aboriginal buccaneers, or pirates, who were scarcely as successful among the whalers as were the West India free booters in their dealings with the Spaniards. In 1878 several vessels were robbed, and the natives were having it their own way, until twenty warriors in three canoes boarded the brig *William H. Allen*, George Gilley captain, and undertook to capture the ship, but were all put to death, with the loss of one sailor killed and two wounded.

Every now and then in the world's history a city or a town, a little seaport perhaps, becomes inspired, and the genius of commerce or manufactures, or it may be of art or literature bursts forth unexpectedly, and from no other apparent cause than that it is present and must have vent; just as genius in the individual man must find expression. Why were Venice and Holland so much greater maritime nations than their neighbors? Not altogether as some would say because they were born of the sea, and must conquer it or die. Some others in their place would have died. How was it that Salem and New Bedford, more than other towns on the coast of New England achieved supremacy in the Pacific? This is what George Bachelor says of it: "The foreign commerce which sprang up in the last century in Salem was the cause of a wonderful intellectual and moral stimulus, not yet spent. After a century of comparative quiet, the citizens of this little town were suddenly dispersed to every part of the oriental world, and to every nook of barbarism which had a

market and a shore. The borders of the commercial world received sudden enlargement, and the boundaries of the intellectual world underwent a similar expansion. This reward of enterprise might be the discovery of an island in which wild pepper enough to load a ship might be had almost for the asking, or of forests where precious gums had no commercial value, or spice islands, unvisited and unvexed by civilization. Every ship-master and every mariner returning on a richly loaded ship was the owner of valuable knowledge. In those days crews were made up of Salem boys, every one of whom expected to become an East India merchant. When a captain was asked at Manila how he contrived to find his way in the teeth of a northeast monsoon by mere dead-reckoning, he replied that he had a crew of twelve men, any of whom could take a lunar observation as well, for all practical purposes, as Sir Isaac Newton himself. Rival merchants sometimes drove the work of preparation night and day, when virgin markets had favors to be won, and ships which set out for unknown ports were watched when they slipped their cables and sailed away by night, and dogged for months on the high seas, in the hope of discovering the secret, well kept by the owner and crew. Every man on board was allowed a certain space for his own little venture. People in other pursuits, not excepting the merchant's minister, intrusted their savings to the supercargo, and watched eagerly the result of their adventure. This great mental activity, the profuse stores of knowledge brought by every ship's crew and distributed, together with India shawls, blue china, and unheard of curiosities from every savage shore, gave the community a rare alertness of intellect."

English is the commercial language of the world, and is spoken in all the free ports of Asia, and in all the larger mercantile and manufacturing houses of Spanish America. In the early New England trade with the Pacific, every sailor was trained to become a ship-master. He was allowed free freight to the amount of 800 pounds for goods to trade on his own account, or given a percentage on the profits of the voyage.

In Cleveland's *Voyages of a Merchant Navigator*, it is written: "Salem ships led the way round the cape of Good Hope to the Isle of France, India, and China. They were the first

to display the American flag and open trade at Calcutta, Bombay, Sumatra, Zanzibar, Madagascar, Australia, Batavia, Mocha, and St Petersburg. The adventures of her brave mariners in unknown seas, their encounters with pirates and savage tribes, their hair-breadth escapes, their tales of imprisonment and suffering in the prisons of France, Spain, and South America, would make a story which could not be surpassed in romantic and pathetic interest."

With Captain Cook in his last voyage, as corporal of marines, was John Ledyard, who wrote a narrative of what he saw, which was published at Hartford, Connecticut. The New Zealanders he found to be an athletic people, living in a temperate climate, and possessed of warm hearts and tender sensibilities, with an eager appetite for human flesh, while the blood of enemies was their most delightful drink. In fact it was afterward discovered that cannibalism was common throughout all the islands and the eastern shore-line of the Pacific. An English sailor here fell in love with a native beauty, and to remain with her he deserted his ship when about to sail, but was captured and brought on board.

It was during this voyage that John Ledyard conceived the idea of setting in motion those commercial currents which led to a subsequent extensive traffic, namely, the purchase of furs with trinkets on the Northwest coast and Alaska, to be exchanged in China for tea and silks for the home market. This traffic, and the north Pacific whale fisheries, made New England comparatively rich long before the buzzing of spindles set in. Says this traveller in his narrative, writing at Nootka sound in 1777, "The light in which this country will appear to most advantage respects the variety of the animals and the richness of their furs. They have foxes, sables, hares, marmosets, ermines, weazles, bears, wolves, deer, moose, dogs, otters, beavers, and a species of weazle called the glut-ton. The skin of this animal was sold at Kamchatka, a Russian factory on the Asiatic coast, for sixty rubles, which is near twelve guineas, and had it been sold in China it would have been worth thirty guineas. We purchased while here about 1,500 beaver, besides other skins, but took none but the best, having no thoughts at that time of using them to any other advantage than converting them to the purposes of clothing; but it afterwards happened that skins which did

not cost the purchaser six pence sterling sold in China for one hundred dollars. Neither did we purchase a quarter part of the beaver and other fur skins we might have done, and most certainly should have done, had we known of meeting the opportunity of disposing of them to such astonishing profit."

John Ledyard was regarded by many men of his day as visionary, and by some as of unsound mind. Such is often the case when one leaves conventional paths, or dares to have ideas and opinions out of the common. As the war for independence came to a close his active brain was full of projects, most of them in the form of mercantile adventure in the Pacific. He had experience but no money. He sought to interest merchants and shipping-men in a trading expedition to the Northwest coast. He would himself ship in any capacity, from captain to common sailor. He knew where dimes could be turned into dollars, and how to do it. No such adventure had at that time been attempted, either in America or Europe, though later they were common enough. He first applied to the New York merchants, but they thought his scheme wild. At Philadelphia he succeeded in gaining the attention of Robert Morris, who promised the outfit for a voyage. Unable to find in Philadelphia a suitable vessel, Ledyard went to Boston and New London to buy one, but met with no better success. A year passed by in desultory efforts, and Morris finally withdrew from the project.

Ledyard sought to interest others, but the very brilliancy of his projects defeated his efforts. Like the man who could not sell good sovereigns for a shilling, he proposed to do more than he could convince people was possible. Yet what he said was true, and success as certain as in ordinary business; load ships with Indian goods, establish forts and factories on the American coast, and go to China for return cargo. That and more was successfully done two or three decades later. Much cast down by his failures in America, Ledyard went to Europe, where he learned that a Russian ship had been sent into the Pacific, and a successful voyage had been made thither by a vessel of the Hudson's Bay company. Under the auspices of the French king, Ledyard was promised a vessel of 400 tons, but failed to obtain it. At Paris he found a warm friend and advocate in Mr Jefferson, the American

minister. He also became well acquainted with the marquis Lafayette, Paul Jones, and others. Jones became greatly interested in the Pacific project, and even advanced money for supplies, but finally gave it up. Ledyard then went to Holland, and England, and finally, one flattering vision after another vanishing in air, he became a wanderer over the earth, and in 1788 died in Egypt at the age of thirty-eight years.

Never a sailor, whether common or uncommon, whether simple Jack Tar or admiral, or other captain or commander, made a voyage by sea and wrote a book so small which says so much and of such importance, and of such present and lasting value to commerce, particularly in the Pacific, as the author of *Two Years before the Mast*, Richard H. Dana, a Harvard undergraduate, who in 1834 sailed in the trading brig *Pilgrim*, from Boston for the west coast of America.

Rounding Cape Horn to Juan Fernandez island, where they stopped for water, the traders thereafter saw neither ship nor land until they reached California, touching first at Santa Barbara, and then at Monterey, San Francisco, and San Diego. At Santa Barbara, one story adobe houses with red-tile roofs constituted the town, in the centre of which stood the presidio, or fort, and off toward the mountains was the mission. All of these mission towns were much alike, a bunch of adobe houses with the presidio in the centre, or the presidio surrounded by dwelling houses; the mission was always some distance away, so that the priests and neophytes should not be disturbed by the soldiers and towns people. Monterey, the capital, then made as good an appearance as any of the coast towns, four lines of one-story plastered houses surrounding a square, in which were six or eight cannon.

The cargo of the *Pilgrim* consisted of groceries, drygoods, and liquors, the last sold only by the cask,—crockery, hardware, and tin utensils; jewelry and furniture; a complete general merchandise store, “in fact, every thing that can be imagined, from Chinese fire works to English cart-wheels, of which we had a dozen pairs with their iron rims on.” Samples were spread out in the steerage, which was fitted up as a trade-room, and with the supercargo’s clerk as store-keeper, business began. The boats of the traders plied constantly

between ship and shore, carrying customers, the Californians having no boats of their own. These goods were sold at about 300 per cent advance on Boston prices, and paid for in silver, or hides at two dollars each, and tallow. Silver coin was plentiful, particularly Mexican dollars and half-dollars.

To a limited extent there were here for sale furs, brought in from over the sierra by American trappers, who usually spent the proceeds of their hunt on the fair señoritas before returning to the interior. The people were averse to work, to do any thing in fact that could not be done on horseback, like stock-raising. Bull-baiting and cock-fighting they enjoyed, also gambling and fandangoes. Hides were loaded from ships in small boats, as there were no wharves. A ship carried from 15,000 to 40,000 hides. There were several other vessels on the coast, English and American, engaged in the same trade, between which there was some competition. Many of these traders made their rendezvous at the Hawaiian islands, of whose natives their crew was often largely composed. San Diego was the depot for all the vessels engaged in this trade on the California coast. The situation was convenient, and the harbor safe. Every shipping company had its warehouse there, for storing and packing goods, coming and going. "For landing and taking on board hides" says Dana, "San Diego is decidedly the best place in California. The harbor is small and land-locked; there is no surf; the vessels lie within a cable's length of the beach; and the beach itself is smooth hard sand, without rocks or stones."

Along the coast, except at San Diego and San Francisco, loading and unloading was done in the surf. In bringing off the hides from the shore, two men with their trousers rolled up stood on either side of the small boat, holding it in position at a point where every wave would float it. "The others were running from the boat to the bank, upon which out of the reach of the water, was a pile of dry bullock's hides, nearly as stiff as boards. These they took upon their backs, one or two at a time, and carried them down to the boat, where one of their number stowed them away.

" 'Well, Dana,' said the second mate to me, 'this does not look much like Cambridge college, does it? This is what I call head work.' "

At San Juan Capistrano another method was employed to

get the hides from the ox-carts to the small boats. They were hauled to the top of a bluff overlooking the sea, and 400 feet above it. "Down this height, one at a time, we pitched the hides, throwing them as far out into the air as we could; and as they were all large, stiff, and doubled, like the cover of a book, the wind took them, and they swayed and eddied about, plunging and rising in the air like a kite when it has broken its string. As it was low tide there was no danger of their falling into the water, and as fast as they came to ground the men below picked them up, and taking them on their heads walked off with them to the boat. It was really a picturesque sight; the great height, the scaling of the hides, and the continual walking to and fro of the men, who looked like mites on the beach."

Kanakas, the Hawaiian islanders were called on the Pacific American coast, where they were employed in early times in the mines and on farms, as well as about the water in boats and on the beach. They were lazy and thriftless, far below the Chinese in skill and application. Dana gives a picture of some he saw at San Diego in 1835, "A Russian discovery-ship, which had been in this port a few years before, had built a large oven for baking bread, and went away, leaving it standing. This, the Sandwich islanders took possession of, and had kept ever since undisturbed. It was big enough to hold six or eight men,—that is, it was as large as a ship's fore-castle; had a door at the side, and a vent-hole at the top. They covered it with Oahu mats, for a carpet; stopped up the vent-hole in bad weather, and made it their headquarters. It was now inhabited by as many as a dozen or twenty men, who lived there in complete idleness,—drinking, playing cards, and carousing in every way. They bought a bullock once a week, which kept them in meat, and one of them went up to the town every day to get fruit liquor and provisions. Besides this, they had bought a cask of shipbread, and a barrel of flour from the *Lagoda*, before she sailed. There they lived, having a grand time and caring for nobody. The captain was anxious to get three or four of them to come on board the *Pilgrim*, as we were so much diminished in numbers; and went up to the oven, and spent an hour or two trying to negotiate with them. One of them, a finely built, active, strong, and intelligent fellow, who was a sort of king among

them, acted as spokesman. He was called Mannini, or rather, out of compliment to his known importance and influence, Mister Mannini, and was known all over California. Through him, the captain offered them fifteen dollars a month, and one month's pay in advance; but it was like throwing pearls before swine, or rather carrying coals to Newcastle. So long as they had money, they would not work for fifty dollars a month, and when their money was gone, they would work for ten.

“‘What do you do here, Mr Mannini?’ said the captain.

“‘Oh, we play cards, get drunk, smoke, do anything we're a mind to.’

“‘Don't you want to come aboard and work?’

“‘Aole! aole make make makou i ka hana. Now, got plenty money; no good work. Mamule, money pau—all gone. Ah! very good, work!—maikai, hana hana nui.’

“‘But you'll spend all your money in this way,’ said the captain.

“‘Aye! me know that. By-'em-by money pau—all gone; then Kanaka work plenty.’

“This was a hopeless case, and the captain left them, to wait patiently until their money was gone.”

An ancient islander at San Diego, whose front teeth had been knocked out by his parents by way of lamentations over the death of King Kamehameha I, caused much amusement. “We used to tell him”, Dana says, “that he ate Captain Cook, and lost his teeth in that way.”

“‘Aole, no! Me no eat Captain Cook. Me pikinini, small, so high, no more! My father see Captain Cook; me, no.’

“‘Yes, your people eat Captain Cook.’

“‘No, New Zealand Kanaka eat white man; Sandwich island Kanaka, no. Sandwich island Kanaka ua like pu na haole, all'e same a' you.’

“Their customs and manner of treating one another, show a simple, primitive generosity, which is truly delightful; and which is often a reproach to our own people. Whatever one has they all have. Money, food, clothes, they share with one another; even to the last piece of tobacco to put in their pipes. I once heard old Mr Bingham say, with the highest indignation, to a Yankee trader who was trying to persuade him to keep his money to himself, ‘No! Me no all'e same a' you!—

Suppose one got money, all got money. You,—suppose one got money—lock him up in chest. No good. Kanaka all'e same a' one!' This principle they carry so far that none of them will eat any thing in sight of others without offering it all round. I have seen one of them break a biscuit, which had been given him, into five parts, at a time when I knew he was on a very short allowance, as there was but little to eat on the beach."

When Mr Dana returned to Harvard to complete his course, let us hope his history marks were raised, and that he in due time learned that Francis Drake never entered San Francisco bay, that Cortés never was in that section of the world, and that no Jesuits, nor any other order of friars except the Franciscans, ever established a mission in Alta California. It is well to travel, to observe, to learn, to report, but Cambridge had better schoolmasters than California in the year 1835, and no doubt Mr Dana made use of them after the publication of his matchless little book.

The voyages of the Russians from north-eastern Asia began by order of the tsar Alexis in 1648, in seven kotchcs, or small decked boats, sent in search of the mouth of the Anadir, and of which Simon Deshnef gives an account. The Kurile islands were first seen from this direction in 1706, and ten years later was made the first voyage from Okhotsk to Kamchatka, an account of which is given in *Müller's Voyages*. In 1727 Vitus Bering coasted northward from Kamchatka far enough to satisfy himself that Asia and America were not united. Other expeditions surveyed the coast about this time, by land and sea, in which the shore of America was described, and the strait mapped by Mikhoil Goozdef.

The voyage of Vitus Bering, resulting in the discovery and occupation by Russians of northwesternmost America, was made by order of the empress Elizabeth in 1740. Following the swarming of the promyshleniki over the islands and main land of Alaska, the more immediate result of Bering's explorations were several Russian voyages of discovery, among them the expedition of Korovin in 1762, from the mouth of the Kamchatka river to Umnak island; the voyage of Glottof to Unalaska and Kadiak; the voyage of Lieutenant Synd in 1764; the government expedition to Unalaska under Krenitzin, and the surveying expedition of Zaïkof to Copper

island, not to mention the adventures of Benyovski, Delarof, Pribylof, Shelikof, and others, mostly for furs.

Among the European powers first officially to visit and observe what Russia was doing in this quarter was Spain, Juan Perez appearing in the ship *Santiago*, under instructions from Revilla Gigedo in 1774, the *Sonora*, Bodega y Cuadra commander, coming to Alaska the following year. England put in an appearance in the person of Captain Cook, and after him came the Frenchmen La Perouse and Marchand; more Englishmen, as Meares and Portlock and Dixon; other Spaniards—Martinez, Haro, and Fidalgo with other scientific and commercial expeditions like those of Vancouver and Billings, not to mention the colonization, mission, and fur-hunting efforts of the Russians themselves in the persons of Shelikof, Baranof, and Konovalof. Meanwhile were accomplished the organization of the Russian American Fur company, the founding of Sitka, the settlement of Yakutat bay, and the later visits of Krusenstern, Lisiansky, Rezanof, Golovin, Astor's ship *Enterprise*, and Kotzebue.

Attention has been frequently drawn to the facility with which railway and telegraph lines can be carried across Bering strait. An expedition was sent out in 1865 under the auspices of the Union Telegraph company for the survey and construction of a telegraph line to Sitka, and thence to the continent of Asia. After two years of effort and an expenditure of \$3,000,000 the enterprise was abandoned, chiefly owing to the successful laying of the Atlantic cable in the meantime.

CHAPTER XXII

SOUTH SEA ISLES

THE islands of the south Pacific are many, and have many names, both as groups and individually, though some have none at all, and indeed are not worth naming. There are Micronesia, or 'little islands'; Polynesia, or 'many islands'; Melanesia, another 'many islands'; and Gilbert and Philip, and Caroline and Marianne, and Solomon, and the rest, not to mention those having true names, as Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti, and Tokelan.

Speaking generally, the terms Polynesia, and South sea islands, signify those innumerable clusters lying mostly south of the equator, and altogether south of north latitude 10°. Conspicuous among them are Tahiti, called by Captain Cook Otaheite, 108 miles in circumference, in the form of two peninsulas united by an isthmus, with a population early in the century of 10,000; the Society islands, population 20,000; the Marquesas, Navigators, Friendly, Fiji, and other groups. The Fiji islands are a valuable permanent possession of England's, favorable to extensive plantations of the most varied tropical products, which like those of Mauritius find a ready market at Australia and New Zealand, as well as in more distant parts. The South sea isles are many of them of coral, and round each coral isle is a coral reef, one or two miles distant from the shore, against which the waves perpetually play, rising into an aqueous wall ten or fifteen feet above the reef, and forming a most beautiful border. Within the circle the water is still and transparent, so that the bottom, paved with coral of every shape and hue, with the sportive fishes, is plainly visible. In most cases there is a gateway through which ships may enter the sparkling arena, and approach the island. The islands are overspread for the most part with a rich soil, with high mountains covered with verdure, and luxu-

riant valleys equal to any Persian paradise. The air is hot and humid, enervating to Europeans but satisfying to the natives. Whirlwinds, hurricanes, and other destructive storms are frequent, uprooting trees and demolishing dwellings; but trees quickly grow again, and houses if sufficiently humble may be reconstructed. The rainy season is from December to March, during which the water and lightning play mad pranks.

Vegetable life abounds. The trees are many, some of them remarkable for size, beauty, or usefulness. The foliage of the undergrowth is luxuriant and mostly evergreen, while fruits and flowers are everywhere. A fine timber tree is the apape, rearing to a height of fifty feet a straight and branchless trunk of salmon-color, two or three feet thick, and crowned by a tuft of pale green leaves. The tamanu is more like mahogany; the hutu resembles the magnolia; while the aoa is not unlike the banian. These more particularly on the lower levels. In the mountains the candle-nut is conspicuous, its white leaves lighting up the dark rich foliage of the forest. It is the nut, however, and not the leaves which constitutes the candle, being about the size of a walnut, and with the shell removed and strung on the rib of a cocoanut leaf, is used as a candle. A fine lamp-black is also made from the nut, which is used in painting canoes.

Several foreign plants, fruit-trees and others, were introduced to these islands by usurpers and navigators. Thus to the Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch the islands are indebted for the pineapple, fig, citron, and coffee plants, while Cook, Bligh, and Vancouver brought the vine, the orange, lime, and others. Native plants are many and prolific, as the vi, a bright yellow plum; the mape, a kind of chestnut. From the auti, or paper mulberry, is made cloth; the taro is an esculent root, prepared for eating like the bread-fruit; the yam is indigenous; sweet-potatoes are carefully cultivated; the banana is highly prized, as is also arrow-root, though the care of the latter involves too much labor for the indolent natives.

To the South sea islander the bread-fruit tree is the most useful, as indeed it is among the most beautiful of plants. Its height is usually fifty or sixty feet, with a trunk two or three feet in diameter; leaves of glossy dark green, indented like a fig-leaf, and more than a foot long; fruit oval, and six

inches thick. It is covered with a rough rind, at first of a pea-green, then brown, and when fully ripe of a rich yellow; it grows either singly or in clusters of two or three, at the end of the branch, to which it is attached by a short thick stalk. Several hundred of these clusters sometimes grow on a single tree, in beautiful and harmonious contrast with the surroundings. There are two or three crops a year. The fruit is never eaten uncooked; it is usually baked in an oven of heated stones, and eaten as bread. The tree is to the South sea islander what the pulque plant is to the Mexican, except that the one furnishes bread while the other gives drink; the trunk of the bread-fruit tree makes good timber, the wood being in color dark and rich, and of tough fibre. As there are many varieties of the tree, the wood is put to various uses, being good for building, for furniture, canoes, implements; in fact for all purposes. From the bark of the young branches is made cloth, while from the bark of the trunk exudes a gum with which leaks in canoes are stopped. Cloth is also made from the inner bark of the Chinese mulberry and the fig tree.

The cocoanut, next to the bread-fruit tree, is the most valuable plant of the South sea. A cylindrical trunk three or four feet in diameter and tapering to the top, composed of small tubes enclosed in rough bark, rises erect without a branch to a height of 60 or 70 feet, and is topped with long green leaves and bunches of fruit. It flourishes under almost any circumstances, on a barren strand, in a marsh, or on the sun-beaten mountain side, but is by no means averse to the fertile valleys. Mats, baskets, bonnets, and screens are made of the stalks of the leaves, which are sometimes fifteen feet long.

Early voyagers suffered severely from hunger thirst and sickness in navigating these waters, being mostly strange to them, and such islands as bring relief being often wide apart, and their existence or whereabouts not known. Scurvy, that dire dread of the sailor, which nothing but green food will keep away or cure, caused thousands thus to perish. Navarrete says that Quiros and some other captains distilled fresh from salt water on a scale sufficiently large for the requirements of the crew; but if done at all the way of it was not known to many.

Before the English came the Spaniards had seen and named Tahiti and Sagittaria, and the New Hebrides of Cook they

had called the archipelago del Espiritu Santo. After the expedition of Anton Abreu, and the establishment of Albuquerque in Malacca in 1511, the Malay archipelago, dimly depicted by Ptolemy, assumed more definite form. As the Dutch gained the ascendancy in the Moluccas, Australia began to emerge from the mists of the ages, so as to become visible to the eyes of the geographers. Then too began the epoch of Abel Tasman who had for his field of effort the Moluccas, or Spice islands, a term once applied to all the islands of the East Indian archipelago between Celebes and New Guinea, but later restricted to the Ternate group, the Batchian Obi Sula Ambon and other groups, and the Banda islands, the last named famous over all others for their excellent spices and nutmegs.

Alvaro Mendano, who crossed the Pacific in 1595, touched at the Marquesas, and named them in honor of his patron, the marques Mendoza, viceroy of Peru. After the death of Mendano his wife, Isabella Baretos, continued his enterprises in the Pacific until 1596. The isle of Papua, or New Guinea, and the island of New Holland were discovered in the early part of the sixteenth century. The voyage of Jorge de Menezes was made in 1526, and that of Alvaro de Saavedra to Papua in 1528, each of whom discovered many islands.

Among the islanders, thievery in early times was as common as it is among the continental powers of the present day, as we have seen. Besides the Marianne islands many another was called *Ladrones*, until of Thieves island there were so many that some of the names had to be changed. Now we must not blame the savages for stealing from the ships, for they knew no better; the mother praised her boy for bringing off good plunder; he was never troubled by an accusing conscience except when he came home empty handed. Nor must we blame the powers of Europe for stealing *Asias* and *Africas*, for they know no better; great praise they all receive for much killing and stealing, praise from priests and people, nor has one of them ever a troubled conscience, except when his neighbor gets more than he.

Cook found Tahiti under the rule of two feudal families, each with a king at their head, and the people enjoying many blessings, as cannibalism, circumcision, tattooing, polygamy, the taboo, and *kawa*, an intoxicating drink which they were

induced by the temperance men and missionaries to abandon when civilization brought them rum, which they liked better. The Australians were as low in the scale of humanity as the Patagonians or Californians. They were of dark complexion, coarse features, and had rude dwellings and implements. The Hawaiians he fancied of the same race as the South sea islanders, all having the same accomplishments, and indulging in the same kinds of food and drink. When the king of Fiji died, ten other men must die and keep him company; so it was when the king of Hawaii departed this life, he was not permitted to go alone.

Micronesia has a population of 94,372, which, apportioned properly among the four principal groups gives to the Marshall islands 13,000; to the Gilbert islands 35,200; Carolines, 36,000; Ladrões, 10,172. The natives of the Society islands are well-formed, tall, and strong; complexion olive, black coarse hair, the men wearing it long and the women cutting it short. Though the natives have features and characteristics in common, yet there appears to be the union of two races, one akin to the African negro, with black skin and crisp hair; the other, the Malayan, skin copper-colored, and hair black and glossy and worn long. Australasia is the more immediate home of the South sea negro. Tattooing obtains on most of the islands, burnt candle-nut mixed with oil forming the pigment, which is pricked in with sharpened bird or fish bone.

England, France, and Germany have ere this taken possession of and partitioned among them for the most part the South sea isles, until there is scarcely one left without annexation or a protectorate of some kind. Though geographically small, many of them, they are nevertheless important aside from trade considerations, as coaling and telegraph stations. In the divisions of the Solomon and Admiralty groups, and the Louisiade archipelago, it is to be noticed that discovery and original naming do not secure permanent possession, as England obtains the islands with French names, and the French those with English names. True, New Ireland and New Britain, in the Bismarck archipelago, attached to Kaiser Wilhelm Land, of German New Guinea, have been baptized anew as New Hanover, New Mecklenburg, and New Pomerania.

In Fiji England forbids liquor and war, and has brought immigrants and given the chiefs a culture system with favor-

able trade results. In New Caledonia the French have given little heed to the rights of the natives, appropriating to themselves their best lands without due compensation. In New Guinea the rights of natives to the soil have been fully recognized by England.

The pure Polynesian is of clear olive complexion, with black hair and eyes, a bright expressive face indicative of a happy contented heart; for he is indolent and pleasure-loving. The temperature of this particular ideal climate, of which there are several millions in the Pacific, is seldom above 80° or below 60°. It is a mistake, the popular impression that the whole south Pacific is unendurably hot in summer; some such idea prevails even with regard to southern California, which is by no means the south Pacific. Take for example San Diego, where I am now writing, ten miles back from the ocean; this region is regarded as specially a winter climate, and it is indeed superb in winter; but the summer climate is as good, or better, and taking it all in all, its equal does not exist elsewhere in the world. The absence of long heavy rains and of a redundant and decaying vegetation, the absence of windstorms, of the typhoons and tornados of Asia and the floods and hurricanes of midcontinent America, the absence of all those casualties elsewhere existing in whole or in part, as sun-strokes, lightning, and earthquakes; the absence of swamps breeding malaria, of excessive heat or cold, with the air cool and fresh from the ocean in summer and warm in winter, the temperature being thus remarkably even throughout the year, so much so that all the fault grumpy residents can find is expressed in the one word 'monotonous',—all together render this spot no less remarkable than delightful. Let it be once for all understood that the climate of San Diego is as exceptionally perfect, the air as deliciously sweet and satisfying in summer as in winter; and of the two, with all the world to choose from, I prefer the summer.

If tropical insular air is found oppressive to the unacclimated, it is because of its dampness rather than its high temperature. Where altitude can be attained, with some short remove from the sea, so that the winds can become dried somewhat in passing over the land, there is little that is enervating to Europeans in air below 100° in temperature, and the tropical shores of the Pacific are for the most part far below that

point. Though the temperature of the south Pacific island is high, and the heat in the lowlands stifling, it is not so hot as in the same latitude and at the same altitude in South America. Though but fifteen or twenty degrees from the equator, the islands are surrounded by a vast expanse of water where perpetual breezes equalize temperature, and cool and refresh the otherwise hot and arid land. Of course all these hot, moist lands are enervating to foreigners, but the interior of nearly all the large islands being hilly, or even mountainous, with sides covered with verdure, and at the base beautiful and luxuriant valleys, delightful climates may be found in many places.

Though frequent throughout the year, rains are heavy on most of the islands only from December to March, which is the rainy season there. Lightning and thunder play their part. Water-spouts present an unbroken line from sea to sky, a thick mist surrounding the liquid cylinder, while from within spiral jets of steam shoot up,—beautiful indeed when viewed in safety from the shore, but less sublime and worshipful when sending to destruction some unfortunate ship, or playing havoc with the small boats and huts along the beach. The western monsoon blows in the sea of Java in February.

A wonderful thing happens at times on the coast of China. At the mouth of the river where the flow ascends as it penetrates the bay with its gradually narrowing bottom, the tides make a brilliant display. Says a resident who has often witnessed them, and is referring specially to Hongkong: "All traffic in the town is for the time suspended. The hawkers cease to recommend their wares, the porters to unload their ships, which they abandon in the middle of the current. A moment suffices to give the appearance of solitude to the most laborious of the laborious cities of Asia. The centre of the river swarms with boats of every kind. Soon the flood announces its approach by the appearance of a white line stretching from one bank to the other. Its roar, which the Chinese compare to thunder, deafens the cries of the boatmen. It advances with a prodigious velocity, with the speed of a fast railway train, and at not less than thirty-five miles an hour. In appearance it resembles a massive wall of gleaming alabaster, or rather a foaming cataract, four to five miles in length, and thirty feet in height, moving in one immense mass. Soon it

reaches the advanced squadron of the fleet, which silently awaits its coming, with their bows turned towards the wave that threatens to overwhelm them. Every ship is carried safely and uninjured over the ridge of the undulating mass. The spectacle is full of strange interest when the flood has swept under half the flotilla, for some are then seen reposing on a perfectly tranquil surface, while by their side, in the midst of a frightful tumult, others are wildly staggering to and fro. The striking scene lasts but for a moment. The flood flows onward, diminishing in force and swiftness, and finally ceases to be perceptible at a distance, according to the Chinese, of about eighty miles. The interrupted traffic is gradually resumed, the ships are moored anew to the shore, women and children busy themselves collecting the objects lost in the melee, the streets are wet with spray, and the great canal is filled with ooze and mud."

Missionaries of the various sects and nations have always played a prominent part in the conquest and occupation of wild lands by European civilization. For next to conquest and cupidity as an agency of colonization comes proselyting, which indeed is but another form of cupidity, a laying up of treasures in heaven for future advantage instead of reaping the full and final rewards of faithful service in this life. Yet there was little to choose between the various kinds of conquest, temporal or spiritual, gold glory and godliness being one and inseparable in all spoliations of heathen lands.

And the soldier was usually willing to play the priest and the priest the soldier; for next to killing was converting, one or the other preceding, it did not much matter which. Among the early conquerors like Cortés and Pizarro, the soldier was no less ardent in spiritual conquest than was the priest in temporal warfare and victory. Even Magellan, from whom we might look for better things, was foolish enough to throw away his life in a religious brawl with savages. The regular missionary work of the Spaniards which followed conquest, the occupation of the wilderness and the erection therein of great agricultural and religious factories, were along more sober and humane lines, yet reaching the same end, death here and blessedness hereafter to the proselyte.

Modern missionary societies, even, do not scruple to set forth the secular advantages to accrue from spiritual efforts,

and though the present agents of christianity and civilization do not land on the South sea islands with drawn sword and boiling oil, as of old they landed on the islands and mainland of America, the worldly benefits considered are the same, and extermination no less sure.

To clear at any time any new land of its native inhabitants, all that is necessary is to introduce European epidemics, which always attend in greater or less degree European intercourse.

In our new policy of expansion, all the islands of the Pacific assume an importance to us not hitherto felt. Samoa, for example, while of no great industrial consequence, having a population of less than 34,000 and a commerce of only some \$600,000 a year, has now special value as a station on the route from San Francisco to Australia and New Zealand by way of the Hawaiian islands. It seems a somewhat insignificant affair, after such a windfall of islands as we have had, this little Samoan group in the south Pacific; yet upon the recent death of King Malietoa the question came up of a tripartite occupation by Great Britain, the United States, and Germany. The treaty made by these powers at Berlin in 1889 provided for the Samoan succession by election after the native method, but Germany seemed to prefer a division of the islands, which would give to the United States the smallest of the largest three, which is ours already, and contains the harbor and coaling-station of Pagopago. England would take the largest island, and Germany the one having the most trade. King Malietoa, while a scion of the true branch of cannibals, was a gentle savage, and loved his country, though fated to see it caught in the net of European diplomacy and dismemberment.

The Samoan islands belong to one of those several submerged mountain ranges that cross the Pacific in various places. Each island has its pet volcano, which however does not smoke at present, though the angry earthquakes frequently throw up mud from beneath the water. Savaii, the largest island and the most difficult of cultivation, being without rivers or other watering facilities, and with but one small harbor, is 40 by 20 miles in size. The next, Upola, has an area of 550 square miles, a fertile soil easily cultivated, and supports large and prosperous plantations. The town and harbor of Apia, the commercial metropolis of the group, is on the

north side of this island. Tutuila, third in size, being seventeen miles long by five miles wide, has one of the fine harbors of the world, the island being almost cut in twain by it. Sheltered by the high cliff, vessels lying here are beyond the reach of the hurricanes which so often visit these waters. Owing to England's objections to German proposals to take for herself all the agricultural and commercial advantages, leaving England a large but worthless island and the United States a harbor but with little land, there was for some time constant fear of international complications. Besides nine inhabited islands, there are a number of islets and rocks, of which birds and fishermen make some use.

It is over the three largest islands that the powers hold their solemn deliberations; they do not care for a rock or two more or less in the middle of the south Pacific. All these rocks islands and intervening waters, 1,700 square miles will about cover, and with the aid of the foreigners the 34,000 inhabitants will in due time make away with themselves, and then the powers can each stock its own island with its own people, should they happen to like out of door work in that climate. It is all very well to call such places a paradise, but that comes only as it was in Eden, where clothes are not required and there is no work to be done. A hurricane destroyed seven large warships, three American, three German, and one English, lying at anchor in the bay of Apia in March, 1889, which made international jealousy in this quarter rather an expensive pastime.

The controversy over the Samoan islands has been out of all proportions to their importance, which goes to show over how small a matter the powers of this world are prepared to fight. Indeed it seems necessary to fight sometimes, with or without a cause, if for nothing more than to give practice to costly standing armies and unemployed navies. A score of years ago there were on the Samoan, or Navigator's islands, certain English, American, and German resident business men. The Germans, thinking as usual to get the better of the others, sought annexation to their country, which would give them control of all the traffic, to the expulsion of the others. Hearing which England and the United States said, "Not so fast, friend," whereupon Germany dropped her armful of islands, and the three powers have been scowling at each other over them ever since.

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When in 1880 Malietoa had ascended the throne by succession, he was indignant over the arbitrary and unjust methods employed by the Germans, who had indeed no other right than might on those islands. Following the example of Cortés in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru, on some pretext the king was seized in 1887 by the German soldiers, and carried away a prisoner to the Cameroons. The country rose to arms, Mataafa, a kinsman, assuming the king's duties and prerogatives during his absence, the Germans meanwhile setting up a ruler to suit themselves in the person of Tamatese. The British and American governments then appearing, in 1889 Malietoa was recalled and reinstated, and the independence of the islands guaranteed.

By the treaty of Berlin, in 1889, a tripartite occupation of the Samoan islands was agreed upon by the United States, Great Britain, and Germany. For some time past Germany has seemed dissatisfied with a tripartite government, which is cumbrous, and desires a division. The United States has now a coaling-station, and harbor, Pagopago, on the smallest of the three largest islands. As the tripartite agreement of 1889 did not seem to work well, and as upon the death of Malietoa in 1898 fresh wranglings arose, threatening as it would seem the peace of the world, a great stir was made over the affair. Mataafa, who in 1893 had led a revolt against Malietoa, was permitted to return from exile, to add if anything to the complications. By agreement in 1881 between the United States, England, and Germany, Malietoa was made king of all Samoa, and Tamatese vice-king. When in 1887 Germany deported Malietoa to the Cameroons, and proclaimed Tamatese king, Mataafa, relative of the exiled king and representative of the royalist party, made war on Tamatese. Hostilities were active in 1893, when Mataafa was defeated and conveyed to one of the Union islands. Upon the death of Malietoa, Mataafa returned from exile and was elected king, though opposed by Tanus and Tamatese, the latter however withdrawing his opposition later in favor of Mataafa. Fighting, in which natives and foreigners participated, was frequent, until finally it was agreed to leave the question of succession to the United States chief justice, Chambers, who decided in favor of Tanus, and this being unsatisfactory to all but the adherents of Tanus, all went to war again. Still another complication arises in the

form of pressure on the British government from the Australasian colonists, who do not fancy the idea of armed Teutons on the Anglo-saxon highway across the Pacific.

East and west from Guam, islands extend for a distance of 2,500 miles. Those toward the east are the Marshall islands, 46 in number, comprising 150 square miles and 10,000 people, and of which possession was taken by Germany in 1885. Vegetation here is scant, the natives living chiefly on bread-fruit and cocoanuts, though bananas taro and yams are cultivated. Great Britain annexed the Gilbert group of the 16 Marshall islands, or rather coral reefs, in 1892. On them there is but little soil, and scant vegetation, save cocoanut and pandanus trees. There are here 40,000 persons living on 170 square miles of land. The ocean furnishes the greater part of their food.

The Caroline and Pelew islands, west of the Marshall group, were discovered by the Portuguese, claimed by the Spanish, and seized by the Germans, who however were forced to relinquish them. The Carolines extend east and west along the ocean for 2,000 miles, a little off from the direct course from Honolulu to Manila. They are situated near the equator, and consist of 43 low coral isles, and five basaltic islands, the latter from 800 to 2,800 feet above the sea, and surrounded by coral reefs. Nearly all of them have good harbors. They lie outside of the storm and earthquake belt; the climate is good, the air healthful, and the natives docile.

The Lew-chew islands, that is to say the Loo Choo of early navigators, between Japan and Formosa, are a remote upheaval of crystalline rocks, gneiss hornblende and granite, covered with sedimentary strata, and peopled partly by Japanese, though the real native is a type peculiar to itself. Within the full influence of the kuro-siro, or Japan current, the climate is warm and humid; snow never rests even on the highest mountain tops. For religion and philosophy they have Confucianism and Buddhism mixed, and for physical requirements they grow sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, the egg-plant, maize, wheat, rice, bananas, and taro; pine and sago trees grow themselves.

Though small in area, the Lew-chews are great in history. The eldest son of the first man and woman here began his reign 18,000 years ago, and many have been the dynasties since

then. Sometimes independent, sometimes belonging to Japan, or to China, they fought every thing in sight, the surviving remnant multiplying as opportunity offered. If protection was required from the emperor of China, commerce with that country grew; and so with regard to Japan. During periods of independence, as in the reign of Chang-tching, commerce greatly increased; Lew-chew became a great nation, the entrepôt between China and Japan, acting often as mediator between these nations. Fleets of vessels plied between these isles and Korea, Fionga, and Satzuma, and the ships of Lew-chew even entered the carrying trade of Japan and China, and sailed as far away as Malacca. These merchant-mariners were also priests upon occasion, or they would fight pirates whenever their interests appeared to demand it. In religion and morals they were equally pliable; the Jesuit missionaries had no difficulty in converting them to Christianity, and holding them there as long as they could perceive any special benefit from it; that subsiding, they fell back to the old staple article of their ancestors. Long ago whale ships touched at these isles when in distress; some of them are known to have made good their escape.

The Sulus are famous pearl fishers, the occupation now being more profitable than piracy. The pearl fisheries are of course held by the nobles, while the divers are slaves. They have a rule, sometimes followed, that the slave who secures a large pearl is entitled to his liberty, which if it be given him he is often at a loss to know what to do with it. Wild hogs and deer are common, and all domestic animals abundant.

Enter a Spice island store and one sees Chinese porters handling boxes of pimento, bales of cloves, and sacks of nutmegs, Chinese salesmen smiling in silks, Chinese accountants with their mechanical multiplication table, and their Chinese cashiers handling Mexican silver dollars. If you wish to change your rupees, you will find at the banking-house a Chinese teller as expert in handling coin and detecting short weight and counterfeits as any Lombard street money lender. The best hotel is a bungalow, where poisonous drinks made from rice and hemp are sold.

The harbor of Singapore is alive with shipping from every quarter, European and American, the junks from China also intermingling with the old Malay pirate vessels, now used for

better purposes. In the public square, which is the exchange, the merchants meet in groups and pleasantly gossip and discuss business.

The Spice islands are a land of enchantment, priests peopling them with gods and merchants filling them with gold, or things more precious than gold, as frankincense and myrrh, pearls and precious stones, fine spices and death destroying drugs. From hills of richest verdure one may gaze on cloud-encircling peak and coral sea. The air is perfumed with flowers, and scented with cinnamon, pimento, nutmegs, and cloves. But there is less of enchantment in a steamy, sticky atmosphere at a temperature of 95°; in living with lizards, cockroaches, flies, fleas, bugs, spiders, scorpions, centipedes, wood-leaches, ants, snakes, cobras, and the rest. The scenery is better than the vermin for purposes of enchantment,—shades of green, light upon the mountain sides, dark in the ravines, while embowering the Malay huts that line the shore are groves of palms and betel, and back among the hills dorian and mangosteen. The East India company took possession of the island of Penang, opposite Sumatra and near Malacca, and held it until 1857, when the British government assumed control.

Batavia, the capital of Java, where the Dutch are still in evidence, was called the queen of the east under the Dutch East India company régime, and it still fraternizes commercially with Ceylon and the Moluccas. Coffee and rice come first among the valued products of Java, where are made many mats from the cane which comes from Sumatra. Sandalwood of a delicate yellow color and fine fragrance grows in the mountains of Timor, and is exported largely to China for burning in the dwellings of the wealthy, and in temples. Here, also, an important article of commerce is the wax of the wild bees, which hangs from the trees in huge honey-combs.

CHAPTER XXIII

HAWAII, THE PEARL OF THE PACIFIC

SAYS the author of *Anson's Voyage*, writing in 1746, "It is indeed most remarkable, that by the concurrent testimony of all the Spanish navigators, there is not one port, nor, even a tolerable road as yet found out, betwixt the Philippine islands and the coast of California; so that from the time the Manila ship first loses sight of land, she never lets go her anchor till she arrives on the coast of California, and very often not till she gets to its southernmost extremity." Thus it would seem that when Cook came, a quarter of a century later, the existence of the Hawaiian islands was not known.

Although one of the Hawaiian islands was discovered by Gaetano in 1542, the fact seems to have been forgotten, by the commanders of the Spanish galleons, as well as by the pirates and circumnavigators, if indeed the discovery had ever been known by them. Whatever the secret archives of Spain may have contained, it is very certain that Spanish navigators did not know of the islands for over two centuries. Evidently Captain Cook knew nothing of them, nor any of the geographers, chart-makers, or navigators of his day. The memory of Columbus is honored as fully as if he had been the first to find America, as if he had been the first to deem it possible, or probable, that by sailing west, the other side of east might be found. So with regard to Captain Cook, who was a hired sailing-master ploughing in the Pacific a straight furrow from south to north, from the previously discovered South sea isles to the fur-seal lands of Vitus Bering, when he accidentally ran against this land.

In the Hawaiian group are eight large and seven small islands, the former mountainous, and some of them volcanic; the latter, little more than islets or rocks. The islands lie in midocean, just within the tropics, in latitude 20° more or less,

on nearly a straight line from Cuba to the Philippines. The eight large islands, with their total area of 6,740 square miles, are Hawaii, 4,210 square miles; Kahoolau, 63 square miles; Lanai, 150 square miles; Maui, 760 square miles; Molokai, 270 square miles; Oahu, 600 square miles; Kauai, 590 square miles; and Niihau, 97 square miles. Kauai is called the garden island from its well-watered and luxuriant vegetation. It is devoted largely to sugar and rice, with coffee possibilities. Maui has sugar plantations and coffee lands; Haleakala, the principal mountain of Maui, is covered with small farms growing potatoes, corn, beans, and pigs. Oahu, besides containing the capital, Honolulu, with 30,000 inhabitants, and extensive sugar lands, has in course of construction a railway to make the circuit of the island. The peaks of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa, Hawaii, each some 14,000 feet high, are on the largest and most important island agriculturally, and which gives its name to the group. Oahu holds the commercial and political supremacy in Honolulu, the capital and chief city, which is American, so far as occupied by Americans, and native where the natives dwell. Kilauea, on the Mauna Loa mountain, whose active crater is three miles wide, erupts 25 times as much as Vesuvius. It is always in action, but the great eruptions come periodically; one occurred in 1840, one in 1843, and another in 1852. An eruption in 1855-6 continued for fifteen months. Mauna Kea, 13,805 feet high, always wears a cap of snow, even in the hottest season. Weaimea rejoices in a broad breezy plain, a grand sweep of mountain curves, all intermingled with the variegations of mountains and sea, from the white snow on the ragged volcanic dome to the innumerable hues of green and blue and red and gold overspreading the foliage below.

Nature is still at work enlarging the borders of these islands by means of volcanic masonry, and there may be here another Australia in time. The flora too will increase and improve; there are no hurricanes, and thunderstorms are rare. The soil is prolific; a man can live on the products from 40 square feet of it, that is so far as food is concerned. An acre will grow 500 banana trees, yielding ten tons of fruit; there are two and a half tons of sugar to the acre. There is nothing like American farming on the islands; it is not necessary. Insectivorous birds should be propagated here for the benefit of horticulture.

Honolulu, the capital city of the Hawaiian islands, is constructed largely of one-story wooden houses, with government buildings, water-works, museum, and manufacturing establishments, electric lights and tramways. The harbor is ample, with good wharves, and has direct communication with most of the ports of the Pacific. Among the prominent edifices are the Executive building, the Oahu college, and the Kamehameha school. Many of the present native Hawaiians read and write English in addition to their own language. Besides schools there are libraries and churches; some of the stores are quite elegant, corresponding with those of the civilized world elsewhere, and all for the proper accommodation of the American English and native population. At the time of annexation there were a normal and training school, a minister of public instruction, reading circles, and several schools with foreign teachers. Modern industrialism has long held the attention of the islanders. The Kamehameha schools of manual training were established by the Princess Pauahi, the last of the Kamehamehas. The well-endowed Polynesian museum is housed in a massive stone building.

The first printing at the island was a school book in 1822, and two years later 2,000 natives, including the king and his chiefs, were able to read. Schools were established; and the days of Hawaiian feudalism were but just passed, when from the California coast came the children of Mexican rancheros for a better education than they could obtain at home. Laws and a written constitution were promulgated in 1840.

At the mission one sees here and there an old adobe with thick grass roof projecting six feet to shade the windows, the house itself embowered in palms and algarobas, while the night air is filled with the fragrance of hibiscus and oleanders.

An Hawaiian forest is a tangled mass of broad-leaved vegetation, like that of the banana tree, intermixed with the koa, or mahogany, and the green and silver leaved candle-nut, and a score of other forest trees and plants, with an undergrowth of grass ferns and flowers. But for the open ways cut by the wood-haulers these vast hot-beds of redundant nature would be impenetrable. Lining and over-arching the roads are mango caoutchouc and umbrella trees, bread-fruit orange and bamboo, monkey-pod, date and cocoa palms, and alligator pears, while at the houses and hamlets the moist air is heavy

with the odor of flowers. Paradise in the Pacific, the Hawaiian islands have been called, by those who knew nothing of the other paradise long ago established in these waters by one who knew little of either the Pacific ocean or of any paradise.

The capital and metropolitan city of the Pacific may yet be planted upon this pearl; the great ocean could find no more fitting place for a capital than these charming central isles. The war made plain to all what long had been plain to some that as a strategic outpost of the Pacific coast the islands were necessary to the United States, and must be held by no other power. With the conquest of Manila, and the unfolding of large American interests on the Asiatic shores, the question of Hawaiian annexation assumed a different shape. The islands then obviously became a necessity. A German or a Japanese flag floating over Honolulu might not imply hostile designs on our coast, but it would be a serious inconvenience to our oriental commerce. Americans who opposed the annexation of the Hawaiian islands need only to shut their eyes, and imagine how it would be with this outpost of the American coast, and *point d'appui* in the centre of the Pacific, in the hands of a hostile power.

Cattle-raising is the chief industry of Waimea, whose tableland, 2,500 feet in height, has an average temperature of 64°, with clear cool evenings, but moistened by rain or mist nearly every day in the year. Over this high level Mauna Loa sometimes throws a light such as enables one to read a newspaper at midnight forty miles away. But all the fierce eruptions to which these fiery hills are subject trouble not the gentle sheep that pasture on their slopes, nor yet the gentle shepherd, for that matter, particularly if he happens to be a mounted Chinaman or sleepy Kanaka. Coffee, fruit, and grazing lands are now offered at from \$10 to \$40 an acre. For the past half century the policy has been pursued by the government of selling lands at low prices for cash, and also of making long leases of large tracts. The terms have been so easy that the best lands are now practically monopolized by wealthy holders, who will sell only at a large price.

Coffee, sugar, rice, peanuts, hides, paddy, goat-skins, tallow, horns, fungus, sperm oil, cocoanut oil, whale oil, whalebones, paiai, shark's fins, betel leaves, tamarinds, sweet potatoes, bananas, pineapples, pulu cocoanuts, oranges, limes, and sandal-

wood are exported to the value of some \$2,000,000 annually. Coffee grows wild in almost all the valleys of the group, but some localities are better adapted to its culture than others. One of these is the Puna district, where its cultivation at Oloa has transformed a tropical forest into broad plantations, from 600 to 2,300 feet above the sea. Hilo, not far distant has rich soil, an ample rainfall, and good protection from the wind. Figs melons and potatoes, sugar-cane bananas and taro, bread-fruit and the vine, are all of prolific growth. These and other products are sent forth, and lumber from Puget sound brought in, with all the requirements of civilization from California. The pineapple though prolific is not indigenous to these isles, being brought hither by early navigators. Wilkes saw pineapples under cultivation near Kealahou bay, on Hawaii, in 1840. Maui shipped abroad 12,000 in 1850, and the export from all the islands in 1851 was 21,000. After this the industry languished for want of a market, but revived and was rapidly developed since 1883, when new varieties were introduced, and canneries later established.

Sugar-raising as an industry has been carried on in the islands for about sixty years. The beginning was small and the methods crude, but advance was rapid, so that for the last three decades sugar has been the mainstay of the islands. The product of 1897 is estimated at 250,000 tons. The increase of production is not due altogether to larger acreage, but to some extent to improved methods in both growing and manufacture. More sugar is obtained from an acre of ground now than formerly. And as the land on the islands adapted to sugar-raising is limited, and the most of it appropriated, the increase of production hereafter will not be great. Most of the cane-cultivation is on the lower levels of the four larger islands, Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai. The sugar industry has grown of late years, the plantations of Oahu, Hawaii, and Kauai producing largely. Good coffee is grown on the slopes of the Koua and Oloa districts. Of bananas and pineapples, the production can be made to supply almost any demand. Cotton is grown to some extent, and it is thought the production can be increased and made profitable. By turning the mountain streams into flumes, on the Hilo plantations, cane and wood may be floated down to the mills with comparatively little expense. From 25 to 300 mules are here employed in plough-

ing and other farm work, and hauling the sugar to the shipping station. A plantation making 750 tons of sugar a year employs 200 Chinamen and Kanakas, and 150 work animals. The Mexican system of peonage obtains to some extent, the wages, \$8 a month, being often advanced, and the laborer held for the debt, which is never paid.

We have now of banana lands all we shall ever require, in the West Indies and in the isles of the Pacific. Trees attain a height of 35 feet in places, and they love best the lowlands near the sea. The best banana farms are held and worked by Americans and Germans. The ground may be ploughed or not as the planter pleases, but in any event the undergrowth must be kept cut out. The grower receives from fifteen to thirty cents a bunch, at which price the industry is profitable. Yet the northern consumer will pay fifteen to thirty cents a dozen for what the planter gets one or two cents a dozen; indeed, a thirty cent bunch in San Francisco has often been retailed for ten dollars. With the various new industries and methods which will be introduced, the islands will increase in productiveness, their demand meanwhile increasing for products of the United States. American capital is there largely employed in the production of sugar, of which estates there are over sixty. Grain is also cultivated to some extent, and wool-growing is quite an industry.

A limited coöperation experiment is being tried in sugar-raising at the islands. Twenty-one white families cultivate 140 acres each, the men receiving \$18 a month wages and one-sixth of the profits on what they raise. This will help to prove whether or not white labor can be made profitable in this latitude. If in the mean time statistics are accurately kept, the results will be ready to be given to the scientific world in one or two hundred years. One firm has at its command \$25,000,000 of capital for the promotion of the sugar and coffee industries. This firm not only owns and operates large plantations on its own account, but loans money to smaller growers whose pledged product the capitalist secures at his own price. The erection of a central sugar factory in Antigua under government guarantee, for the relief of the West Indian sugar industry, is an indication on the part of England that serious disturbance of the market is expected by reason of important changes in the ownership of sugar

lands. Increase of Hawaiian products annually exported from 1887 to 1897: sugar, from 212,763,647 to 520,158,232 pounds; wool, from 75,911 to 249,200 pounds; coffee, from 5,300 to 337,158 pounds; rice, decrease, from 13,684,200 to 5,499,499 pounds. Wages of experienced hands and skilled laborers, \$15 to \$20 a month; plantation labor \$8 to \$12; domestic servants, \$16 to \$25; mechanics \$2.50 to \$4 a day.

Scattered over the eight islands comprising the former Hawaiian republic were in 1896, when the census was taken, 108,366 people; of whom 31,000 were natives; 8,500 half breeds; 24,000 Japanese, whose numbers since then have increased; 15,000 Portuguese; 21,600 Chinese; 2,250 English; 1,430 Germans; 3,086 Americans; and of other nations 1,500. The Asiatics work in the sugar-cane; the Portuguese have little farms of no great value in the high lands, and supply Honolulu with flowers and vegetables. Among all these strata of Hawaiian humanity there are not more than 7,000 or 8,000 possible voters, and not more than half of those who can vote care to vote, and but a small proportion of those who would care to exercise the right of suffrage can only vote for one branch of the legislature, a property qualification being required of voters for members of the senate. By annexation, 31,000 native Hawaiians became citizens of the United States. The constitution provides that white persons and those of African descent may become citizens, and no others, and two courts in the United States have decided that an Hawaiian islander is neither white nor black, and therefore cannot become a citizen of the American republic. White people residing in the islands did not renounce their original nationality and become Hawaiian citizens, but lived there under a system of denizenship, said denizens having a right to vote and take part in the government.

Whatever the cause, the native race is disappearing, nor can its decadence be arrested. When under the reciprocity treaty industrial development increased, it was evident that population must be increased, particularly in the direction of plantation laborers. The matter was taken up by the government, and 11,000 Portuguese from the Azores were imported. Industrious and thrifty, they rose in time to be teamsters, mechanics, traders, and fruit-growers. In 1896 they numbered 15,191. The Chinese who have come to the islands are of

a better class than the Japanese, who still swarm into the country in great numbers. Of the 7,000 Americans, English, Germans, and Norwegians, 2,200 were born at the islands.

Cook estimated the population at 300,000, and though guesswork he was not far from right. Both men and women are strong and well built, with features coarse yet pleasing. The Chinese came since then; they now cultivate rice, the grain here being larger and more translucent than in their own country. The natives wear but little, and sometimes no clothing, and the taro root is their staple food. A little grass hut with one room is the typical native home, with dogs, pigs, and lizards scattered about. The family feed with their fingers from a calabash of poi placed on a mat in the middle of the floor. The taboo system was equivalent to a safe-deposit company with two sets of officers, one to watch the other. For it was death to break the taboo of whatever kind,—to enter the house or grounds tabooed, to eat tabooed food or wear tabooed clothes, or steal tabooed property.

The story of Hawaii, like any tale of barbaric decadence, is soon told. The Hawaiian islanders are of the Malayo-Polynesian race, reddish brown skin, raven black hair, broad face, lustrous brown eyes, thin beard, flat nose, and thick lips, the chiefs alone, and their families being tall. When discovered by Captain Cook in 1778 each island had its separate chief. He who ruled Hawaii at that time was succeeded at his death by Kamehameha, who induced Vancouver in 1792 to instruct him in the art of building ships, with which he increased his commerce, and went to war with the chiefs of the other islands, finally conquering them all.

The Kamehamehan dynasty, begun by the first of that name, the Cæsar of Hawaii, the lion-hearted warrior and wise lawgiver, and ended in the degeneration of the race and final union with the United States of America. It was Kamehameha II who fought and conquered the other chiefs, and brought the petty principalities of all the islands under his sway. Little is known of this able and arbitrary ruler, who died while on a visit to England in 1819; the remains were brought home in the ship *Blonde*, Lord Byron, cousin of the poet, commander. Kamehameha III, was a mild and lovable prince, from a Polynesian point of view, though somewhat addicted to rum and religion. This good man, as the missionaries called him, died

in 1854, and was succeeded by an adopted son, Prince Alexander Liholiho, as Kamehameha IV. He also was renowned for piety and love of rapid living; he was pronounced by the missionaries the prince of good fellows, a nobleman of nature and elect of heaven; he did not live long. This fourth Kamehameha was a son of Kekuanoa and the high priestess of the Kamehamehas, and by reason of his superb physique and kingly bearing he was chosen by Kinau, daughter of the first sister of the third Kamehameha, for her husband.

And now came a king who knew not the missionaries, and his name was Lot, that is to say Kamehameha V. He was the elder and only surviving brother of his predecessor, and being a stern man with an iron will, on whom the mantle of the first Kamehameha had fallen, he determined to rule for himself, without the aid of the white man, be he missionary or Lawyer Lee, who had framed the liberal constitution of 1852. The new Kamehameha said he would make a constitution for himself. So he called a convention for that purpose; and when the convention declared that only a legislature could change the constitution, he swore he would be both convention and constitution, and went to ruling accordingly. This man also died and was buried; and here endeth the legitimate line of the Kamehamehas.

The next king, the sixth in order of succession, was Lunalilo, son of a high priestess. He made his way by the force of indifference and love of liquor, had himself promptly proclaimed and his election consummated and confirmed by the legislature then in session, all within the period of ten days. This was in 1873; and it was a work well and quickly done when we consider the country and the climate. In or out of his cups, he was a man of wit and probity; he was a bright and shining meteor, going out in darkness and death after a reign of thirteen months.

David Kalakaua, as seventh king of all the Hawaiians, comes next; in 1874 he made a tour round the world, reaping a harvest of information and ideas. Meanwhile, during David's reign the foreigners, mostly Americans, already controlled the commercial interests of the country, and believing that something better might be had for the government than a native figure-head, they quietly deposed the queen and set up a republic with Sanford B. Dole as president, who applied

for the annexation of the islands to the United States, which was consummated in the early part of 1898.

Under the native régime the government was an hereditary and constitutional monarchy. A house of nobles, twenty in number, was appointed by the crown, and a house of representatives, of from 24 to 40 members, was elected biennially. Then came the usual ministers, justices, and petty officials, and a standing army of 60 men.

Mixed up between the missionaries and sailors, English, Yankees and the rest, the depopulation of the islands set in and went with a rush. This began about 1820, the English giving their isles of Sandwich a rest of half a century after their loss of Captain Cook. It was about this time that dissensions among the natives themselves arose, and in 1826 came the American Captain Jones, who negotiated the first commercial treaty with the Hawaiian king, which though in the main observed was never ratified by the United States. French priests made some trouble there in 1827, as they are doing now in China, but the captain of the United States ship *Potomac*, who was there in 1827, put things to rights. Under the guns of his ship, the *Acteon*, Lord Russell negotiated a so-called treaty in 1836. Other visitors were Laplace, in the French ship *L'Artimise*, in 1839, who forced a treaty of commerce and religion on the natives, threatening to fire on them in case of refusal; and Lord George Paulet, in the British ship *Carysfort*, in 1843, who took possession of the islands for his queen, and forced a deed of cession from Kamehameha III. But the matter was not allowed to rest there. The island king appealed to the United States; but long before the message could reach President Tyler, to whom it was addressed at Washington, Commodore Kearney was there in the United States ship *Constellation*, protesting against the cession to England, Admiral Thomas, who arrived shortly after in the British ship *Dublin*, sustaining him; so that the act of Paulet was annulled, and under a signed agreement the Hawaiian flag was restored to its former place. By Webster in 1842, and by Calhoun in 1844, the independence of the islands was recognized, England and France in 1843 agreeing reciprocally "to consider the Sandwich islands as an independent state and never to take possession, either directly or under title of protectorate, or under any form of any part of the territory

of which they are composed." Notwithstanding which, after certain unreasonable and extortionate demands, the French in 1849 seized the islands; and again in 1851 threatened bombardment, but were finally driven away by England and the United States.

When King Lunalilo, the last of his race, died in 1874 without issue or successor, the legislative assembly, of which ere this the natives had been taught the use, proceeded to elect a sovereign. Two factions, the one of Queen Emma and the other of Kalakaua, appeared as claimants, with threats of violence. Appeal was made to the American minister, who called on two United States warships then in port to preserve order. Marines were also landed from British ships, and peace was preserved.

Says Minister Comly: "In the legislative assembly of 1878 a large party of British sympathizers attacked the government severely, and threatened the reciprocity treaty so seriously that I wrote another note of warning and protest to the minister of foreign affairs." Secretary Evarts, in August, 1878, writes to Mr Comly: "You will endeavor to disabuse the minds of those who impute to the United States any idea of further projects beyond the present treaty."

An insurrection which broke out in July, 1889, by 100 Hawaiians under two half breeds, Wilcox and Boyd, was suppressed by marines from the United States ship *Adams*. King Kalakaua died in January 1890, and was succeeded by his sister Lilio Liliuokalani, who, owing to her reactionary policy, was deposed in January 1893, and five commissioners were sent to the United States asking annexation. The Washington government rejected the proposal, Secretary Blaine writing in December, 1881, "This government firmly believes that the position of the Hawaiian islands as the key to the dominion of the American Pacific demands their benevolent neutrality, to which end it will earnestly coöperate with the native government." In December 1887, the British minister at Washington handed the following to the United States secretary of state: "England and France, by the convention of November 28, 1843, are bound to consider the Sandwich islands as an independent state, and never take possession, either directly, or under the title of a protectorate, or any other form, of any part of the territory of which they are composed. The best

way to secure this object would, in the opinion of her majesty's government, be that the powers chiefly interested in the trade of the Pacific should join in making a formal declaration similar to that of 1843, above alluded to, and that the United States government should, with England and Germany, guarantee the neutrality and equal accessibility of the islands, and their harbors to the ships of all nations without preference."

Thus the acquisition of Hawaii had been discussed by American statesmen for half a century, and the desirability of the measure practically determined. It was understood for the most part in Europe, no less than in Hawaii, that annexation to the United States would be a fate most fortunate for the islands, and certainly of no disadvantage to the American republic. The United States had no apology to offer the world for the act of annexation. It was a connection unsought for, and not wholly to be desired. Many good men in the United States were opposed to stepping out into the ocean for island domain. On the other hand, as at Cuba, we could not stand by and see a foreign power take possession of the islands. They belong naturally to us, as a strategic outpost if for nothing else. They came of their own accord and begged us to take them, and it was not until after due deliberation that we accepted the gift.

After the death of Lunalilo, the cry was raised, "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," but there were not enough Hawaiians of the right kind to hold Hawaii. Two candidates appeared at an election called to choose a sovereign, at which Kalakaua received thirty-nine votes and Emma six votes. Emma's retainers did not like this, and a riot ensued in which Emma had the worst of it, leaving King Kalakaua to reign in peace, but without much money. One of the arguments used for annexation was that if it was not done there would be a revolt against the Dole government and an attempt to place Princess Kailulani on the throne. Even after she had lost her kingdom, Princess Kailulani had many suitors for her hand, not all of whom she promised to marry. Princess Kailulani, heir to the throne lost to the Kalakaua dynasty by her aunt Liliuokalani, died on the 6th of March, 1899. Her mother was the princess Miriam, and her father A. S. Gleg-horn, a Scotch merchant.

Sanford B. Dole, president of the Hawaiian republic at the

time of the annexation, and a strong promoter of that measure, was born in the islands of missionary parentage in 1844. He graduated at Williams college, Massachusetts, read law in Boston, and practised his profession at Honolulu, ever sustaining a high reputation for ability and integrity.

As each person living his life on this planet has his days of youth and romance, so the people of every land have their Golden Age, at which time life is loveliest and best. Now the Golden Age of this pearly archipelago was prior to the advent of Kamehameha the Conqueror, when each island had its own king, and there was just fighting enough among them to keep all healthy and happy. Could we go back far enough into the prehistoric ages, we should find that several chieftains once ruled on each island, which made it hot for them at times. Like Peter the Great of Russia, this first Kamehameha lived for his people, and for people not his as well, that is for the inhabitants of the other isles, whom he made his people, and their lands his country; after which he loved them all as his own; and were they not his own, since he had fairly and honorably appropriated them, and was strong enough to hold them? Few of the natives care who is king or president so long as they have enough to eat; they care not for citizenship, nor do they desire participation in public affairs; if they are left alone and have no taxes to pay they are content. They care little for clothing, and use but little of it. They make huts of grass to live in, or they will dwell in content on the grass without any hut. As a rule taro root and cocoanuts are not difficult to obtain, and with these in plenty they are well off, though mango and bread-fruit are good for a change.

On the 2nd of August 1898 Queen Liliuokalani returned to Honolulu, and was received by her people midst chaunts and croonings, and witch-dancing, mingled with tears and low-cries of aloha! aloha! Though alas! but an uncrowned woman, she was still queen to the poor and ignorant king-worshippers of her native isle, Hawaii nei! Queen Liliuokalani felt that she should receive remuneration for the loss of her throne and the revenue from the crown lands; but while congress delayed, the members being absorbed as to their reelection, the queen was met with what the gods give their best beloved, death.

Much is said, more perhaps than the matter justifies, of the wisdom of taking these islands, and holding them as a territory

of the United States. It is not a question of such paramount importance, one way or the other, as certain politicians would have us believe, though it seems clearly to me better for us to have them. The native population need not give us much concern, not more surely than our own savage wards, whom we have caged for the most part in reservations, all there are left of them. Native nations when not wanted have an amiable way of disappearing before a superior race, and the better the treatment, the more they are fed by civilized condiments, the quicker they pass away. Our savages are all gentlemen; like the great lords of Europe, the noble red man of the forest will not work. Kanakas are lazy enough, and will be so as long as obesity is a standard of beauty, but they are not quite so bad as our aboriginals. Hence let us hope they may live longer, and perhaps even yet breed for us policemen and presidents.

Senator Hoar of Massachusetts favored annexation perfunctorily, not because it was of so much importance, as he said but because it was of so little importance. He did not regard it as the initial step toward imperialism, and the annexation of more territory; which position, taken by one of our most able statesmen, was regarded by many as a negative condemnation of the measure. Yet while protesting against what might follow annexation, he acquiesced in it, if for no other reason than that our assuming the responsibility of sovereignty over a people less in number than one of our fourth rate cities was not a question worth so much discussion. If his party, or any party, wanted the islands, they could have them so far as he was concerned.

The annexation of Hawaii was an advance in the interests of commerce and of national development. In the message of the executive to congress in December 1897, the policy of the government was clearly defined. The president said: "While consistently disavowing from a very early period any aggressive absorption in regard to the Hawaiian group, a long series of declarations through three-quarters of a century has proclaimed the vital interest of the United States in the independent life of the islands and their intimate commercial dependence upon this country. At the same time it has been repeatedly asserted that in no event could the entity of Hawaiian statehood cease by the passage of the islands under the domination or influence of another power than the United

States. Under these circumstances the logic of events required that annexation, heretofore offered, but declined, should in the ripeness of time come about as the natural result of the strengthening ties that bind us to those islands, and be recognized by the free will of the Hawaiian state."

Annexation being accomplished, certain improvements were deemed desirable; as, for example, the construction of barracks, the laying of a system of telegraphic cables connecting the islands, railways, and other public works. The laws in force in the islands at the time of annexation were to remain valid until superseded by new laws. Five commissioners were appointed by the president to visit the islands and lay before congress a plan for their government. The commissioners were S. M. Cullom and R. R. Hitt of Illinois, John T. Morgan of Alabama, and S. B. Dole and W. F. Frear of the Hawaiian islands, it having been stipulated in the annexation act that three of the commissioners should belong to the United States and two to the islands. Among other schemes it was suggested that the government of Hawaii should be similar to that of the District of Columbia, a ward of the United States, as it was thought that this system would escape the complications of a territorial government with modified suffrage. A simple territorial form, like Alaska and the others, was finally deemed best.

In a preamble to the resolutions of congress providing for annexation is given the offer of the Hawaiian republic to cede all of its sovereignty and absolute title to the government and crown lands. The cession was then accepted by resolution, and the islands declared annexed. The public debt of Hawaii, not to exceed \$4,000,000 was assumed; Chinese immigration prohibited; and all treaties with other powers were declared null.

At the time of annexation the currency unit of value was the same as in the United States. The islanders made silver and paper money; their gold was all of American mintage. The Hawaiian silver money amounted to \$1,000,000; total money in circulation \$3,500,000; total revenue, 1896, \$2,283,070; public debt, \$4,101,174. The labor market was reported overstocked; wages about the same as in the United States, except for farm hands, which were lower. The islands import all the necessities of life which they use, except sugar, fruit,

and vegetables which they export. Imports \$9,000,000; exports \$16,000,000, nearly all of which business was done with the United States.

Upon the annexation fifty-five vessels, most of them engaged in the interisland trade changed registry. Twenty-four were steamers, four full-rigged ships, ten barks, and seventeen schooners. Most of the interisland transportation was performed by two companies with fifteen steamers. There were three railways, the Oahu; the Kahului railway on Maui island; and the Hawaiian, on the island of Hawaii.

In 1876 when the reciprocal treaty was made there were twenty-six planters producing annually 20,000,000 pounds of sugar; in 1896 the islands sent to the United States 350,000,000 pounds of sugar. The price in the United States was based on the cost of the product from Cuba, Brazil, and the Philippine islands, which paid a duty of two cents a pound. Upon the importation of 1896 this would be \$7,000,000, which amount was saved to the planters of the Hawaiian islands by reason of the treaty. Hence we were open to grave doubts as to their sincerity when they professed opposition to annexation. So long as the wealthy sugar planters by spending their money could dominate a weak government, indicate the laws they would like made, and have things pretty much their own way they were content, well knowing that under United States government they would have fewer special advantages over others.

The effect of annexation on sugar was to increase the production of cane and limit the cultivation of the sugar beet; but some time would elapse before the new cane-fields attained a high state of cultivation. The economic oppression to which the newly acquired lands have so long been subject, gives assurance that with the removal of impediments industries of all kinds will greatly expand. As Hawaiian sugar was admitted free into the United States under a reciprocity treaty, the sugar interest opposed annexation, as the cane-fields of Hawaii would then remain permanently within the tariff regulations of the United States. The beet-sugar men desired both to defeat annexation and repeal the reciprocity treaty, that thus no more cane-sugar land might be brought into the union, and no more sugar be admitted free of duty,—a policy so selfish as to react on its advocates.

There were other issues however which might affect unfavorably the monopolists who were making rapid fortunes prior to annexation. If there were no duties on sugar, a tax might be imposed, and monopoly rendered less oppressive. Contract labor, such as rules in the islands, is contrary to the labor policy in the United States, and the sugar-growers affirmed that they could make no money without contract labor. Chinese and Japanese labor has been in good supply at \$15 a month, the laborer to furnish his own food. These wages were sure to advance under the exclusion laws of the United States. The application of the coasting laws to the trade between Hawaiian and United States ports it was claimed by those interested would prove detrimental to shipping.

There was danger that the islands would be flooded with Japanese shortly after annexation, and measures were discussed to stop the influx. Anticipating annexation and labor complications, the planters obtained permits from the Hawaiian government to import 6,000 contract Japanese, but the enlargement of the sugar industry was so great that more laborers were required from some quarter. Complaints were made to the Chinese and Japanese consuls that their people were imposed upon and badly treated by the overseers, and a guarantee was required from the planter's association that these impositions should not continue.

Japan, following the lead of civilized nations usual in such cases, made a formal protest against the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, on the ground that the equilibrium of the Pacific powers would be disturbed, the rights of Japanese subjects in the islands imperilled, and payment of the Japanese debt delayed. Reply was made that the United States would assume no treaty obligations of the Hawaiian government, but had no intention of disturbing friendly relations, and did not believe that there was any thing in the treaty prejudicial to the rights of Japan. There were 25,000 Japanese in Hawaii having property rights and the privilege of citizenship: in case of annexation the former would be respected, but they could not become citizens of the United States, neither directly nor by way of Hawaiian annexation, being Asiatics and neither white nor black. Said the *London Graphic*, "Japan is likely to defeat her own ends by addressing a bellicose remonstrance to the United States on the subject of Hawaii. The policy

of annexation is not very popular in America, but any attempt at dictation will only be resented, and will strengthen the case for the annexationists by the suggestion of an eventual Japanese annexation."

The principal journal of Russia, the *Novoe Vremya*, also entered a non-official protest against annexation, upon the general principle that the power of the United States must be restricted; more likely, however, because by annexation Russia would lose the opportunity to secure Korea in exchange for assisting Japan to Hawaii. Great Britain however was benignant. When Mr Becket in the house of commons asked if this most important coaling station was to be allowed to pass to the United States without protest, Mr Curzon, parliamentary secretary for the foreign office replied that England's rights according to international law would be fully maintained, with which retort cavillers were obliged to be content.

Until recently Japan allowed none of her subjects to go to the Hawaiian islands except under labor contracts. Then was made a treaty with the Hawaiian government which gave unlimited admission to Japanese, and five lines of steamers were put on between Japan and Honolulu, each making monthly trips, and each steamer bringing to the islands from 200 to 800 Japanese. To check this avalanche, the Hawaiian government passed a law that no person might land without having fifty dollars in his possession.

During the insurrection of 1895 arrests of some 200 persons were made by the Hawaiian government, among them being Japanese, some of whom were kept in jail one or two months. For this the Japanese government wanted \$200,000, but would take \$75,000. Without admitting the justice of the claim, President McKinley preferred all such matters settled before annexation, and the Hawaiian cabinet ordered the money paid accordingly.

When on the 13th of July the steamer *Coptic* arrived at Honolulu with information that the islands were indeed part of the United States, the inhabitants broke forth in wild excitement. Men shouted until they were hoarse; steam whistles were turned on; bands played, guns boomed, fire works were set off, and flags and gay decorations covered the buildings. A silver cup was presented to the captain of the steamer for bringing the news.

CHAPTER XXIV

PHILIPPINE ARCHIPELAGO AND ASIATIC ISLES

IN 1559 the viceroy of New Spain was ordered by King Philip to send forth an expedition for the temporal and spiritual conquest of the Philippines, which was done. With Legaspi and his soldiers were sent "holy guides to unfurl and wave the banners of Christ in the remotest parts of those islands, and drive the devil from the tyrannical possession which he has held for so many ages, usurping to himself the adoration of those people". And Christianity after the Spanish fashion has reigned there ever since.

The conquest of Malacca, in the Golden Chersonese, by the Portuguese in 1511, gave knowledge of islands of spices which Antonio de Abrego sailed to see. After finding the Moluccas he returned and told Captain Fernan Andrada, who told Francisco Serrano, who visited the Spice islands and fought the pirates. All which coming to the ears of Magellan led to his discovery. After that King Philip, being advised by the viceroy of New Spain and the friar Andres de Urdaneta that the voyage to the Spice islands and Magellan's important discovery might be more easily than elsewhere made from the west side of New Spain, ordered equipped, as before mentioned, a fleet for the South sea, in the port of Navidad, the command of which was given to Miguel Lopez de Legazpi, a resident of New Spain, and native of Quipuzcoa. Sailing in 1564 with five ships and 500 men, Legazpi crossed the ocean and anchored at Cebu. After subduing this island for Spain, the Spaniards turned to Luzon, and entering Manila bay saw a town on the shore by a river, which was fortified and defended by a chief named Mora. Across the river was another town, whose chief was Matanda, also fortified by stockades and defended with bronze cannon. Taking possession May 9, 1571, Legazpi founded the town of Manila. The chiefs found there

were called rajas; and prior to the Indian invasion of which they were a mark, the Chinese were masters, and they still sent every year their ships to Manila bay with iron copper and gunpowder, sulphur quicksilver and flour, besides cotton silk and porcelain. The Japanese came also from Nagasaki to trade; and being then more arrogant and less enlightened than now, they haughtily demanded for their emperor suzerainty over those isles; but the governor, Perez Gomez, having in 1590 fortified the town, casting cannon and erecting a battery on the point, building also a cathedral and other stone edifices, paid no attention to the high-flying demands of the Japanese.

During the seventeenth century war between the Dutch and Spanish raged fiercely even at this distance from home, the Hollanders attacking the Manila fleets to the great damage of the latter. Once a Dutch fleet arrived off Manila bay which might easily have captured the city had the Hollanders known that the governor was ill and unprepared for them. There was a Spanish colony at Formosa which suffered at the hands of the Dutch. In 1662 the Chinese living in Manila were goaded into revolt by the impositions of the Spaniards, who thereupon rose up and slew them to the number of 24,000. In 1762 the British admiral, Cornish, having received instructions to take the city, landed troops and held the place for \$4,000,000 indemnity, which was but partly paid.

Very long ago Antonio de Morga, he who fought the Dutchman Van Noort off Manila, wrote a history of the Philippine islands, at the end of which he gave some interesting facts regarding the early navigation between New Spain and the Philippines. He says that immediately after the conquest of the islands by Legaspi, Navidad was the port of outfit for westward bound ships from New Spain, and afterward Acapulco. The time of departure was usually in February, but not later than the 20th of March, so that the ships would not arrive at the Philippines during the westerly monsoon, which begins there in June.

The coast of Mexico being subject to calms, the course pursued by the galleons on leaving Acapulco was southward to latitude 11° or 10° north, where the trade wind is steady and reliable, thence veering back to latitude 13°, and then straight to the Ladrões. Along this line the ships would

sail for seventy days, often times without shifting sail or seeing land. Returning, all was not quite so serene. Leaving Manila with the beginning of the westerly monsoon, they sailed northeast, and even north on meeting the easterly winds, continuing this course until beyond the limits of the trade wind, when they made their way eastward to the American coast as best they could, the time occupied in the east-bound passage being usually five or six months. At the start, as Admiral de Morga says, "having gone about 600 leagues from the Philippines, they pass between islands which are seldom seen, and meet with tempests and cold weather in the neighborhood of the islands Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata."

Says a Spanish pilot at Manila a century or so later: "The navigation from the Philippine island to New Spain not being performed by the general trade wind, but with all winds, there can be no fixed route. But it is always the practice to sail to the north, leaving now as formerly the islands on the right hand. An intermediate port between the Philippines and New Spain would at all times be convenient." It is somewhat singular that the Spaniards could sail back and forth every year for 200 years, passing so near the Hawaiian islands both in going and returning, passing them on either side in every voyage, without once seeing this intermediate port which would prove so convenient.

It is interesting to read now what was written of the Philippines by an Englishman a century and a half ago. "The island of Luconia", as the author of *Anson's Voyage* calls Luzon, "though situated in the latitude of 15° north, is esteemed to be in general extremely healthy, and the water that is found upon it is said to be the best in the world. It produces all the fruits of the warm climates, and abounds in a most excellent breed of horses, supposed to be carried thither from Spain. It is well seated for the Indian and Chinese trade, and the bay and port of Manila, which lies on its western side, is perhaps the most remarkable on the whole globe, the bay being a large circular basin, near ten leagues in diameter, great part of it entirely land-locked. On the east side of this bay stands the city of Manila, which is large and populous. The port peculiar to the city is called Cabite, and lies near two leagues to the southward; and in this port all the ships employed for the Acapulco trade are usually stationed."

The cargo of the galleons, intended to supply the wants of Mexico and Peru as well as those of Spain, consisted, as an eighteenth century writer declares, of "Spices, all sorts of Chinese silks and manufactures, particularly silk stockings, of which I have heard that no less than 50,000 pair were the usual number shipped in each cargo; vast quantities of Indian stuffs, as calicoes and chints, which are much worn in America, together with other minuter articles, as goldsmith's work, which is principally wrought at the city of Manila itself by the Chinese; for it is said that there are at least 20,000 Chinese who constantly reside there, either as servants, manufacturers, or brokers."

Although Spain, by the discovery of the Philippine islands, acquired no property in the Spice islands, no sooner was Manila founded than it became the most important city, not only of the Spanish possessions in that quarter, but of all the southeastern isles of Asia, as well as of the coast of China. Communication was soon established with the coast of America, first with Callao, on the coast of Peru, then with Panamá, and finally with Mexico, which last was guarded with every aid and restriction, and continued for over a century. Thus for this trade were gathered at Manila from far and near silks and spices, and all the Indian commodities, of which it was soon the chief mart, for the galleons brought back silver for the goods sold at Acapulco, so that Manila and her merchants grew to be exceedingly opulent, greatly to the satisfaction of the court of Spain, under whose special care and consideration was this commerce, which came to be regulated by royal edict.

Why in its incipency the Manila trade took its course to Callao, instead of to some more northern port, was on account of the trade wind which favored that navigation, the voyage of three or four thousand leagues to the coast of Peru being often made in two months, though the return was exceedingly troublesome, and frequently occupied twelve months, particularly if the ships attempted, as they did at first, to beat back against the wind that brought them over. Later, shipmasters learned to follow the coast northward to California, before striking out westward across the ocean, and they finally found that the voyage could be made better both ways to and from Acapulco, than to and from either Callao or Panamá. Thus from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries this traffic con-

tinued, to the great enrichment of Manila, Mexico, and Spain.

About the time of Magellan's voyage the southern Philippines were visited by the Moros, or Malay pirates from Borneo. Taking possession of Sulu and Basilan, they rapidly spread over the adjacent isles, and finally occupied Mindanao, Balabac, and the southern part of Palawan. They had many sanguinary encounters with the Spaniards, but were never entirely overcome. They were Mohammedans, fierce and bloody-minded, and hated the Spaniards, and above all the Spanish priests, with an intense hatred. Their weapon was the barong, somewhat like a butcher's cleaver, more effective in battle than the sixteenth century weapons of the Spaniards. The Moros worked in steel, and their barong was well tempered and highly finished.

Until the coming of the second viceroy, Ruis de Velasco, the administration of the Philippines was under the immediate direction of the viceroy of Mexico; Velasco, however, found it necessary to appoint a visitador who would reside at the islands for the superintendence of their affairs. The governor of Manila was president of the audiencia and disposed of all offices, except such as belonged specially to the king's monopolies.

Some believed these islands to be the Baruffæ of Ptolemy. Magellan called the Philippines the archipelago of San Lazaro. The Portuguese called them Manilhas, being the native name of the principal island, the natives being known as Luzonas. The Carolines were first called the New Philippines. "Ships go to Manila," says Torquemada, "both Spanish and Portuguese, from all parts of the world, from Macao, Moluccas, Malacca, China, Japan, Borneo, Siam, Patan, Kamchatka, Europe, India, and South America."

Commerce with Europe was given, for a consideration, as a monopoly to a company in Spain, while for yet more princely pay the sovereigns gave all the commerce of Manila with Mexico into the hands of the Manila friars as a monopoly. The Malays manufactured earthenware, which went to China, cotton stuff to Mexico; they plaited straw and strips of wood; they made hats, some of them selling as high as \$20 each. Finally the Portuguese were driven away, and then no vessels besides Spanish were allowed at Manila except those of the Chinese.

One seeing the Philippines a hundred years ago, says that the 1,100 islands were divided into thirty provinces with 627 towns, an aggregate half-civilized population of 3,315,790, and an unknown number of native savages. There were present 30,000 Chinese. Manila had a population of 150,000, one-tenth of whom were Spaniards and creoles, and the rest a mongrel intermixture of Mongolians and other Asiatics and Europeans.

The city was divided into two sections, the military and the mercantile, the latter a suburb. Lofty walls surround the former, with the sea on one side and on the other a broad plain where the troops were exercised, and where every evening the wealthy and indolent creoles, lazily extended in their carriages, displayed their foreign gowns and breathed the sea air. This was the Champs Elysées of the Indian archipelago.

Luzon is broken by volcanic mountains, and is covered by a rich, deep soil, supporting great forests and fine pastures. Here grow to fullest perfection, cotton, coffee, sugar-cane, cacao, indigo, rice, tobacco, abaca or vegetable silk, all kinds of timber, dye-woods, pepper, gums, cocoanuts, rattans, and other products. On the shores are shells, pearls, and nacre, or mother-of-pearl; the sea swarms with excellent fish; in the interior are all kinds of wild beasts and reptiles, from buffalo and deer to crocodiles and snakes.

For manufactures there are the metals of the mountains, gold silver and copper, and the products of the valleys, with no lack of skilled and cheap labor, mostly Asiatic artisans, who make cigars, baskets, straw hats, pottery, matting, cloth, silk, rope, and many other articles, besides ship-building, carriage-making, and tanning leather.

More than thirty kinds of rice are here cultivated, each having its individual process. Indigo and tobacco are largely raised and manufactured, as well as the other articles named. Wheat is grown, and sugar-making is extensive.

It was just fifty years after the death of Magellan that the city of Manila was founded by Legaspi as the capital of Luzon and the Philippine isles, the latter so named from King Philip II. The bay on the shore of which the city stands is 120 miles in circumference, and in monsoons is so unsafe that the larger vessels seek shelter in the port of Cavite. Prior to its capture by the United States, the city, partly walled, had

its fashionable quarter with two palaces, one for the governor and captain-general, and one for the admiral of the fleet. There were large mercantile houses, a Chinese bazaar, barracks, churches, cigar factory covering six acres and employing 10,000 women, stone bridge, suspension bridge, old fort of Santiago, mint, museum, arsenal, university, academy of arts, hospital, public gardens, cafés, convents, monasteries, theatres, and other objects and places of interest.

The interiors of several of the 1,400 Philippine isles have never been explored nor their inhabitants subdued. Most of the larger islands are mountainous, and covered with a redundant vegetation. Geology points to the whole archipelago as a late upheaval of coral reefs. The minerals present are not everywhere in very great quantities. The flora is Malayan, and there are but few mammals. The buffalo is used for field work; cattle and goats are common. Butterflies are a feature, and alligators and turtles abound. There are three seasons, cold, hot, and wet, the first extending from November to March, the second, continuing on to June, and the third to October. The hot season is very hot, but the cold season is not very cold. Thunder storms command attention, and the typhoon plays periodically among the northern isles.

The soil of the Philippines is in places exceedingly rich, and all the Malayan fruits and vegetables are grown in profusion,—mangoes, plantains, medlars, sweet-potatoes, ground-nuts, and in the higher altitudes wheat. Rice is extensively cultivated, being the staple food of the natives. The chief commercial products are sugar, coffee, and cocoa, tobacco, and Manila hemp.

The negritos, or aboriginal inhabitants, now reduced in numbers, were dark and dwarfish, nearly naked and without fixed habitations, the dog their only domesticated animal; and they lived on fish fruits honey roots and game. Infused with this low humanity at various eras and from various quarters were the Malayan tribes, which brought about the present intermixture.

Trade between the Philippines and China and Japan has been extensively carried on from the earliest times of which we have record. But with Spanish American occupation, a break occurred which has never been repaired, owing to the narrow commercial policy of Spain, which diverted nearly all

commercial products to Navidad and Acapulco. And even this despotic commerce was strangely restricted, as but a single annual galleon was for a century or more allowed to pass either way between Manila and Acapulco, and that under government supervision, which limited the value of the cargo to a fixed sum. And if this were not enough, further restrictions were imposed, a monopoly within a monopoly, in the creation of the Royal Company of the Philippines in 1785, the privileges expiring in 1834. Eastern goods for Spain continued in this way to be sent to Acapulco, to be packed on mules through Mexico and reshipped at Vera Cruz until 1764, when the galleons were sent round Cape Horn. Merchandise from Manila and the Spice islands sometimes found its way across the Isthmus from Panamá to Portobello, but these ports were reserved for the use principally of Peru, and the other provinces of South America. Permission was in 1809 granted to a company of English merchants to establish a house at Manila, and the same privilege was later given to other nationalities. Prior to 1842 Manila was the only port in the Philippines open to foreign trade, when Cebu was granted the same privilege, other ports being placed in the same category later. Textile fabrics are here manufactured, pina silk, and cotton; also pottery, furniture, musical instruments, carriages, ropes, baskets, mats, and hats. On some of the islands horse-raising is a leading pursuit.

Besides Malays and Negritos, the Philippines have a mixed population of Paquan negroes, Chinese, and Japanese, with their endless intermixtures. The 250,000 inhabitants of the capital, Manila, on Luzon island, divide themselves into two sections, the official and the commercial, the part of the city occupied by the former being surrounded by a wall, while the latter is a suburb. Along the river are situated the best houses, of plain exterior but within of oriental furnishing, with a profusion of costly Chinese and Japanese ware, and gold silver and silk ornamentations. These homes are of one story, built to withstand hurricanes and earthquakes, with a gallery round them which may be closed with shutters having panels with mother-of-pearl panes, which admit the light but exclude the heat. There are good macadamized roads, with granite sidewalks, and on the riverbank boat-landings and bamboo bath houses.

In their native state the inhabitants are low in the scale of humanity. Intermixture with foreigners raised them a little in some respects and lowered them in others. The friars found them ignorant and degraded. Schools were established and the rudiments of education given to some of them. A little learning is a dangerous thing. In this instance it bred ambition, a desire in the governed to take part in the government. The members of the monastic fraternities, some of them their teachers, these Filipinos came to regard as agents of the Spanish government, and many began to hate, and some to persecute them. The church was accused of acquiring great wealth, of grinding the people, and avoiding taxation. By absorbing the functions of government and controlling commerce, the clergy secured enormous revenues, and became the richest religious fraternity in the world. The rebellion of the natives was directed primarily against the church. From the time that Magellan set out on the religious crusade that cost him his life, religious zeal, diluted largely with avarice, has eaten the people up, Spaniards as well as natives, to a certain extent. The four orders had full swing there, the Augustines coming with Legaspi, and the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits following. The archbishop with three suffragans and 400 secular clergy lived in Manila; the regular clergy number 1,200 including missionaries. The priest imposes his tax and rules the village; he is hated by some and feared by others.

Serious charges have been brought against the religious orders in the Philippines, both Filipinos and Spaniards declaring against them. Says Ramon R. Lala, the native Filipino author: "The monks have opposed every attempt at reform. Their policy has ever been the policy of ignorance, knowing that their livelihood depended upon its perpetuation. It has been their aim chiefly to limit public instruction to the mere rudiments of knowledge, giving to every subject a religious bias. Even the colleges and the university of Manila are not free from their narrow supervision, while they have ever maintained a rigid censorship over the press. None but the most enlightened natives, of course, recognize as yet their spiritual wants or desire a higher moral state, but many of them privately attest their waning belief in the church monopoly of all things temporal in their lives. Still, those that impugn

and combat ecclesiastical preponderance are obliged to do so by secret word or in a limited conclave. But the enlightening and invigorating effects incidental to American occupation will inevitably loose their tongues, and rally recruits to their new standard of thought. Of this I hope and expect great results. The present hierarchy costs the government about \$800,000 a year. The salaries of the priests range from \$500 to \$2,500 per annum; but in addition they derive a large income from the sale of masses, indulgences, marriage burial and baptismal fees. The several orders have immense revenues from investments in the islands, and in Hongkong. They possess magnificent estates; but notwithstanding their enormous wealth they are hard taskmasters, grinding the poor to the paying of the last penny. Their injustice and tyranny have of late aroused bitter complaints, and are a chief cause of the late insurrection; and yet the picture has its lights as well as its shadows. The friars have in many places the confidence of the natives, and on the whole surely influence them for the repression of their vicious and brutal instincts. A half-barbarous people can be led only by superstition, and a semi-sacerdotal government is most effective among an ignorant people. The friar is usually from a lowly family, and is therefore able at once to enter into sympathy with the humble life of the people. He is doctor, architect, engineer, and adviser; in all things truly the father of the community, the representative of the white race and of social order. Such good men and true are to be found. There are, however, many black sheep among them, and the gross immorality of those that should be examples of virtue has been a great impediment to the work of the church among thinking natives. There are some Chinese and native friars. The Chinese often adopt Christianity for social or business reasons, or that they may marry the daughter of a native. Contests between the church and state make up a large part of the recent history of the islands. The archbishops, with an exaggerated idea of their own importance, became exceedingly troublesome to the civil power by reason of their excessive claims. This was never more manifest than in the pretended immunity from all state control. Upon one occasion the governor demanded of the archbishop to produce several persons charged with capital and other crimes who had found asylum in a convent.

The archbishop promptly refused, claiming the prerogatives of sanctuary. The accused not only openly defied the governor, but armed themselves, intending to resist should he endeavor to apprehend them. The governor, learning this, arrested the archbishop, and confined him and the priests that had been his abettors in prison, charging them with conspiracy against the government. A horde of Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian friars, forgetting the fierce rivalries among themselves, joined with a mob of natives, stormed the governor's palace. The governor and his son were killed and their bodies horribly mutilated. The archbishop was proclaimed governor of the colony. On four different occasions the governorship of the colony had been vested in the archbishop. Every governor-general who has attempted to introduce a liberal policy has been recalled; for the friars' combined influence is all powerful. Not even the archbishop has been able to prevail over the corporation of the friars; and if he would retain his seat he must not oppose their traditional prerogatives, nor work for the reform that would mean the decline of the orders. Indeed, only a few years ago, one archbishop who had made several ineffectual attempts to correct the abuses in the orders was one morning found dead in his bed. His successors have taken good care to profit by his example."

Nokaleda, archbishop of Manila, denied as false the charges made on all sides against the church. The priests had never wronged the people, he said, and as for the large amount of church property held, and its exemption from taxation, the property was the fruits of charity, and as the community were catholics, exemption from taxation wrought no injustice, and was but another form of further giving.

Said Archbishop Dosal, of the Philippines, "I earnestly hope the islands will not remain Spanish, because the rebels are now so strong that such a course would inevitably cause appalling bloodshed. The reconquest of the natives is impossible until after years of the most cruel warfare." He did not wish the islands to become absolutely independent, because it was certain that dissensions would occur which would result in incessant strife, and a lapse into barbarism under the natural indolence of the tropical race. The only hope was that a strong western power would intervene. Delay was dangerous,

because the people are intoxicated, vainglorious, and restless. He said it was undeniable that the religious orders must go, because the whole people had determined to abolish them, now that they were able to render their retention impossible. He laid the chief blame upon the Dominicans, Augustines, and Franciscans, the richest orders, and next upon the Benedictines and Capuchins, which are of less importance. The Jesuits the archbishop held comparatively blameless; but the rival orders, he said, quarrel among themselves, intrigue, act unworthily, and slander their opponents, thus increasing their general disfavor. The provincials, who are approximately equivalent to archdeacons, are mainly responsible. They are utterly beyond the control of the archbishop, who denies possessing power.

Archbishop Ireland declared that the church in the islands would conform to the new conditions, coming under the laws which govern the country elsewhere. The personnel of the clergy would remain undisturbed. "The Spanish priests will not be required to retire, for the reason that they, better than any one else, know what is needed under the new conditions, and can bring about a change much more easily than any commission that might be appointed. The clergy in the islands is made up of intelligence and tact. They will attend to their own work and do it well. None of our priests or bishops could speak the language of the people, and would be at a loss to do so as much as the men now at the head of the church. You may be sure that the priests of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines will be in accord with American ideas and progression, and they will be left to bring about the necessary change in their own way, and it will be the best way."

Before the war there were a thousand Spanish priests in the islands, but after the fall of Manila nearly all of them took their departure. They declared they never would return if Spain retained the islands, as the natives were incensed against them, and the Spanish government could not protect them. The Jesuits were expelled some time in the eighteenth century, but were allowed to return, to Manila only, in 1852.

There are some rather sensible Filipinos, though few like Ramon Reyes Lala, who thus spoke before the Wellesley club in January, 1899. "The Filipinos are not of a race of irrepressible savages, a noisy horde of Asiatic cut-throats, unversed in the ways of the occident, demanding the boon of American

citizenship. They are rather in many respects a gentle, ductile race, gifted, yet possessed of well-defined limitations. They are Christians, and as such ask for Christian forbearance. They are men, and as such ask for humane treatment. I have seen it stated that in the interior of some of the Philippine provinces are many tribes of irresponsible savage pagans, and cannibals, all whom if the islands were annexed would be a perpetual menace to the integrity of the republic, a persistent problem in the body politic. There are a few such tribes; but they are not the Filipinos; they are the degenerate remnants of the negro aborigines, and are fast dying out. It is not with these you have to deal. Although I believe we have a great future, I cannot disguise to myself the conviction that we are not yet ready for independence. More especially because the Filipinos have not had the preparation for self-government, possessed by the founders of the American republic. And I apprehend that, intoxicated with their new-found liberty, the Filipinos might perpetrate excesses that would prove fatal to the race. I feel this all the more when I consider that the revolutionary leaders, Aguinaldo and his companions, though fervent patriots, do not represent the best classes of my countrymen, who almost without exception are for a protectorate, or for annexation.

"And it is this, that I too, a Filipino, desire most ardently. Give us an American protectorate, a territorial government; the judiciary, the customs, and the executive in the hands of federal officials; the interior and domestic administration in the hands of the Filipinos themselves. And their self-selected officials will rule understandingly and well, without friction; which would be wholly impossible for alien functionaries, begotten of a western civilization."

The archbishop of Manila estimates the population of the archipelago at 7,500,000, of which 2,500,000 are christianized natives and Chinese. Four provinces have each a population of over 300,000, namely, Manila 324,367, Batangas 308,110, Cebu 518,032, and Iloilo 500,000. Nine provinces have a population of 100,000 or more. Luzon is in area 42,000 square miles, and has a population estimated by some at 5,000,000, among which are several tribes, the Tagals and Ilocanos being conspicuous.

Manila is situated on a pear-shaped bay, thirty by twenty-five

miles in extent, lying in the foliage of the steep volcanic mountains of the coast range. Around it is a low plain, the upper border traversed by streams, one of which, the Pasig river, runs through the city, and serves the purpose of a grand canal, other streams emptying into it. The Pasig river divides the city into old and new Manila, the latter called by the inhabitants Binondo.

Old Manila is a fair type of a Spanish colonial walled town. It has the usual picturesque moss-covered fortifications, draw-bridge and porticulis at the gates, a fashionable promenade, the Luneta, along the city wall, and a broad avenue named after Magellan's lieutenant, Legazpi. The low, damp, plasterless houses with sheet-iron roofs, and for windows translucent sea-shells set in a shutter sliding over a hole in the wall, tend often to emphasize rather than to alleviate the intensity of the hot moist air. On the ground floor of the Filipino's city house is his store or his stable; on the floor above he lives with his pet snakes, which destroy the rats, which would otherwise destroy the house. Binondo, the new city, across the Pasig river from the old city, is the business quarter. Along the river bank are Chinese bazaars, commercial warehouses, and hotels, while scattered up and down the river are the dwellings of the natives. The city stands on ground but one foot above high water. Of the 250,000 inhabitants 50,000 are Chinese and 5,000 Europeans. The old walled town, or city proper, is about one mile square, with narrow streets and low-built heavily buttressed houses, with cloth-covered walls. The earthquakes and typhoons are very destructive. Like the Chinese, the Filipinos become reckless when death is certain; it is not the recklessness of courage so much as the recklessness of despair. Throughout the Spanish war the property of the Manila and Dogipán railway company, owned and operated by Englishmen, was not molested either by natives or Spaniards.

Manila is connected with Hongkong by cable and four lines of steamers, and by rail with Pangasinan, the port of entry for the rice-growing district 123 miles distant. The natives have many of the characteristics of the Mexicans, being natural musicians, and skilful artisans, particularly in the manufacture of coarse pottery, musical instruments, furniture and carriages, hats mats and baskets; they are expert at cotton and silk weaving, leather tanning and boat-building. North of Manila

lay, in Bulacan and Pampanga, are some princely sugar haciendas, and here and all about the city land is held at a high price.

Iloilo, on the island of Panay, with a population of 10,000, ranks next to Manila among the cities of the Philippines. Here under the Spaniards resided a governor, a captain of the port, and other officials. The town takes pride in a cathedral, casa real, seminary, courthouse, and mercantile and manufacturing establishments.

Only one-fifteenth of the archipelago is under cultivation, the system of agriculture being that of small holdings. Rice is still the staple food, though the growth of maize is increasing. The abaca, or Manila hemp, which remains the chief export, is the fibre of a fruitless banana, or a species of the banana producing small worthless fruit, and requiring for its growth peculiar conditions of soil and climate. During the decade from 1880 to 1890, the export of hemp increased \$5,000,000, while the export of sugar decreased \$2,000,000, the latter due to injury to crop by locusts, which damaged also indigo and coffee.

Capital and principal town in Mindanao, second island in size, is Zamboanga, with a good harbor, fort cathedral and hospital, and 7,000 not too intelligent people. Before the war the town had fortnightly steamboat service with Manila. There is another town on the island, which has also two rivers and some lakes, and whose agricultural specialties are cinnamon, nutmeg, pepper, and timber. On Basilian island is the town of Isabel, 6,000 inhabitants, and a good harbor, with Spanish fort, naval station, and arsenal. Large sums of money have been spent in these islands for defences which are now useless.

Panay is a fertile island, well watered by mountain streams, growing rice, sugar, coffee, cotton, tobacco, pepper, and cacao, and supporting a Bisayan population of 900,000, a few Negritos inhabiting the mountains. It has 74 villages and three large towns, Iloilo, Buenavista, and Kapis, the first a free port under the Spanish. Among the richest of the archipelago are the Visayas islands, whence a large part of the business emanates.

The best coal yet found is in Batan, a small island east of Luzon. In Mindoro are coal deposits, and in the small adjacent isle of Samarara. Like Mexico, the entire surface of the

archipelago seems impregnated with gold to a greater or less extent. It is for the most part detrital, and is found in paying quantities in and along water courses, as in placer deposits elsewhere. The natives work in the placers with cocoanut pans. Mindanao has some elevated auriferous gravel-beds, well situated for hydraulic mining. Quartz gold is found in abundance in the provinces of Camarines and on the island of Panaon. Quartz veins in granite are found at Paracale. Northern Luzon and Mindanao have extensive copper beds; also the provinces of Lepanto; and Cebu has extensive lead deposits. There is an abundance of iron ore on half a dozen islands. The Sulu archipelago has pearls. Leyte has coal and oil; Biliram, sulphur; Samar, coal and gold; Romblon, marble; Masbete, coal and copper; Marindugue, lead and silver; and Cataanduanes, Sibuyan, Bohol, and Panaoan, gold. Volcanoes play havoc hereabout, the people working contentedly under the shadow of a smoking cone with as little concern as Chinamen work in a powder mill. Mayon is as tricky as dynamite, and while it slays its thousands, familiarity with its precincts breeds indifference. Though 208 miles distant from Manila, this mighty belcher has covered the streets of the capital two feet deep with ashes, and buried towns to the depth of 100 feet in lava. The eruption of 1814 caused the loss of 12,000 lives. In the north is the Taal crater, which darkened the sky for eight days in 1754, and cost the lives of 40,000 persons.

Sulu island has 100,000 people in 44 villages, among which are four races, if local intermixture can form a race. The Sulus are a fierce piratical people, followers of Mohammed, and not always easy to manage, even by their sultan.

Before we could reach the Caroline islands in our work of relieving Spain of her colonies, a revolt occurred, two native kings uniting against the Spaniards. The Spaniards concentrated their forces at Ponape; they had but 200 poorly armed men, who were unable to withstand a severe attack.

Possession was taken of the Ladrone islands for the United States by the steamer *Charleston*, Captain Glass, on the 21st of June, 1898, no resistance being offered by the Spaniards. The governor-general, his staff, and the entire military force were taken prisoners, and the American flag raised over the ruins of the Spanish fort of Santa Cruz, in the harbor of San Luis d'Apra. The surprise of the Spaniards may be imagined

in finding themselves so suddenly subjugated, as they had heard nothing of the fall of Manila or of war with the United States. In taking for a coaling-station the only good harbor on the island of Guam, which was also the capital of the group, the harbor facilities for the other islands would be so small that they would scarcely be worth having. So it was argued at the time of this brilliant conquest.

The Ladrões, the Carolines, and the Gilbert and Marshall groups comprise Micronesia. The Ladrões, where the natives are nearly extinct, was formerly a penal settlement of Spain. The Caroline group of five high islands, of basaltic formation, are of rare beauty. The natives as first seen were naked, fierce, and elaborately tattooed. The Marshall and Gilbert groups are coral islands, six or eight feet above the sea, growing bread-fruit, the cocoa palm, and pandananas, or screw pine. The question of territory rights, long disputed between European powers, was settled in 1885 by the pope, who gave the Carolines to Spain, the Marshall islands to Germany, leaving for England the Gilbert group.

CHAPTER XXV

RACE PROBLEMS

As to the origin of humanity, in its various phases, we know as much as did the babel-builders, and no more. All mankind are so nearly alike anatomically as to suggest a single first pair for the race, while from such differences as form, features, color of skin, and mode of speech, some have argued autochthonic origin. But while the wisest are still in the dark as to some things, regarding other points affecting the human race the most ordinary observer may speak with confidence.

Thus we see in hot lands people dark of skin, with never a tropical white man, and never a black man indigenous to high latitudes. Native to the temperate zone is the dusky skin,—at least we find it there,—as the coppery hues American and the yellow Asiatic. On islands and mainland are many apparent intermixtures of black white and yellow. As to the white man proper, Mount Caucasus is not between cancer and capricorn, and is well removed from both the arctic and antarctic.

Other things we may know, namely, that while for a time and with care the several races may live anywhere on the globe, unless it be at or near the poles, the white man cannot live and labor permanently in the tropics, though the black man seems to adapt himself well enough to temperate climes. Indeed, of all the tropical races the African negro is the best all-round working man for hot and temperate climates, in so far as of his own accord he will work at all, while of the indigenes of the temperate zone the Chinaman is the best worker for both hot and cold climates. It is a fact learned by observation, rather than a question for discussion, that the Caucasian cannot live and labor and healthily and properly develop in tropical countries. True, he may dilute his blood

with that of a tropical native, become acclimated, and so get along in a mongrel fashion, but in that case he is no longer a Caucasian.

Among the non-workers of the world are the American Indians and the tropical islanders. Anglo-saxons came over and worked the lands now covered by the United States; Spaniards and Portuguese intermixed and bred hybrids to fill the place of working-men in Latin America; while the Scotch fur-traders kept the woods of Canada a game preserve as long as possible, with the lords aboriginal as hunters, protecting them from the influences of civilization for that purpose. When colonization came, the half-breed offspring of the fur-traders made tolerably good agriculturalists. Negro, Indian, and Spaniard perform some tropical labor, as in Cuba and other isles of the Antilles; negro, Malay, and Spanish mixed may be called Filipino, while for the Hawaiian islander, and others of that caste, the Chinese and Japanese together do their work.

Another self-evident fact is that certain races under certain conditions tend to disappear, while other races which have thus far come to the knowledge of history, have elected to remain. Thus the American Indian and the tropical islander, the Australian bushman and the South African savage, the non-workers of the world, inevitably fade away in the presence of European civilization. Inoculate these savages with foreign blood, and some of the progeny may be preserved, as in Mexico and Canada, but most of it were better not preserved, as in Hawaii for example. The African seems suited with American life, but by himself in his tropical island republic he is a failure; where he fattens in the house of the southern planter, an Apache would die of heart or lung disease.

It is equally plain to be seen that some races tend to improve in culture and refinement while others deteriorate; some are becoming more and more civilized, while others are either yet savages or are stricken in their development by dry-rot. Implanted in the Nahuas and Mayas of Mexico and Central America, and in the Peruvians of South America, was the well-defined germ of an indigenous civilization, which if it had not been crushed by the conquerors would have developed into a culture no less original than wonder-

ful. No where else in America, and in few other places in the world, was there any such manifestation.

Some of the questions which may be asked, and not all of them difficult to answer, are: Is there any one race, or stock, of humanity of proved and pronounced superiority to all others? If so is it well, or otherwise, to cultivate and breed from that stock for the world's coming humanity, so far as practicable, in preference to the propagation of poorer stock? The fittest survive, we are told; if this be true, to what extent, if any, is it right and proper for us to aid in the carrying out of this law of God and Nature?

In how far is it wise and legitimate to encourage the fittest and discourage the unfittest to survive? Cannot enough of the best humanity be bred to allow us to dispense altogether with the inferior article? Is it not cheaper to grow all good men than to try to make over the bad? Our pilgrim fathers acted upon this principle, they and their successors; the Indian is all bad, they said, except when he is dead; and so they killed him. We of to-day have undertaken a more difficult task, which is to whitewash Africans, Asiatics, and mongrel breeds with European civilization. Some of the white may adhere, but the duskiness is always sure to show through. "It is the duty of civilized nations to take charge of the barbarians and give them a white man's government", said Cecil Rhodes. "The United States is one of the great powers, and cannot escape this duty." Why is it our duty, can Mr Rhodes tell, when we can be better employed in making better men?

We cannot convey our higher ideals of life to people of lower development, without having with us the power to enforce; for it is the nature alike of all, whether of high or low degree, without the influence of environment to sink to lower levels, and with or without the aid of environment, it is better always to grow plants and animals from the best stock.

There are few who question the innate superiority of white men over those of the various shades which distinguish all others from the Aryan race. History clearly shows that from the first the white man has dominated the world, and at no period more completely than now. It makes no difference liberating the enslaved or educating the ignorant; it makes no difference the examples of men or nations that have risen

and displayed marked abilities; the one fact proves all, that there is not now and never has been on the earth a people civilized, or half or quarter civilized, with a very dark skin that has risen to strength or prominence in the direction of military prestige or good government. Though the earlier civilizations sprang up where the conditions of life were most favorable, that is to say in tropical regions, whose inhabitants are usually but not always dark of skin, they were in the old world of Aryan stock, and white. The others, like the Arabians, Egyptians, and Carthaginians, did not remain. The Aztecs and Peruvians of the American aboriginal civilizations, and occupying the tropical table lands of North and South America, were for the most part white, or nearly so,—white, while the savage inhabitants of the surrounding lowlands, their subjects and slaves, were dark, some of them quite black. Not that the quality of mind and morals is necessarily governed by the color of the skin; but the fact remains that the white peoples always have been and are now the rulers and regulators of the world.

In every aboriginal nation there is present either native endurance, or the elements of decay in the presence of superior civilization. The Aztecs and Peruvians, themselves civilized, many of them as much so as their conquerors, declined to disappear before the Spaniards, and the greatest modern as well as ancient statesmen and poets of Mexico and South America have been native Indians. In the north, being of a hardy race, and held aloof from contact with civilization that they might the better hunt, many of the natives remain as Indians or half breeds. The aborigines of the United States had the grace to die; those of them who were not killed by emigrants and gold-hunters, and so saved themselves extermination in other forms. The 300,000 estimated Hawaiian islanders seen by Cook diminished under kind treatment to 30,000, and their final extinction is only a question of time. On the other hand, European civilization transplanted to America in the form of Anglo-saxon stock, not only lives and thrives, but exercises a retroactive influence on the mother country. The seeds of intellectual and political liberty from the New World, scattered abroad about Europe, are beginning to take root in places and bear fruit. And finally, in literature, art, manufactures, and commerce the

United States is fast outstripping the foremost nations of Europe.

For a people of low social development to occupy places favored by situation soil and climate is obviously a disadvantage to neighboring nations. On all the shores of the Pacific are conditions favorable to development equal or superior to the lands surrounding the Atlantic. Now, if in the place of a long line of Asiatics on one side, and a long line of Spanish Americans on the other, we had all around the Pacific European and American Anglo-saxons, what would not the difference be worth to the Anglo-saxons at present in North America and Australia?

In Portuguese and Spanish America the races of low degree left to self-government present a dismal spectacle. Take for example Brazil, larger in area than the United States, and on the whole with richer lands. Occupied by Europeans a century before Massachusetts was settled, it has now a mixed population of Indians and negroes, with a sprinkling of Europeans, in all some fifteen millions. And this after an abortive effort to colonize this part of the tropics with some of the fairly good material of Europe, Swiss German Austrian and Italian immigrants.

The spirit of industrialism is overspreading the world to such an extent that nations of the higher development will not acknowledge the rights of any people to possess desirable regions of the earth without making a proper use of them.

Whenever general development comes, in the various countries round the waters of the Pacific, it will not be by the energy or intelligence or organizing ability of Asiatics or Spanish Americans. The Malay and Latin races have been on the ground long enough already to have accomplished something if they had any such intentions. Neither will it be by the Russians, though the Muscovite is making rapid railway strides through Siberia to the Pacific, and is getting a good hold for the strangulation of China. Germany may accomplish something, but Germany will lack unity of purpose, and never acquire a dominating influence on these shores. It is by the Anglo-saxons, men originally from England but now residents of the United States, of Canada and Australia, who are destined to dominate in these waters, politically and industrially. In many of their war practices

the Spaniards still retain barbarous ideas. Given to lying and trickery as a profession, their lack of honor is all the more conspicuous by reason of their protestations of honor. No faith is to be put in any promise; prisoners of war may be shot or hanged or tortured according to the pleasure of the commanding officer. Honor is satisfied by fighting and being beaten, and suicide is the remedy for sorrow. Juan Lazaga, captain of the *Almirante Oquendo*, killed himself after the battle of Santiago. How did that help matters? And should we regard it as a brave or a cowardly act?

The Anglo-saxon race dominates the Pacific as it dominates the world. A decade ago Dilke remarked, in his *Problems of Greater Britain*, "I desire to call attention to the imperial position of our race as compared with the situation of the other peoples, and, although the official positions of the British empire and of the United States may be so distinct as to be sometimes antagonistic, the peoples themselves are, not only in race and language but in laws and religion and in many matters of feeling, essentially one." If this was the case then, how much more so is it now.

The political mind of Europe seeks occupation for itself, and exercise for that vast body of civil and military men who keep in motion the machinery necessary to the existence of the several governments. The eighteenth century saw much fighting with meagre results, so far as western Europe was concerned. The nineteenth century saw a large part of the world partitioned among these powers. Most important of all to the governed are the elementary functions of government, the protection of life and property, in the accomplishment of which England with all her colonial and imperial enterprises has been more successful than any other nation. It is an instinct in the Anglo-saxon race, in which the people of the United States participate, the maintenance of order and law, and the administering of fair play and justice to the governed. If properly administered by a wise and powerful home government, colonies are no more a source of weakness than any other form of wealth or extension. If England can manage an empire of 400,000,000 people, scattered the world over, with 200,000 men, surely the United States should find no difficulty in governing 100,000,000 with 100,000 men.

Conspicuous in the Anglo-saxon race are individual truth-

fulness and nonesty; energy, good sense, courage, and national integrity, with an impatience for insincerity and trickery in diplomacy, particularly that kind of jockeying which continental statesmanship has so long considered essential. As a race study, let a fair comparison be made with other nations. Take for example the French. No better illustration can be found of the quality of manhood of the Latin race acting under pressure of danger, than in the destruction of the French steamship *La Bourgogne* on the morning of the 4th of July, 1898, en route from New York for Havre. In a dense fog, she was struck by the British steamer *Cromartyshire*, and sank in half an hour. If the officers and crew had done their duty, most of the passengers would have been saved. The steerage was filled with Italians, who with the French seamen fought for places in the boats, and on rafts, with knives and pistols, killing or clubbing off all who opposed them, or were in their way, men women and children alike. That only one woman was saved is but another exemplification of the despicable manhood of the Latin race similar to that displayed at the conflagration at the city bazaar in Paris. Will any one for a moment maintain that it would be possible for an American or British crew, or band of emigrants, to have so behaved under like circumstances?

Compare this conduct with that of the passengers and crew of the California steamer *Central America*, which foundered on the way from Aspinwall to New York in 1853. There were 1,500 passengers on board, and the ship was one of those old worn out vessels condemned as unseaworthy, but set up under another name by those merchant princes of New York, along in the fifties, to lure Californians to their death. As usual on those steamers, there were not boats enough to carry one-fifth of the passengers. These passengers as I have said were all home-returning Californians, a name synonymous in those days with everything noble and chivalrous. These men thus doomed to a watery grave stood quietly by while the boats were being made ready; then they fell back to form a passage-way for women and children, who were carefully helped into the boats, the men standing silently on the deck, and going down to their death without a murmur. In justice to the officers of the *Bourgogne* let it be said that they went down with their ship, but whether from choice or necessity has never been told.

Their men however, and the Italian emigrants behaved like demons.

The 20,000,000 population of Mexico is made up of mixed Indian European and African races, the differences between the wild tribes of the borders and the civilized nations of the table-land being as marked as that between the Aztecs and Mayas and the Europeans. As a rule the natives, though treated with severity by the Spaniards whenever disobedience to church or state was manifest, were not swept from the land by slaughter and disease as in the United States, but were saved to serve as laborers, as Spaniards do not like labor, while Americans prefer to do their own work rather than try to get it out of an Indian. As many of these Mexican aborigines were in no wise inferior, either in physical or mental characteristics, to the Spaniards, intermarriage was common, and endless race intermixtures followed, chief among which is that of the Indian and white man, called mestizo, and comprising one-fourth of the population. There are yet remaining many natives of pure blood, particularly in the back districts, but not so many negroes or Spaniards. The latter became acclimated in Mexico, because the capital of the republic, and the best cities, and the best people are on the high healthy table-land, which in climate is indeed not tropical. In the Philippines, where the interior is yet wild forest, and the cities are on the shore, Europeans, Spaniards even, do not as a rule reside there for more than five years.

More than sixty years ago, while yet the dreamy slumber of primeval ages rested on the waters and shores of the Pacific, Richard H. Dana writes, "Nothing but the character of the people prevents Monterey from becoming a great town. The soil is as rich as man could wish; climate as good as any in the world; water abundant, and situation extremely beautiful." So might we say of the whole region round the Pacific, nothing but the character of the people prevents it from being the world's centre of industry and empire.

California, during the last half century, has given employment to from 50,000 to 150,000 Chinese, in cigar and other manufactures, and as household servants, launderers, vegetable vendors, miners, fruit-pickers, and shop-keepers, at from \$18 to \$30 a month wages. As a rule they earned the money, some of which went to China, but always an equivalent for it was left in this country. In San Francisco's Chinatown may be

seen along wide and well paved streets, mercantile houses, shops, manufactories, restaurants, theatres, joss-houses, all for the most part clean and respectable. Again, and elsewhere, in bad-smelling alleys may be seen opium and gambling dens, places of prostitution, meat and other shops, all as vile and filthy as can be found in Paris, London, or New York. It is customary for Chinese emigrating in any numbers to form themselves into one or more associations for mutual help comfort and protection. Membership is voluntary, subscriptions to benevolent objects optional, and officers elective. They have a hall for meetings, and a temple for worship. They usually settle their own differences and take care of their own sick. Since early times there have been in San Francisco six of such associations, known as the Six Companies, and often uniting their strength and influence in some common cause. As a rule the Chinese men in California are free and independent, while the Chinese women are mainly prostitutes and slaves.

There must be some strong incentive for the Chinese people to leave their homes to dwell in distant lands, when they have to encounter so many obstacles, and their dead body to be returned to rest in peace and be received into the eternity of the just. Why? For centuries they have been on the move, crowding the islands around them, then the neighboring continents, and finally all the world within their reach, and almost everywhere unwelcome. Is it altogether to get money, that they brave the dangers of the deep, suffer hardships and undergo insults? No, it is partly because of dissatisfaction at home. They have no great love of country while living; it is only when dead that the soil becomes precious, and because their ancestors lie buried there.

That the coolies are for the most part ill-treated, cheated, and in every way imposed upon, has little to do with it. Thousands die unpaid, the contractors pocketing the proceeds of their labor. The better class become independent as cooks and artisans, and do not care for their native land except to lay their bones in it for the more complete mollification of the malicious gods. Like most of those who leave their homes, in the main they would be better off in their own country if they knew how properly to live and behave.

Why do the Irish leave the emerald isle they love so well? Not for gain entirely, but partly because of innate restlessness,

a dissatisfaction with present conditions, and chronic pugnaciousness; they delight in fighting fate and ruling a republic. The Irishman feels that he is the equal of any man and the superior of most men, as good as the best, or a little better; the Chinaman is thankful to find a place on earth where he may be considered a man at all.

Whatever may be said of China and the Chinese government, it must be admitted that more people inhabiting a large area have been there held together for a longer time than any where else. And never was colonization carried so far as by the Chinese of the present day. They have a colony in nearly every city in christendom and heathendom. In every commonwealth they set up their *imperium in imperio*, with all their idolatries and immoralities, slavery, polygamy, joss-houses, and theatres; opium, gambling, and prostitution dens. True, all nations have the same or parallel vices in equal degree, but they are different; we love our own abominations, and have no respect for those of others.

Their laws are perfect, fit for the regulation of heaven, they say; and their government patriarchal, but they have no respect for woman; their gods are not lovable beings, but rather demons to be feared. Their politics, religion, and rules of life are all too abstract to be worshipful. They are deceitful and cunning, nowhere more so than in cheating their gods and the government, by spending their lives abroad for their temporal welfare, and burying their bodies at home for the better repose of their souls.

Human nature nowhere is made up of more opposite characteristics than among these Asiatics. Though by instinct and rearing they are timid, and up to a certain point cowardly, pressed beyond that point they are reckless of danger and indifferent to life. So with regard to money; naturally avaricious and penurious, certain barriers broken and no people are more venturesome or lavish of expenditure. Hence we must conclude that they are really no more avaricious or cowardly than others.

If history may be believed,—and I know not why Chinese history should not be accredited as fully as that of Homer, or of the Egyptians, or of the Jews—the colonies were established at Borneo and elsewhere under the Chow dynasty in 1100 B C, and subsequently. The Portuguese, and indeed the

first Europeans at Malacca, Penang, Singapore, and all the important islands of eastern Asia and Oceanica, found there before them Chinese colonies.

The modern coolie traffic in origin and operation is not unlike the old African slave trade, beginning in lies and deceit, followed by kidnapping, man-stealing, and man-buying, and ending in enforced labor, abject misery, degradation, and death. Often they are driven from their country by the impositions of rulers, the tyranny of the police, low wages, excessive taxes, poor returns of land, or by such poverty that they have to sell a wife or child for the means with which to leave the country. Ill treated and imposed upon as they are abroad, it is often worse for them at home, so that those who return from California to China to look after their wives children and parents, always come back to California if they can. After all California is the Chinaman's paradise. He is not badly treated there now; he gets good wages, and through his lawyer can have his rights respected.

For seven dollars the emigrating Chinaman can obtain insurance of return of body and burial in China. The first band of Chinese that entered the California gold-diggings created a sensation. With hoots and wild halloo, half in fun and half in earnest, the miners formed a ring around them, and executed a war-dance, at once declamatory and admonitory. Thereafter they were kicked, cuffed, or let alone by legislature and people according to time and temper. Drove of Chinamen were brought over to work on the Central Pacific railroad, and did well.

When contract laborers are wanted, circulars are issued in certain districts of China, the following specimens being among the least untruthful, the first issued in 1862, the second in 1868, and the third in 1870.

"To the countrymen of Ah Lung. Laborers are wanted in the land of California. Great works to be done there, good houses, plenty of food. You will get \$20 a month and good treatment. Passage money required \$45. I will lend the money on good security, but I cannot take your wife or child in pay. Come to Hongkong, and I will care for you until the ship sails. The ship is good. Ah Lung."

"Great pay; such as would be rich and favored by Shan; come to me for ticket to America. Shoo Ming."

"China colony for Mexico. All get rich there, have land. Make first year \$400; next year \$1,000. Have quick more money than mandarins. Plenty good rice and vegetables cheap. Nice ship, no sickness, plenty of room. Clang Wo."

Seeing which alluring offers, the staid celestial straightway consults his gods, mortgages his wife, and sets out to seek his fortune, with little money but with half a dozen protecting deities in his pockets.

The word coolie is properly applied to an Asiatic laborer not of the artisan class, but restricted in its use more particularly to the field hands of India and China. The system which collects these laborers, conveys them to distant lands, and sells their services, is too often but slavery under another name. At the same time, fairly administered it may be of great benefit to all concerned. Tropical plantations cannot be worked by white men, and free negroes will not work there; hence the coolie system, which supplies laborers to industries that otherwise could not be carried on. Cruelties have been practised in this traffic, resulting in the death of many, whether or not in the interests of mankind let the world judge. Yet there is such a thing as honest dealing in contract labor. The Chinese coolie at the same wage is cheaper and better than natives of India. The people of north China are stronger and more enduring than those of the south. Rice and vegetables are the ordinary food of the laborer at home, with sometimes a little fish and meat. Wages are from ten cents a day up, nine hours being regulation time. They are good workers, and display much native aptness and skill. They are best regulated in guilds; they understand the theory and practice of strikes to perfection. At home, two-thirds of the people are engaged in agriculture and fisheries; the remainder of the industrial class are manufacturers, merchants, and artisans. So overpopulated are certain sections that some of the inhabitants must move away or live in boats. They go to the outlying regions, to Mongolia and Manchuria, as well as to distant parts, America and Australia, also to the islands of the tropics, as the Philippines and Hawaii.

Illogical as the attitude may be, we keep on battering at the Chinese walls of exclusiveness while closing our gates to the admission of the subjects of China. The tyranny of labor, or rather of laziness, is nowhere more manifest than in the

expulsion of the Chinese, who will do more and better work at the wages they receive than any other people in the world.

China is derided because her laborers work so well and so cheaply, and because of the exclusiveness of which America is beginning to pride herself. The Chinese were driven from the United States at the instigation of Irish voters, who claimed the right to all the dirty work in America, and which they were anxious to do only at exorbitant wages. The Americans by the introduction of machinery into China are doing the Chinese laborers ten times the injury that the Chinese ever did the American laborers, and scarcely a word of complaint. The placing of American steamers on the Yangtse river threw out of employment 100,000 junk men, while the introduction of several hundred foreigners into civil service wrought infinitely greater hardship to the employ  s of government there, than ever could possibly come from Chinese interference in American politics.

"It was not the act of exclusion" said Li Hung Chang, "so much as the manner of it, that we object to. Its passage, in violation of previous stipulations was bad faith, and none the less exasperating because of the new treaty then under consideration, in which China took the initiative by agreeing to stop emigration. The oppressions to which our laborers are subjected come from the government, and a government which enacts iniquity is no government."

It was a somewhat pathetic plea Admiral Dewey was forced to make for his good Chinamen, when he asked the United States to reward them with citizenship for fighting our battles. The nation needed their services when he filled vacancies in his crews with them in Chinese waters. They served faithfully, were efficient and obedient in service, active and brave in battle, and freely risked their lives in our cause. To turn them from our shores to suffer decapitation at home for enlisting in foreign service, seemed to the hero of Manila unjust. "They will hardly obtain citizenship on the Pacific coast," said a Boston journalist. "They can have it, however, if they will come to Massachusetts; we have had Chinese voting here for many years, and have never been at all disturbed at its exercise."

It is better in every way to be on friendly terms with the Chinese, as well as with all other peoples; it is difficult to seek their alliance or enjoy liberal or profitable industrial rela-

tions with them with free access to their country while excluding them from ours. Or, if it be best to exclude labor, why discriminate against the Chinese?

The question of Chinese expulsion in the British colonies becomes somewhat involved in consideration of the fact that certain Chinese are British subjects, as in Hongkong colony, and those settled in the Straits, who for several generations have been British subjects by descent. In the Malay peninsula, in the Dutch Indies, and in Borneo, the Chinese are among the most intelligent and public-spirited citizens.

Whatever the teachings of economics, it does not appear the best way to employ inferior labor at a higher wage in order to produce the best article to be sold for the least money. "I see no reason," says Dilke, "to protest against the desire of the Americans and of the Australian and Canadian colonists to exclude the poorest form of foreign labour, provided that it be done by general laws." In other words, the absurdity of Chinese expulsion presents itself in full force only when less desirable people are admitted to the highest privileges.

Following the examples of California and Australia, the legislature of British Columbia passed resolutions asking the Canadian parliament to prohibit the immigration of Chinese, as was the law in the United States. This Canada refused to do, but established a license fee upon payment of which the Chinese might enter the dominion. "Impartial testimony from Canada" says Dilke, "shows that the Chinese are not only a hard-working, but a quiet and an honest people."

From the white laborer's point of view the presence of the Asiatic laborer is altogether undesirable. The Chinaman is a good workman, persevering, uncomplaining, quick to learn, skilful as an artisan, and with few requirements. Hence he sadly interferes with those who want higher pay for less work. His standard of comfort is low. The white workman wants a home, family, high wages and short hours, that time may be had for enjoyment. The Chinese are in many respects a superior people, but they harbor old and deep rooted traditions not beneficial to European progress. Manufactures must suffer, consumers must pay, but the white laborer and artisan are undoubtedly benefited.

Indeed, the same line of argument would have held good a hundred years ago in regard to the expulsion of those who

would now expel others. And in truth the proper time for expulsion in the United States would have been when the rabble from Europe first began to come in. Had this been done, and with low Africans and Asiatics low Europeans had been denied admittance, the great American republic would now be composed of quite a different class of people. In British tropical colonies the Chinese are highly esteemed. The British North Borneo company assure us that "the Chinese make excellent citizens, always at work." They work on the pepper plantations of Singapore, notwithstanding that the tigers manage to catch and eat them at the rate of one a day. The merchants in the city dress like the coolies, in loose white smock and colored trousers, but the cloth is of finer quality. The soil of Borneo and adjacent isles is very rich, producing a redundant vegetation, conspicuous among which and most highly prized is the sago tree. Here live the elephant and the orang-outang, with all their usual tropical associates. The royal tiger and panther terrorize Java, and the one-horned rhinoceros is occasionally seen.

Australia officially declares the Chinese "an alien race, incapable of assimilation in the body politic, strangers to our civilization, out of sympathy with our aspirations, and unfitted for our free institutions." Would it not be better for us if all this were true in regard to the refuse population of Europe, and the African slaves, which we have absorbed into the life blood of our nation? Says Dilke in *Problems of Greater Britain*, "In most of the colonies the anti-Chinese legislation applies only to the Chinese race, and cases have occurred where steamers have reached colonial ports with Japanese crews and Chinese cooks and stewards, and sometimes Chinese quarter-masters, and the Japanese have been able to take their run ashore while the Chinese were penned up on board. Some years ago there was a seaman's strike in the Australian colonies, directed against the employment of Chinese by the steamship lines. The Australian Steam Navigation company argued with the representatives of white labor that, as the company was extending its trade into tropical climates, it must at least have Asiatic labor in the engine-rooms; and the men ultimately accepted an agreement that the Chinese should only be employed in subordinate and accessory positions, such as those of stokers, while the total number employed in the company's fleet was

to be reduced from 180 to 130 in three months. The Australian Navigation company has recently sold the boats with regard to which the strike occurred to a new firm, the Australasia United Steam Navigation company, which undertakes still more tropical trade, and which seems likely also to have difficulties at the port of Sydney. The seamen's unions of Victoria and New South Wales have compelled the ships trading to China and back to forego trade between intercolonial ports when they are manned by Chinese crews, and they have attacked the Peninsular and Oriental company for the employment of lascars; and the employment of lascars by the British India company has been partly stopped by the boycotting of their ships. Australians are tempted by the difficulties of their local labour problem to forget the need in which the empire may one day stand of the Chinese alliance in eastern Asia, and we in the old country, who see, perhaps more clearly than they can be expected to perceive, that the future mastery of the world lies between the British, the Russian, and the Chinese races, may be pardoned for attaching more importance than do colonists to good relations between Great Britain and the Chinese empire. China, which fought France not long ago upon a point of honour, and which obtained in our time from Russia, without fighting, a province which Russia had long administered, is a power well able to hold her own; and if we bear in mind the incredible numbers of her population, and the ability of her rulers, we can feel little doubt that the value of her alliance with ourselves in the future must increase each day. An alliance in Asia between China and Great Britain would form a true league of peace."

The laws or treaties of England regarding Chinese immigration, or any other unpopular issue have no more weight in the colonies than federal regulations in the states. Said the colonial prime minister, Sir Henry Parkes, in the assembly of New South Wales, when accused of disobeying the law, "I care nothing about your cobweb of technical law; I am obeying a law far superior to any law which issued these permits, namely the law of the preservation of society of New South Wales." Mr Gillies, prime minister of Victoria, informed Lord Salisbury that the colonies would not be bound by treaties made by the home government respecting Chinese immigration to the colonies in which the colonies had no voice.

For all that, too many foreigners of any kind are no longer specially desired in the United States, whether as scavengers, policemen, or titled heiress-hunters. As for the Chinese, they are as good as any, and better than most. They have, like the Irish, strong staying qualities. Were they permitted to fasten themselves on us in unlimited numbers, the character of the community would become changed, just as it has been and is being changed by the Europeans. In British Columbia, white miners and artisans utilize the labor of the Asiatic to a greater extent than in the United States, where they are driven from mines and work-shops.

That the Chinese if freely admitted will possess and denaturalize America, we need no more fear than that the African, or Irish, or Italians, or Mexican, if freely admitted will possess and denaturalize America. We are a hundred millions, almost, of good strong Americans; if all China should come here, leaving not a man at home, they would be only four to our one, and we could take care of ourselves.

There are several places round the Pacific where the Mongolian may yet find refuge, to his own advantage and to the advantage of the land he inhabits, or such of them as he may be able to inhabit. Besides the Asiatic and South sea shores and isles, in which no white man can live and labor, there are the malarious coasts of equatorial America, and even the interior lands, of which the Spanish-Americans have made so poor a use, would be none the worse by having some thorough work done on them.

Enterprising Koreans have a fancy for Siberia, quite large settlements having been made in Russian Manchuria, where they excel both the Chinese and Russians in business and industrial pursuits. Those who lived there before 1884 have rights as Russian subjects. But now the Russians require all the good land near the railway for their own people, and the Koreans are denied further ingress. The Korean colonists are lightly taxed, and have the regulation of their own affairs to a great extent.

Formosa was peopled aboriginally by Malays and Mongolians,—Chinese from the adjacent continent, and Malays from southern parts. The Chinese are dominant, and the population is of all ethnological grades, from half to wholly savage. The continental Chinese call all the islanders barbarians,

whether savage or civilized. The Japanese, who are now masters, are filling the island with their own prolific hordes, to the evident discomfort of the aboriginal Chinese. In the mountainous regions of Formosa are aboriginal tribes that have never been subdued by the Chinese from the mainland, and who are as wild now as they were a thousand years ago. Chihoans, raw barbarians, the Chinese call them, while of the conquered tribes the most important are the Pepohoans, who cultivate rice extensively on the Kapsulan plains which lie along the eastern seaboard. Here were once thirty-six villages of simple thriftless folk, until the aggressive Chinese forced them to reclaim new rice fields from the more distant jungles of the foothills.

Siberia in time will receive large accessions to her population from China, particularly when systems of railways are more fully developed in both countries. The result of thus transferring to virgin regions the hardy toilers from well-worn lands would be difficult to foresee.

Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, writing for France, remarks, "At the beginning of the twentieth century Russia will have 120,000,000 of prolific inhabitants occupying enormous spaces; 60,000,000 of Germans, supported by 30,000,000 of Austrians, will dominate central Europe; 120,000,000 of Anglo-saxons will occupy the finest countries in the world, and will all but impose on civilized man their tongue, which is already dominant at this day in territories inhabited by more than 300,000,000 of men. Place by these great peoples the Chinese empire, which by that time without doubt will recover a new life. By the side of these giants what will be France?"

Says Charles Carleton Coffin in *Our New Way round the World*, "The Celt just over from Ireland, with the ink scarcely dry upon his naturalization papers, proposes to shut out the more industrious Asiatic from all chance of employment in this country; and partisan politicians, devoid of all sense of honor and justice, and comprehending nothing of the true principles of democratic economy, pass laws which are a disgrace to our country. The people of California and Oregon may hang their heads in shame when they contrast their treatment of the Chinese with that which Americans receive in China. Their persecution of the Asiatics demands

the reprobation of the nation. That the government and the people of China are moving slowly along the path of progress cannot be doubted, yet it will take a long while to overcome the inertia of the mighty mass. It would not be strange if the reactionary party should yet succeed in obstructing the onward movement. There are men in China, as there are in California, who would like to see all foreigners swept into the sea. People who have been thrown out of employment by the introduction of steamboats are restless; mandarins who see their power departing are ready to stir up discontent. There cannot be a social revolution without a disturbance of elements, and it will be contrary to the experience of all history if China is an exception." Yet California is not the only place in the United States where the Chinese are badly treated. They are nowhere specially desired. As for race specialties, New York nourishes the Irish, while Boston is too much in love with the black man to have much consideration for the yellow one just at present.

The Russians in Siberia at first employed convict labor from the penal settlement of Saghalien, but this being unsatisfactory, from 8,000 to 10,000 Chinese were brought in the spring from the province of Shantung to carry out the summer labor contracts, returning to China in the winter, each with thirty or forty dollars in his pocket.

As an economic factor, the Chinaman is an ideal human machine, the best intelligent and industrial animal that can be produced at the price. There are men physically stronger, there are men intellectually superior, there are men morally purer, but there are no men with body mind and morals, united with aptness, patience, and application, who are worth, or can be made worth as much to civilization according to the cost. Call him animal, vegetable, or mineral, he comes all the same, and proves indeed a worthy implement. What is his cost? To his country, very little; to the foreigner, nothing. He comes ready taught, or will teach himself what you will, and work for the common laborer's wage, or less. What does the negro cost? He formerly cost his master \$500 or \$1,000. Four million of them cost the nation two millions of lives, three thousand millions of money, and in their enfranchisement deep humiliation to every true lover of his country. What the fifty or a hundred millions,

the natural increase of these now six or seven millions in a century or two, will cost, it is difficult to imagine. A race war has already set in, which will deluge the land in blood, and may in time destroy the nation.

It is all very well, this imperialism and expansion, becoming a great nation and taking part in the affairs of the world, elevating humanity and refining culture, but would it not be well in the mean time to have a regard for the quality of stock from which we are looking for such high and pure republicanism? Have we not already absorbed enough of the base blood of Europe and the black blood of Africa? Now we are bringing upon ourselves a horde of that hybrid population found in all the old Spanish colonies, made up of endless intermixtures of Indians negroes and Spaniards, together with the Kanakas of Hawaii, and the Mongolians of the Asiatic isles, with all their still lower and more degrading race intermixtures.

The natives of the tropical islands were in their aboriginal state savages of the lowest species. They went naked, or wore next to nothing, lived in huts or made their lair like wild beasts in the jungle, ate berries and other spontaneous fruits, with raw fish on the coast and small game and vermin in the interior. Where they came from, or how they came to be, no one knows, and probably no one ever will know, though many can tell what they think about it. The Hawaiians hold traditions that they came up from the south; the south people wandered over from the continent; the autochthon theory of origin is not current among them. Then, into this original mass, whatever may have been original, were thrown other original masses, Malays from Malaya, or Malacca; Mongols from Mongolia; Chinese, Japanese, Australians, and Africans, resulting in endless conglomeration. Last of all came the Europeans, only to make matters worse, the foreign blood thus injected producing a yet more demoralized humanity.

It is a significant fact, and one well worth the consideration of those who think it better to lift into life the baser material of the human race than to cultivate and bring yet further forward the more advanced of mankind, that not only savagism and all inferior races fade away and become obliterated in the presence of superior civilization, but the inferior

racess cannot even put on the garments of civilization without becoming infected by them; that is to say, give the Asiatic, the African, the native American, European forms of government, of industry, education, and ethics, and he will decline rather than advance under the infliction.

During the three centuries following the discovery of the tropics, Spain and Portugal, and later Holland France and England, entered the field of competitive colonization upon a scale which, if not so broad as that of a later day in India and Africa, was fully as intense. In the West Indies and South America, as the aboriginal laborers disappeared under the heavy blows of the European task-master, their place was supplied by the more hardy African, carried thither as slaves, 600,000 being landed by the English in Jamaica alone. Upon the application of African slave labor, the rich soil of the islands under a hot sun, with an abundance of moisture, yielded such wealth as to enrich all Europe. Enormous plantations conducted upon imperial plans attended with lordly sway and luxurious living sprang up on every side, with fine cities at the principal ports and appropriate government everywhere. Though attended by barbarism and cruelty, the application of African slave labor to the cultivation of tropical islands and seaboards was unquestionably successful in a pecuniary point of view. All this while it was clearly evident that Europeans could not live and labor here in any considerable numbers. Some of the descendants of the early overseers and artisans became so acclimated that malaria seemed to have little effect upon them, and the half-breed population which sprang up took the place to some extent of the former native inhabitants.

With the abolition of slavery and the rise of black republics, however, all this was changed. The Africans increased in numbers faster than ever, but they would not work. Their poor imitation of the national ideals of the more advanced governments failed to help them, and they fell into a state of inanity worse than any barbarism, without aspirations or intelligence, without moral force or energy. These efforts to advance races of low development by surrounding them with the paraphernalia of a higher culture have in every instance proved unavailing, and shows the utter uselessness of this form of altruism.

It is a full century since the colored races of Hayti threw off the rule of France, and from that time to this the country has been deteriorating. Prosperity went out with foreign rule, the ethics and institutions of advanced civilization not being applicable to inferior races, when the administration of affairs is left to a people ignorant and naturally lazy and incompetent. Left to himself the tropical black man will not work so long as food can be obtained and the swarming increase fed without work. As compared with former times the island appears to be in ruins; where once was busy industry and extensive commerce, are now dilapidated plantations, abandoned mines, and rotting wharves and warehouses. The chronic condition of politics and society is revolution and revolting crime, with rank corruption in every branch of the government. Commerce is not encouraged, industry is declining, and intercourse with white men and foreigners is not desired. A century of trial is here sufficient to show that the tropical negro, under European forms of government, gradually declines, until a state of things is reached far worse than his original condition in Africa.

Those who pretend to place the negro on an equality with the white man are not consistent. The egregious blunder of giving the African the ballot has been committed, and to cover this crime of the commonwealth, having made him politically their equal, they would pretend him to be their equal intellectually and socially as well. But like all fraud and hypocrisy, good people cut a poor figure trying to practise them. They say thus and so, but do they receive the black man as their equal, associating and intermarrying with him as with the white man? If so their taste and judgment are to be deplored; if not, their profession is a false one. Whatever the few may do, carried away by the feeling of wrong done to the liberated slave, or by some other equally illogical sentiment, the facts remain, (1) that the black and white men in this republic are in name politically equal; (2) that intellectually and socially they are not and never can become so; (3) being ethnologically and fundamentally different in race they never can amalgamate; (4) as they can never unite there will be eternal antagonisms and race wars; and, finally, (5) the increase of the negro being twice as fast as that of the white man, it is only a question of time, if present politics continue, when the

black man will overwhelm the white man by reason of numbers alone.

This is the possible physical outcome of our present negro worship; the mental and moral degeneration which may follow can only be surmised from the fact that the constant tendency of Indians and negroes is to revert to their original condition. That the non-advancing Chinese have not during these several thousand years retrograded, shows their civilization, such as it is, to have been genuine. The education of the Indian is not civilization but whitewash. The emancipated slaves of the United States have not and never can have the indigenous development essential to inherent culture. In the West Indies, away alike from the savagisms of Africa and the bolstering institutions and ballot of America, the negro does not advance, but retrogrades. Hence I say that the greatest danger to the republic is not from without but from within. The sins of the fathers are visited upon the children, first the sin of slavery, and then the sin of enfranchisement. If seven millions of emancipated slaves are ready to rise against seventy millions of white men, how will it be when there are seventy millions of black men whom the smell of blood makes brutal.

There is a colored laborer in Washington who is the father of sixteen girls. As he is but forty-four years old, the chances are that sixteen will soon be twenty. If each of these girls should have twenty children within thirty years, and the rest of the negro race in the United States should increase accordingly, the sons of the carpet-baggers will regret that ever an African left his native jungle.

A far more serious question than, What shall be done with the Philippines? is, What shall we do with our colored population in the United States? that is to say if we do not indeed desire to see another black republic with ourselves as a sprinkling of white trash. The black population is increasing rapidly, much more rapidly than the white population. In some of the southern states the negroes outnumber the whites two to one, in certain sections twenty to one, and throughout the entire south the increase is at the rate of three black to one white.

The negroes of the United States are for the most part occupants of warm rural districts, well fed and not over-

worked, enjoying all the blessings of civilization and good government, with little or no trouble or cost to themselves, their environment thus being in the highest degree conducive to rapid increase in numbers. But there is little denoting progress or thrift in their surroundings. One may travel for days through the south, and encounter nothing in the shape of habitations except unpainted huts and dilapidated hamlets, round which swarm pickaninnies like black ants, the women sitting on the doorstep and the men stretched on the ground.

Since California first raised the cry, The Chinese must go! the government finally endorsing it, the people's politicians have given the ballot to four millions of low, ignorant, emancipated slaves. What material for citizenship for the world's foremost republic! How proud we should be of our birth-right; how admirable to be the peer of this brutal and bare-footed black man, to walk beside him to the polls, there to discharge the most solemn obligation imposed upon an intelligent freeman!

I may be pardoned if I place myself right with the reader on this question. While deploring sensational fads and emotional philanthropy, I do not oppose reform. All my life I have been a friend of the slave. For three generations before me, my ancestors, the Bancrofts of Massachusetts and the Howes of Vermont, were uncompromising abolitionists; and while the men of Boston were mobbing Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison for uttering abolition sentiments, I, at the age of twelve years, was assisting negroes, at night, on their way through Ohio, from Kentucky and slavery to Canada and freedom. But for all that I think too much of my country, I prize too highly her honored institutions to wish to see them administered by any but the ablest and best men.

I have recently returned from a visit to the southern states, and my sympathy with the Africans there was never so great as now. They are an alien race, with no hope of home or country in the land of their birth. The citizenship which was given them by northern politicians for purposes of their own, is proving a curse. With the ballot was bequeathed to them eternal discontent. With the change came first egoism, then envy, and therefore hatred,—an endless longing for impossible escape from a black skin, emblem of inferiority and servitude. And the more refined they become in manners and

education, the more they will feel the stigma of race color which they must forever wear. Will this state of things never improve? No. Can the Ethiopian change his skin? It was right to deliver them from bondage; it was not right, it was not conducive to their happiness, to exalt them above their natural sphere. To be kind to them, to give them the protection of our laws, to educate and elevate them if you will, was our duty, but to make them our law-makers, our masters, was our disgrace.

We have seen that the earliest civilizations ripened in semi-tropical lands, those actually within the tropics, like the Mexican and the Peruvian, occupying high interior plateaus, which lifted them out of the influence of the hot, moist, malarious lowlands into the dry, pure air of moderate temperature. Upon no tropical island has ever appeared an indigenous civilization; all are and have been occupied by the lowest races, savages of dusky skin and beastly aspect, mostly man-eaters, naked and houseless. Even where Europeans have come in and mixed their blood with that of the natives in greater or less degree, the product has still been half-savage, with never any thing better than a half-savage government. Even China, whose aborigines many centuries ago were either obliterated or absorbed by the slightly civilized horde which swept down upon them from central Asia, left to herself makes little if any advance.

All men are created free and equal, said the sages of the past, while sages of the present affirm, either directly or by implication, that it is in a restricted sense only that the rights of the weaker races, where they stand in the way of progress, can be admitted. All men are created free and equal, says Mr Jefferson. Nature says No. They are not equal, morally or intellectually. You may make them so politically if you like, but you cannot make them so potentially.

The time has passed for the question to be asked, Shall white men take the tropics? No region of the earth will hereafter long remain under the control of people of low ethnic development, and without the development of industrialism. Not only is civilization becoming more and more dependent upon the tropics for an important part of its food supply, but less dependent on the inhabitants of the tropics even for labor supply. The aboriginal inhabitants of the

islands have never been found fit for labor; Spaniards and Spanish intermixtures are still worse; the early planters went to Africa and the later ones are drawing on China and Japan for a supply of tropical working men. If therefore the present occupants are capable neither of ruling properly nor of working, they must give place to those who are, for the world will have returns from these lands by some means. Militarism, if the chronic fighting which is waged generation after generation by the half-savage peoples can be properly so called, cannot always prevail or take the place of ethical and industrial development, now so conspicuous in the onward march of civilization.

Says a good missionary who crossed the Pacific and wrote a book, "It is our duty to take China into tutelage to strengthen her by insisting upon reforms." A truly Christian sentiment! But why is it; what makes it our duty, and by what right may we insist upon our ideas of reform? And suppose China insists upon the same right to reform us? Our talk is largely a system of logic to be finally decided by gunboats.

Each nation judges the others from its own point of view, and makes deductions favorable to its own ways and its own people. It is as if the whale said to the kangaroo, "Why are you a kangaroo? It is better to be a whale." Hence many infelicities. Give the yellow man his fling at the white, and what would he say? "Oh! you queer lot; where is your loyalty that you have no queue; where is your religion that you have no idols? Blind and stupid, you know nothing; you know not what you are, whence you came or whither you go. You stand agape at yourselves, a strange creation strangely environed. You know not even your gods, but worship in the dark; it is better to be a pagan, with worshipful dead ancestors, who were once here in the flesh and can protect you now if they will. You seem burdened with a self-consciousness which you cannot escape, and so fill the skies with images, and populate the earth with beings who ripen for purposes of destruction. To accomplish the aims of a higher humanity you employ the attributes of the brute which you profess to abhor. Your altruism is but refined animalism, selfishness underlying all your civilization, with unseemly greed as the keynote of your patriotism and your progress. While making for liberty you enslave yourselves by conventionalisms. Half your life is spent

to save, half to destroy. You preach peace and practise war. You profess love and distribute hate. You pretend to benefactions, and draw the recipients of your bounty into a bottomless pit. You come to us with your missionaries and your opium, and your great warships, and enforce on us your unwelcome dogmas and drugs,—all this in the name of Christ and humanity, while really you are serving Satan. If this be so, and who shall gainsay it, what right have you to go prowling up and down the earth to make room for the white race, and rid the world of the black and the yellow?"

It has come to be a doctrine of orthodox civilization that it is right, humane, and just for a people of culture and nominally good morals to take in hand the affairs of any weaker people of low intelligence occupying lands which the stronger nation would like to possess; that in law and equity it is not proper for savage or half savage races to take up the room on this earth which can better be filled by better people, and that therefore any nation strong enough at once to conquer the weaker nation, and at the same time hold at bay or mollify its covetous compeers, may honorably seize upon and oversee, manage, manipulate, and govern the persons property and country of another whenever a plausible pretext can be found for so doing. As it is the destiny of all savage peoples to give place to civilization, so these half or wholly savage islanders must be content to have their affairs managed by those stronger and more intelligent than they. Thus we see the importance to us and to civilization of the tropical islands which have recently fallen to us, and which with wise management and proper care will become useful and profitable. We can learn both from England's successes and Spain's failures, and by emulating the one and avoiding the other, administer the affairs of the islands so as to bring blessings to them and to us.

Statesmen in Europe and America may be very sure that the tropics never will be permanently peopled by white men, and legislate accordingly. The experiment has been tried, under conditions more favorable than are likely to be repeated. It is contrary to the law of natural distribution. Fishes do not inhabit the mountains, nor do birds live in the sea. The Eskimo wraps himself in furs, and with a supply of whale's blubber stows himself away in his underground hut, there to lie practically dormant through the long dark winter. The

tropical man eats bananas and basks naked under an equatorial sun until his skin turns black or yellow. The midway white man does neither; he may go to Alaska for sealskins and gold, and to Hawaii and the Philippines for coffee and sugar; but he returns and dwells forever midway.

Enterprise has become amphibious, its emblem a beaver, with its underground city on shore and a dam to husband its commerce, which at the same time obstructs the incoming of the unwelcome. As to the perils of expansion, what would America be could it not expand? The wind blowing in from the open west has been the vital air of the nation, without which we should ere this have stifled, or burst our restraint and throttled Canada, perhaps, or Mexico. Henceforth we need not take into our land the scum of Europe, but may send it all on to wash itself in the waters of the great ocean, and sun itself dry in our tropical isles. With a broad sea on either side, it may be that the American people will find breathing space for a few more centuries, but no pent up Utica would answer the purpose throughout all time. Instead of eighty days in which to encompass the world, we take half of it in four steps without soiling our seven-league boots with alien earth. The actual occupation by white settlers of the lands which fall to us as the result of the war, or the colonization of any tropical lands as our own land was colonized, was never seriously contemplated. Any such acquisitions must be managed on a different plan, by American capital and Asiatic labor.

We may give the ownership but not the occupation of the tropics to the white race. The interchange of products between one part and another part of the temperate zone has hitherto occupied its undue share of attention as compared with trade between temperate and tropical lands. For the most part the products of the land to which one is native, whether temperate or tropical, are classed among necessities, while those which come from abroad are called luxuries. Civilization, inhabiting exclusively temperate climes, is drawing constantly more and more on tropical products.

Good government, after the best forms in Europe and America, need never be expected by natives of dark complexion living in communities apart from the dominating influence of people of higher development. The Hawaiian islanders did

well when governing themselves according to their own customs; but when the missionaries induced them to adopt part of the paraphernalia of civilization without any hand stronger than their own to guide them, they found themselves sadly astray. Dom Pedro's fatherly despotism was better for the Brazilians than their own subsequent independence. Why Mexico prospers is because Diaz is more autocrat than president; the people have very little to say about the government. Why the Spanish American governments in Central and South America are so like the governments of Liberia, Hayti, and Jamaica is because they are so much nearer akin to the savage tribes of America than to the civilized nations of Europe.

The two distinct races of the Philippines, the negrito and the Malay, both show traces of relationship, one with Africans and the other with Asiatics. Short, dark, with woolly hair and a negroid type of face, the negritos display characteristics of a distinct race, and one which has long occupied these islands. To this region nature has given a fertile soil, broad pasture lands, rich mines of gold and silver, and vast forests of precious woods, all interspersed with the finest of fruits as food for man. But here, as in other tropical regions where nature is at her best, man is at his worst; nor are base intermixtures likely to improve the aboriginal stock of the 7,500,000 people who inhabit the islands, less than half of whom are the short, copper-colored, industrious Tagals of Luzon.

In the Philippines under the Spaniards the government put to forced labor all who failed to pay their taxes. As the work of the government was performed by contract, the claim of the government on the delinquent tax-payer was sold to a contractor, who was obliged to furnish food which cost four cents a day, and shelter at night, which cost nothing. Wages were ten cents a day, and the original tax of perhaps \$5 could with costs be raised to \$20, to which might easily be added throughout the year such small sums as would render the slavery perpetual. The priests saw the profit in the system, and made applications for forced labor, which they applied to their own work, or to contracts which they obtained. It was this infamous system of enslavement in condemnation of which José Rizal wrote a pamphlet, and for which he was shot in the public square, the part against the government being pronounced treason and that against the church blasphemy.

The laborers on the sugar plantations of Cuba are much in the position of tropical laborers elsewhere; where they are kept systematically and perpetually in debt, their condition is but little better than absolute slavery,—the old system of repartimientos, or the serfdom of feudalism. In the central provinces there are two white Cubans to one black one; toward the east the races are nearly equal. The lighter-colored Cubans are largely of Spanish blood; the forebears of the blacks were from Africa; the present generation are like the blacks of Hayti and Jamaica. The Spaniards of Cuba are not like the Spaniards of the Peninsula, neither are the Africans of Cuba like the Africans of Africa. They are not only Americanized, but made tropical as well. They are largely animal here, and with but little energy. The native population of Porto Rico is quite different from that of the Philippines, being more docile, and less disorderly; some of them are property holders; all of them are somewhat timid, and hence require a rule less arbitrary than fiercer natures demand.

So long as a people are unfit for self-government, like the Filipinos for example, it is no kindness to give it to them. What they want is protection and guidance while being taught how to live, and work, and deal one with another. If it be not right for them to pay for this guardianship and education in the form of taxation, then let them go for the present untaxed. In common with the Spaniard, the American Indian, and the native African, both the Hawaiian and Filipino abhor labor; hence Chinese and Japanese have been permitted to come in and do their work for them.

The native Australasian is more like the African negro than the Polynesian Malay, though not quite so black as the former, nor with his tightly curled hair. Though all are apparently one people, those of the tropical northeast are superior to those of other parts. Yet all are savages, pure and simple, but little above the brute, and without one custom or characteristic pointing toward progress. They do not even know the bow and arrow, yet they handle the spear and stone hatchet with skill, and make bark canoes; but the triumph of their genius is the boomerang. Cannibalism is with them a religious rite rather than a food feast. In the south-western isles are two quite distinctly marked races—the black Papuan, skin sooty, not polished like that of the African, lips promi-

ment; the brown Malayan, short in stature, nose and eyes small, mouth large, hair lank. The mestizoes of Peru are a mixture of aboriginal Peruvians and Spaniards; the mestizoes of the Philippine islands are a combination of Tagalese and Chinese, for among aliens the Chinese are in the ascendancy. Tocupia contains 800 aboriginal persons, resembling the inhabitants of Samoa and Tahiti, but of finer physique, and more paradisiacal, because more primitive. When first visited they manifested no fear of the white man; being guileless themselves they supposed that all others were guileless. They have no weapons of war because they do not fight; are men no better than wild beasts, they might ask, that their chief occupation should be to slay each other? They are tall and graceful, with skin of bronze, and the men dye yellow their long straight hair, parting it in the middle, thus with all their purity, displaying a little vanity. They are unlike any of their neighbors in Polynesia. British Guiana, with 300,000 inhabitants in an area of 100,000 square miles, and an annual foreign trade of \$20,000,000 is administered by England on the plan of benevolent despotism, East India coolies performing the labor, which is servile, and without which the colony would be as demoralized and as worthless as Jamaica.

It is not easy for the aged to change, and Chinese civilization is very old; it was old when western Europe contained only savages, and the Japanese were yet apes. It is perhaps because the Japanese a hundred years ago were so far behind what China was a thousand years ago that in the present transformation Japan makes more advance in ten years than China makes in fifty years. Japan obtained so recently from China her poor culture that she can all the more easily pass it back and take on a better one. Now China must come forward and listen to the words of the schoolmaster, and take heed to the teachings of the new dispensation, or receive the punishment due to disobedience,—or more likely be punished in any event. The teachings of the strong are sometimes hard to bear.

All along down these forty centuries the Chinese have been making a wonderful museum; some hundreds of millions of human beings multiplied by say three lifetimes to the century make 48,000,000,000 souls that have contributed to this motley accumulation of customs and traditions which fill the superstructure of which the whole empire is the foundation. In

this strange museum how much there is of which the barbarian world knows nothing. What institutions and ceremonials are there whose nature and origin were embalmed in the books destroyed by Chin the wall-builder, wherein were doubtless written the lives of their ten thousand devils,—for they know no other gods,—a theogony that dwarfs the conceptions of Assyrians, Egyptians, and Grecians combined. Then the millions of idiosyncrasies and superstitions, old rubbish accumulations of four thousand years, born in millions of minds and evolved in the silence of isolation, crystallizing age after age so that the hot fires and heavy hammerings of the nations can with difficulty melt or break them. And the strangest of all in this museum is the man himself. There is nothing else on earth like a Chinaman; he has lived so long that in his attributes he should be either more or less than man.

Mild as he is in his smiling exterior he is essentially a thing of passion. If a laborer, then labor is his passion; if it be gambling, or money-making, or opium-smoking, each occupation becomes a business in which he is wholly absorbed. While cast away a waif among foreign devils, patience is his passion, and when once angered to kill, he is all passion. In foreign parts, more particularly among Christian nations, it is for his virtues and not for his vices that he is hated; it is because he is apt skilful and industrious, does not interfere in politics or religion, is saving of his earnings, docile and temperate, little given to extravagance, and is of quiet demeanor, that he is insulted and driven forth. Though a servant, he is not a slave. If he works the tailings of civilized industry, he works for gold. He indulges in no sentiment and asks no sympathy. Night or day are alike to him; on ship and shore he is equally at home, and in a fight he will handle the weapons he has so lately polished with the greatest glee.

Not that he is altogether perfect; some faults may be found even in a Chinaman, fewer though than in most people, as he is less human than some others. First, his skin; it is off color; for so says the constitution of the United States, the black and the white shall inherit but not the yellow. Then he is a great liar, wasteful even with his lies, not having with all his centuries of thought and storehouses of learning reached the true economics of mendacity. He has no soul, at least none as yet discovered; and hence no conscience, nor any moral at-

tributes. He sometimes steals, but rarely, and if not cornered he seldom kills. He is a machine, good only for work, but very good for that; for American society and citizenship better material can be found. There are no such things as public life and politics in China, and he wants none when he goes abroad. Mandarins are paid to do the ruling, just as girls are paid to do the dancing; why then trouble? For certain industries he is the best implement, and manufacturers who have to compete with all the world should have good tools. If a merchant, he is fairly honorable; if an official in China, he is honest according to his lights, and if honest true, for all true officialism there is bribery and corruption. He is just to whatever degree desired, for whenever he wants justice he buys it.

CHAPTER XXVI

NOTABLE VOYAGES INTO THE PACIFIC

THE world's great voyages have been for the most part into the Pacific. Jason in search of the Golden Fleece, and Columbus in search of the other side of India, made famous voyages but not great ones. Vasco da Gama and his successors, following the lead of Prince Henry of Portugal, and before any of them the Northmen in their navigations to New England, made most important voyages and discoveries, coasting Iceland and Greenland, coasting Africa and rounding the cape of Good Hope into the Indian ocean; and there have been some serious doings by ships and sailors at the Arctic and Antarctic ends of the earth; but neither the adventures of the Argonauts, nor the sailings of the Scandinavian Sea-Kings, nor the efforts in the Atlantic to find India, nor the searches in the ice for the north pole can compare in thrilling interest and romance with the voyages for discovery and piracy, for circumnavigation and possession, of the world's most famous navigators into and upon the broad Pacific.

The first of these, not counting the feeble attempts of Vasco Nuñez at the Pearl islands, or of Pedrarias Dávila at Panamá, or of Gil Gonzalez at Nicaragua, was that begun in 1519 by Fernando de Magalhaens, called Magellan by English writers, and completed in 1522 by Sebastian del Cano. Magellan was a Portuguese sailing for Spain; it was the first voyage of circumnavigation, and as one of the world's great adventures it has never been surpassed.

The expedition sailed westward round Cape Horn to the Philippine islands, where Magellan lost his life, and returned via the cape of Good Hope, all that was left of it. The story is thrilling, and not without its lessons, made up as it is of glorious successes and sad failures. I will give it as briefly as possible.

Born of noble parentage, about 1480, Magellan while yet a boy lost his father and took service with his native sovereign the king of Portugal. It was at a time when all the world was astir with new thought and adventure. The noble work of Prince Henry of Portugal was bearing its fruits, and the Portuguese were at that time first among maritime nations. Imagine the effect upon a young and ardent nature of the voyages of Vasco da Gama, the discoveries of Columbus, the writings of Amerigo Vespucci, and the adventures of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa! Little wonder then that when in 1504 Francisco d'Almeida fitted out a fleet for the East Indies, where the Portuguese then held sway, Magellan went with him.

Seven years the young man spent in India, while his physical and moral sinews were knitting into strength to meet the emergencies of the future. During this time an expedition was sent from India to the Moluccas for a cargo of spices, in which Magellan joined, touching at Sumatra, and coming to anchor in the port of Malacca, which was crowded with shipping; for this was the eastern gate of the Pacific, and a great mart for the merchandise of that region, where were found gathered Arabs, Persians, Javanese, Chinese, and natives of the Philippine islands. A plot was laid by the king of this country to capture and kill the Portuguese, and so frustrate their further attempts at trade in this direction; but the deed was prevented, partly by the watchfulness of Magellan, who distinguished himself in various ways during the voyage. This visit to the eastern border of the Pacific led in time to the grandest results; for when the report of Balboa's discovery of an ocean on the other side of America reached Europe, Magellan bethought him if peradventure those great waters did not reach even to the Moluccas, where he had been gathering spices, and he resolved then that some day he would adventure a voyage westward and prove if his imaginings were true.

It was at the busy city of Seville, the headquarters in Spain of New World adventure and discovery, that preparations for the voyage were made. Other disaffected Portuguese, like Magellan, had come thither to take service with the king of Spain, then the grand monarch of the world. His friend Faleiro was there, and Juan de Serrano, Sebastian del Cano,

Juan de Cartagena, and others, and with the assistance of Cristobal de Haro, of the great Antwerp firm of India traders, the Rothschilds of that epoch, five ships were obtained and equipped under the usual regulations. It was stipulated by Charles V that discoveries made for Spain should not encroach on Portuguese rights, as determined by Pope Alexander's bull dividing the undiscovered world between the two powers. The fleet comprised the *San Antonio*, 120 tons, Juan de Cartagena, commander; the *Trinidad*, 110 tons, in command of Magellan, captain-general and admiral; *Concepcion*, 90 tons, Captain Gaspard Quesada; *Vitoria*, 85 tons, Luis de Mendoza captain; and the *Santiago*, 75 tons, Juan de Serrano, commander. The officers and crews were a mixture of Spanish and Portuguese, suspicious, jealous, and constitutionally treacherous. With them went Antonia Pigafetta, an Italian, who wrote an account of the expedition.

Magellan was in the prime of manhood, educated in all the geographical science of the day, a skilful navigator, and thoroughly seasoned by experience. He was ambitious, of iron will, and fearless of danger. Next to Prince Henry the Navigator, and Vasco da Gama, the discoverer of a new route to India, he was the most illustrious Portuguese of the Renaissance. Though by no means faultless, his nature was chivalrous; like Prince Henry, he preferred active usefulness to ignoble ease.

The vessels were all well armed, and carried a quantity of trading goods,—knives, fish-hooks, woollen cloth, velvet, ivory, quicksilver, combs, mirrors, brass bracelets, and 20,000 bells. Setting sail on the 20th of September, the fleet touched at Teneriffe, then crossed to America and coasted Brazil to Santa Lucia, where it remained a fortnight to take in fresh provisions, and for purposes of trade. As the navigators continued their way southward, they entered and examined every estuary, seeking a passage through the land to the sea of Vasco Nuñez, and to the Moluccas. And thus they sailed along, suffering now from short rations and now from disaffection, until they came to Port San Julian near the long sought strait. Here in all its rank deformity broke forth mutiny, which indeed had long been brewing. It is worthy of remark, as characteristic of the age and race, that scarcely a voyage of any considerable importance was made without

treachery and mutiny. It seemed to be almost universal with the Latin nations, from monarch to sailor. Call to mind the experiences of Columbus, of Cortés, Pizarro, and Vasco Nuñez, and a host of others. Nor was the voyage of Magellan an exception. Treachery had been present from the beginning. It came out afterward that there was a pre-arranged conspiracy on the part of certain officers not to obey the captain-general.

But that human nature may not be allowed to sink too low in our estimation, we may truthfully say that in every episode displaying the baseness of some, the nobleness of others shines forth with added lustre. Magellan himself knew not the extent of his own courage and genius before the test of his resources in time of danger which was here made.

Storms were frequent, the cold became severe, and more restricted rations became necessary, so that matters grew worse and worse. The demand was openly made that the expedition should turn back. "There is no strait," they said. "We are entering a region of eternal cold; or even if we find a passage through, what will it advantage us without food?"

Slights and insults were placed upon the captain-general, small at first, so small as rather to be felt than seen, gradually becoming so pronounced that Magellan could no longer ignore them. Among those who from the first had manifested evil designs was Juan de Cartagena; and when one day some time previous he had been summoned to the flag-ship with the other captains to attend the court-martial of an insubordinate sailor presuming on the long-continued patience of his superior officers, he broke forth in open abuse of the captain-general as to the course he was pursuing. But the captain of the *San Antonio* little suspected the presence of the lion he was rousing. "Traitor and villain," cried Magellan as he sprang upon him and seized him single-handed by the throat, "You are my prisoner." In vain Cartagena appealed to those present; he was ironed, and passed to the custody of Mendoza of the *Vitoria* for safe keeping.

The time was not then ripe for general insurrection; but now at Port San Julian, cold and hunger impelling them, half the fleet or more were determined to abandon the enterprise and return home. It was an unhappy moment for Ma-

gellan; almost all his officers against him, and the men would only too gladly follow them. What cared they? Upon the captain-general would fall the loss and ignominy of failure. And the commander was alone. He soon became aware that he could trust no one, and that his life was in danger. If he would not turn back they would kill him; so they said; and he would not turn back.

Easter-day was approaching, and it was ordered that all should then go ashore and attend mass, after which service the captains would dine at the admiral's table. Since the degradation of Cartagena, Alvaro de Mesquita, a cousin of Magellan, had been appointed to the command of the *San Antonio*. Quesada and Mendoza both declined to attend mass, and Mesquita was the only captain present at his kinsman's feast.

Magellan slept that night on board the *Trinidad*, retiring to rest in an uneasy frame of mind. There was likewise little rest on board the ships of the conspirators. Yet all was still until the middle watch, when Cartagena, who had been released by Mendoza of the *Vitoria*, with Quesada, Sebastian del Cano, and thirty armed men, silently boarded the *San Antonio*, and bursting into the captain's cabin seized Mesquita and put him in irons. Roused by the noise, Juan de Lorriaga, the maestre, a faithful Basque and no mutineer, attempted to stir up the seamen to resistance, but was fatally stabbed by Quesada's dagger. Such others as offered opposition were ironed, and command of the ship given to del Cano, who mounted the artillery and cleared the deck for action.

All unconscious of what had been done during the night, Magellan awoke next morning. Requiring water, he sent a boat to the *San Antonio* for men; but the crew was told to keep away, for Quesada, not Magellan, gave orders there. Well knowing what that meant, and determined to ascertain the worst at once, Magellan ordered the boat to go the rounds and demand of every captain for whom he declared. "For the king and myself," Quesada said. And so said they all, except the captain of the *Santiago*.

Here, then, was a situation which might cause the stoutest heart to quail. Three large ships, their captains and crews, arrayed against the admiral; only one, the smallest, besides his own remaining faithful. They were Spaniards all, these

captains, and they hated him; they hated him for a Portuguese, for their superior officer, and for his superiority as a man.

But the rare and subtle qualities of the man Magellan now came to the front to serve him at this crisis of his life. To attack by force the three ships would be madness; by strategy alone could the purpose be accomplished, and that to be employed against a foe as cunning as himself. A proposal was made by the mutineers to meet the admiral on board the *San Antonio* and talk over their differences; the admiral proposed that they should come on board the flag-ship, the *Trinidad*, as was usual and proper in such cases; but neither party would trust themselves in the hands of the other. Then came a letter from Quesada. Magellan seized and detained the boat which brought it.

Where now should he strike? For strike he must, and quickly. Running his mind over the situation, the position and personnel, officers and men, of the three hostile ships, he bethought him of the crew of the *Vitoria*, many of whom were foreigners and friendly to himself, though Mendoza the captain was now his enemy. All things considered he would test fortune at this point. Into a boat, therefore, he despatched the alguacil, Espinosa, with five men having concealed arms. Another boat put out from the *Trinidad* immediately after with fifteen picked men under Barbosa, Magellan's brother-in-law. These men had their instructions and could be relied upon. Espinosa made straight for the *Vitoria*, and with his five men was permitted to board and present a letter, summoning Mendoza instantly to the flag-ship. With a supercilious smile Mendoza replied, "I am not the kind of bird to be caught with chaff," and turned upon his heel. At that instant Espinosa's dagger was buried in his neck, and the captain of the *Vitoria* fell dead. Almost at the same instant Barbosa with his fifteen men appeared upon the deck, hoisted the admiral's ensign, and the capture of the *Vitoria* was complete.

It was now three to two on the side of the admiral. Instantly, and before the rebel captains could realize what had happened, Magellan had placed his three ships on guard at the entrance of the harbor, so that none could escape. The *Trinidad* was cleared for action. During the following

night the *San Antonio* bore down upon the flag-ship, dragging her anchor. On the quarter-deck, armed with lance and shield, was Quesada, calling on his men to fight, but they would not. As they neared the flag-ship, Magellan's men grappled and boarded her, and seizing Quesada, and other leading rebels, put them in irons. The other vessel was surrendered by Cartagena, and the mutiny was at an end. Quesada was beheaded; his body, and also Mendoza's, were drawn and quartered. Cartagena was marooned, being driven ashore before the departure of the vessels.

Preparations were now made to continue the voyage. The vessels were repaired and new officers appointed. The *Santiago*, sent coasting in search of a strait, was wrecked, without loss of life however. Serrano was made captain of the *Concepcion*, Mesquita of the *San Antonio*, and Barbosa of the *Vitoria*. Leaving Port San Julian, the expedition after several stops saw at length "an opening like unto a bay", which they entered on the 21st of October, 1520, and the long-sought strait was found.

After some further exploration of the coast southward, the navigators proceeded to the examination of the strait, which lasted thirty-eight days. As it was St Ursula day, the land on the starboard as they entered was called the cape of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. The fires seen burning on the southern side led to the name of Tierra del Fuego. The water was at first called the strait of Patagonia, later the strait of Magellan; the land was first called Magellan's Land, later Patagonia. Meanwhile the crew of the *San Antonio*, which became separated from the fleet, mutinied; the captain, Mesquita, was overpowered and put in irons, and the ship returned to Spain, where the ring leaders were rewarded, and those whose loyalty had brought upon them wounds and calumny were cast into prison.

The storms of the Atlantic had attended the navigators as they entered the strait, emerging from which Magellan found himself wafted by moderate winds, over placid waters, which he called Mar Pacifico. And cycles later sang the poet:

The fair breeze blew, the white foam flew,
The furrow followed free,
We were the first that ever burst
Into that silent sea.

Is the Pacific as a rule more pacific than the Atlantic? No. Waters will rage wherever winds blow; and although the Pacific is broadest under the equator where the Atlantic is narrowest, and tropical Pacific is to tropical Atlantic as three to one, yet the storms in the north and the hurricanes and typhoons of the south and west, give the sea of Vasco Nuñez and Magellan a claim to surliness and treachery equal to any other. But we thank the Portuguese for giving our sea so fair a name, which it will do well to remember, if seas remember names, and be merciful to those who trust their lives upon it.

Northward along Patagonia was now the course of the circumnavigator, then northwest, then due west, and finally west-by-north as straight for the Ladrões and the Philippines, close by the Spice islands he had seen and was now seeking, as if he had made the voyage round the world twenty times. "It is a sea so vast that the human mind can scarcely grasp it", writes one of them. Scurvy attended, and famine, with a hunger so horrible that rats were a luxury, eagerly purchased at half a ducat each.

Time across the Pacific 98 days. At the Ladrões, or islands of Thieves, they found "a people of little truth, poor but ingenious, and above all thieves",—a people quite different from the giant Patagonians, of whom they had kidnapped two, who died on the way. The ships had scarcely come to anchor at Thieves island when the admiral's boat was stolen by cutting the rope which held it. The little fellows swarmed up over the sides of the vessels, and snatching up whatever they could lay hands on, vanished into the sea. The Spaniards could neither catch them nor drive them off; so they fired into their midst the artillery and arquebuses, killing many. The little fellows ran away; they saw their hurt, but did not know how it had been done. They thought it all right to steal from strangers; why not? Strangers stole from them. They knew not the use of the bow and arrow; and when the Spaniards shot darts into their flesh, they would pull them out and look at them in wonder, like monkeys, in a manner pitiful to see.

Then came the navigators next to the Philippine islands, which they called the islands of St Lazarus, because on the day sacred to that saint they first sighted them; but in 1542 the archipelago was called by its present name in honor of Philip II of Spain.

Here the natives brought them cocoanuts and bananas, which latter Pigafetta calls "figs a foot long"; likewise oranges and other fruits; also fish and fowls. In return they were given bells, little mirrors, and other like trinkets. Then came the king with gold and rice, and was given a red and yellow Turkish robe, and a red cap. Other royal courtesies were exchanged, with feasting and demonstrations of friendship. The gum of a tree wrapped in palm-leaves was used as a candle. Magellan soon brought forward the matter of religion, and assured the king that it would be greatly to his advantage to espouse the Christian faith, particularly if he was engaged in war. No objections being interposed, the cross was planted there.

Cruising among the islands in search of advantageous places to exchange European goods for gold and spices, Magellan came to Cebu, where all around showed signs of opulence. The king of Cebu likewise accepted christianity; and Magellan, desirous of making subject to Christ and the king of Spain the entire archipelago, set out with sixty Spaniards and 1,000 native allies to subdue the island of Mactan, where he found twice that number to oppose him.

But were the enemy twice or thrice as many, to defeat them with six armed and armored Spaniards were but pastime. So thought the admiral, who dearly loved fight. Arrived at the island, a demand to surrender was made on the rajah of Mactan, who haughtily refused.

"Rest you here in the boats," said the king of Cebu to Magellan, "while I with my warriors conquer him". "Nay" replied the Portuguese, "Rather do you remain here while I show you how Christians fight".

Night came and went. At break of day the invaders landed, and met with brave resistance. Showers of stones came down upon them, and a galling fire of spears soon made it apparent that here was no mimic war. The native houses built close together among the trees afforded protection to the islanders, while impeding the efforts of the Europeans. Fire was set to the town. The infuriated islanders rushed with renewed rage upon the invaders, who gave way and fled for their boats, leaving Magellan, wounded, with only six men to support him. Slowly retreating toward the boats while fighting for their lives, the Spaniards were finally overcome, and Magellan fell,

thrust through with a dozen bamboo spears. Thus died this great man, a victim to his religion and his vanity.

For the rest, the natives seeing that the Spaniards were vulnerable, fought them at every turn, until their number was greatly reduced. The *Concepcion*, having become unfit for service was burned. The *Trinidad*, springing a leak, was dismantled and repaired, when she set sail for Panamá, but was obliged to return, three-fourths of the crew having perished through scurvy and starvation, the survivors with the vessel falling into the hands of the Portuguese. The *Vitoria*, taking on board a valuable cargo of spices at the Moluccas, sailed via the cape of Good Hope in command of Sebastian del Cano, for Spain, where she arrived September 6, 1522, with only eighteen survivors of the 265 who had sailed with Magellan. Thus was completed the first circumnavigation of the globe. The surviving captain of the *Vitoria*—properly, del Cano, but sometimes called Elcano—obtained as his armorial bearings a globe, with the inscription “*Primus circumdedisti me*,” which insignia might better have belonged to a better man, were not folly sometimes so near akin to bravery.

A similarity in the fate of two great discoverers here presents itself, both events as sad as they were uncalled for. Fernando Magellan discovered the Philippine islands, and was killed there by the natives; James Cook, two and a half centuries later, discovered the Hawaiian islands and was killed there by the natives.

Having thus found our way to the Far East by sailing west, thereby learning and accomplishing several things, first that the world of a truth is round; that it is larger than Ptolemy or any one had supposed; that the sea of Vasco Nuñez is a very great sea, making the India that Columbus sought a long way from Cuba,—being now upon the ground, we are reminded how from eastern Europe and western Asia Christian anchorites and Buddhist monks made their way eastward overland, even to the shores of the Pacific, opening to the world new and vast areas for conversions and commerce. From the cradle of the race came the Asiatic to the coasts of China and Japan. Humanity in some way got itself planted on the islands of the Pacific, and on the continent of America; many can tell you how, though no one knows. To find these islands and continents, and this scattered humanity, known only to

itself, Europeans called discovery, and declared such findings to be their own property, the people, their lands, their bodies and souls, and all their belongings, enforcing such pretensions solely by virtue of superior strength.

In the year 1541 started from Milan, in the name of God, for the New World, Girolamo Benzoni, and proceeded to the Canaries, there to take ship, as there were constantly leaving those islands for the Indies vessels laden with wine, flour, apples, and cheese. Thence to the coast of South America was but a short run, and a well-beaten track ere this; then along shore to the Isthmus, where the traveller and author pauses to tell the story of Columbus and the egg, and how badly Vasco Nuñez was treated by Pedrarias, and how badly the natives were treated by the Spaniards, on whom they retaliated as opportunity offered, pouring molten gold down their throats, and saying, "Eat, Christians, eat gold! Take your fill of gold!"

Because some one had said that Panamá was as fine a city as Venice, the Italian waxed wroth, and declares that this person never could have seen "the more than magnificent and most illustrious Venice: a city so exalted both as regards its power, its imperial majesty, its commerce and riches, and also its distinguished virtue and justice, as not to be inferior to any that the sun shines upon. And undoubtedly ten Venetian merchants would suffice to buy up all the merchandise that once a year is brought here, as well as the town also. And in order that it should not be supposed that I say this to deteriorate from the glory and ambition of the Spanish nation, I will also give a complete account of El Nombre de Dios. This town is situated in the Northern sea. Therefore fourteen or fifteen Spanish vessels, large and small, usually go there, and the greatest may carry 1,800 salms, or 360 tons. The cargoes consist of various articles, but principally of wine, flour, biscuit, and the rest of oil, some cloth and silk, besides various other merchandise made in Spain for household use, as well as for supporting human life. And sometimes it has happened that the market has been so overstocked that the articles did not fetch the price which they originally cost in Spain. But to return to the city of Panamá. It is situated on a small plain near the margin of the Southern sea, and at full moon the waves frequently reach the houses and enter those built on

that side of the town. They are encircled partly by reeds and partly by wood, and nearly all roofed with shingles, nor in my time did they exceed 120. As to the staple articles brought to Panamá, they consist of maize, a little flour from Peru, poultry, and honey. There are in abundance cows, pigs, oranges, lemons, all sorts of cabbages, onions, lettuces, melons, and other produce of the kitchen-garden. Nombre de Dios is built on the seashore, extending from east to west, in the midst of a wood. The locality is unhealthy, especially in winter, from the great heat, and the humidity of the ground, for a marsh surrounds it on the western side. Consequently a great many people die there; and as to the houses, they are like those in Panamá. When I resided in that province there were fifteen or twenty merchants, wholesale dealers; all the other houses and shops being occupied by small tradesmen, apothecaries, sailors, innkeepers, and other useful people. All the merchants who have a home at Nombre de Dios, have one also at Panamá, and live there till they become rich. On the northern side is the port, which is capable of containing many ships. As to Spanish articles produced by this pestiferous land, there are oranges, lemons, radishes the size of a mouse's tail, some vegetables, and a few small lettuces, not very good. All the rest is like the produce of Española, Cuba, and Nicaragua; that is maize, cazibi, salt, meat, pigs, and battatas; and from Panamá they bring cows, if they wish to eat fresh meat; and every thing else is brought from Spain."

After telling of Pizarro and Peru, Benzoni says: "I will now relate how and in what manner the navigation from Panamá to that kingdom is effected. Ships generally leave in the month of January and up to the end of April, which last is the best of all the year, it being the summer when the winds generally blow from the north-east and east; and those ships that sail at any other season undergo severe trials. When loaded they leave Panamá and go to Tabogá, or some other island near it, to fill up their water. Those islands are called the Pearls, because the Spaniards have found quantities there. They then navigate to the westward 100 or 150 miles, adopting that route on account of the strong current constantly running to the eastward, after which they cross over to Peru. Generally along this coast, the Indians living near the sea procure good water by digging large wells for the purpose; and when

they go from one place to another each man carries a calabash full of water. But when the natives of Manta go to Puerto Viejo, fearing lest they might meet some Spaniards who would drink it for them, they prefer going two miles inland, to get a stinking, black, dirty water that rises out of a rock, knowing that the Christians will not drink that water. In Puna, and in the territories of Guayaquil and Puerto Viejo, a certain root is found having many branches like the oak, called *zarzaparilia*, which cures the French disease and many others. When it is to be administered to a patient, it is well pounded between two stones to obtain the juice, which is mixed with some warm water and drained. The sick drink very abundantly of it, and remaining in a warm place perspire as much as they can bear. They continue this for three or four days, some more some less, eating only biscuit and a little roast fowl. On the other hand, some boil the twigs in water merely for their daily beverage; but these patients continue to drink it constantly for two or three months."

His remarks about the Pacific coast of Central America are interesting when we bear in mind that his visit was made only about twenty years after it was first seen by Europeans. "Ships going to Nicaragua by the Southern sea enter a canal on the shore, and ascend it for about twenty-five miles to a village called Realegio, consisting of a dozen houses made with reeds, inhabited by Spaniards who build ships, it being a convenient place and abounding in timber. A day's journey eastward of this spot lies the town of Leone, Cape Vescovado, built on the shores of a lake, founded by one Francesco Hernandez, as likewise was Granata, fifty miles further on, also on the shores of the said lake, near the canal that opens into the Northern sea. Thirty-five miles from Leone there is a mountain with a very large mouth whence there often issues so much flame and fire that it is seen at a distance of upwards of a hundred miles. Some people thinking that there was molten gold within, a Dominican friar determined to make the experiment. He therefore had a chain made with an iron bucket, and together with four other Spaniards went to the spot. Having thrown it in, the bucket with part of the chain was consumed by the fire. The monk was very angry, and returned to Leone complaining greatly of the smith, saying he had made the chain much lighter than he had ordered it. He

therefore made another much thicker; but returning to the mountain and throwing it in the same result ensued, and at the same instant a flame rushing out had nearly killed the monk and his companion; whereupon they all ran off so frightened that they never repeated the enterprise. I knew a priest in that town, who by favor of the treasurer addressed a letter to the king of Spain, entreating to be furnished with two hundred slaves to open that mountain, promising to draw very great treasure from it. But his majesty told him to open it at his own expense, for he had no slaves to send him; and so the affair rested. The country of Nicaragua is not very large, but fertile and delightful, though so hot in summer that people cannot walk except at night; and the soil is sandy. It rains during six months of the year, beginning in May; but in the other six months it does not rain at all, and the night is equally hot with the day. It produces a great deal of honey and wax, balsam, cotton, and many fruits of the country; among which is a sort not found in the island of La Española, or in any other parts of India. They are in shape like our pears, and have a round stone within about half as large again as a walnut; their flavor is excellent. The tree that produces this fruit is very large but bears a small leaf. They have few cows, but a great many pigs of the Spanish breed. The tribes are numerous, though the Indians are small; their houses are built of reeds, roofed with straw, and not very large. They have no metallic mines of any sort, although when the Spaniards first went there the natives possessed a great quantity of gold, much alloyed, brought from other provinces."

And now we come to the adventures of Francis Drake, adventurer, pirate, privateer, circumnavigator, knight, or what you will, a man of many parts, as free in tongue and manner as with sword and other people's heads. With two vessels, one of 70 tons and one of 25 tons burden, three pinnaces and 73 men and boys, this gentleman in 1572 crossed the Atlantic in search of doughty deeds,—a force which would be regarded wholly inadequate for the accomplishment of high endeavor at the present day. First they came to Nombre de Dios and captured the town. And this is what is said of it. "Our captain, finding those of our company proposing difficulties, resolved to take the opportunity that night, and so we ar-

rived there at three of the clock after midnight. About the same time a ship of Spain had arrived there, who, suspecting us, sent her gundeloe to alarm the town, which our captain perceiving prevented, so that we landed without any difficulty, and seized upon six pieces of ordnance, the gunner having fled, whereby the town was alarm'd. Our captain left twelve men to keep the pinnaces, that we might safely retreat in case of danger; and securing the platform he thought it best to view the mount on east side the town, fearing lest there might be ordnance planted there; whence we might be annoyed; but seeing no fear of danger thence, we returned to the city, where we parted. John Oxnam, and 16 of his men, going about back of the king's treasure house, entered the east end of the market, and our captain by the broad street passed to the market place with sound of drum and trumpet. The fire-pikes were equally divided betwixt them, and proved no less advantageous to our men than frightful to the enemy."

After some fighting the Spaniards capitulated, and the Englishmen were shown, in the government warehouses, where the treasure-trains were unladen, "a huge heap of silver, being a pile of bars about 70 foot in length, 10 in breadth, and 12 in height," but owing to loss of blood from a wound received, Drake was obliged to forego the plunder and return to his ship, leaving besides the silver, "in the king's treasure near the water more gold and jewels than all our four pinnaces could carry". After robbing and burning many ships, Drake joined the Cimarones, or escaped negro slaves, and with their aid enjoyed a period of depredations toward Cartagena, and on the Isthmus between Nombre de Dios and Panamá.

Once more sailing the high seas from England, this time in 1577 with five ships, and a chaplain named John Fletcher, who wrote a narrative of the expedition, portions of which were true, Francis Drake passed into the Pacific through Magellan strait after undergoing like Magellan his little mutiny at Port San Julian,—for Drake was not the man, nor even yet Fletcher the scribe, to permit a Portuguese to get the better of him in telling a tale. Then, too, Magellan makes the Patagonians tall, but Fletcher, having doubtless a bad eye for measurements, adds some score of inches and writes them down seven and a half feet in height. The Patagonians dried ostriches, of which Drake took fifty, forgetting to pay for them.

England and Spain were now nominally at peace, though that made little difference with Drake, with whom piracy was all one with privateering in these far away waters of the Pacific,—though when a few years later he was with John Hawkins in the West Indies the two nations were at war.

Continuing along Chili and Peru, Drake coasted the two continents as far north as latitude 48° . Among the incidents of the voyage we read from the divine Fletcher: "As we were searching for water we lighted on a Spaniard sleeping, who had by him thirteen bars of silver, weighing 4,000 Spanish ducats, which we took. Not far from hence we met another Spaniard with an Indian boy, driving eight Peruvian sheep, each sheep bearing two leathern bags, in each of which was fifty pounds weight of fine silver, which we likewise took. Here, and towards the province of Cusko, 100 pounds of common earth yieldeth 25 shillings of pure silver, after the rate of a crown an ounce. We arrived at Lima, and though the Spaniards had thirty ships in the harbor, we anchored among the midst of them. Here we heard of a ship that had 1,500 bars of silver in her, besides other things; we boarded her and took what we had a mind to. We had notice of a rich ship laden with gold and silver for Panamá, that had set sail from this haven. We went in pursuit, and found in her some fruits, conserves, sugars, and a great quantity of jewels and precious stones, 13 chests of ryals of plate, 80 pounds weight of gold, 26 tons of uncoined silver valued at about 360,000 pesos. We gave the master a little linen for these commodities, and after six days departed."

After further similar experiences in the south, the Englishmen proceeded north in search of a strait through or passage round the northern end of the continent. Mr Fletcher, in relating their midsummer encounters on the California coast, doubtless found some who believed what he said to be true. "We sailed until June 23rd" he writes, "1,500 leagues in all, till we came to 42° of north latitude, where in the night time we were oppressed with extreme nipping cold, whereby several of our men's health was impaired; and the day following, notwithstanding the heat of the sun, the cold was nothing abated, so that the ropes of our ships were frozen, and the rain which fell was a kind of icy substance. And when we came two leagues further, it was in that extremity that our

men could not make use of their hands, not to feed themselves; and our meat as it was removed from the fire was in a manner immediately frozen." Queer weather for the California coast in June!

Just north of San Francisco, in what was later known as Drake bay, "We found a fit harbor, and anchored therein, continuing till July 23rd, and still were molested with cold. The country people sent out a man in a canow to us, who directed his discourse to us all the way as he came; and being come near us, he had a tedious oration, using many motions; which, ended with great show of reverence, he returned. He came also the second time, and the third, after the same manner, and brought with him as a present a bunch of feathers artificially gathered on a string, made for those who guard the king's person to wear on their heads; he brought also a basket made of rushes, filled with an herb called *tabak*. Our general proffered him several things, but he would receive nothing save a hat." Evidently the writer had been reading from the works of Columbus and Cortés.

Landing to repair his leaky ship, and throwing up a stone wall for protection while ashore, "a great multitude of them came to us bringing presents with them as before, or rather sacrifices, they deeming us to be gods. Which our general seeing fell a praying with hands lifted up to heaven,—showing that God whom we served and they ought to worship was above,—and sung psalms, and read in the bible; to all which they were very attentive, and took such delight in our singing of psalms that every time they came to us they desired us to sing."

It was truly an affecting sight bringing tears to the eyes even of savages, to hear these pirates singing praises, and protesting they were not gods, while the reading to them of the bible must have been indeed edifying, especially when we consider how much English the Reverend Fletcher could teach these earthworms in a week. The gems and feather-work, with state ceremonies and fur-robed royalty, would have better befitted the Aztecs of Anáhuac than the Diggers of California; while the parson lets out the secret of his story about the intense cold, and the desire to abandon a tedious voyage of profitless discovery for the rich pickings of the East Indies, in the words following. "Our general now considering that the

cold increased, the sun being now nearer the south, left off his design of finding passage through the northern parts, and therefore with consent of the rest bent his course for the Moluccas". Yet it was still July, and the latitude as they gave it $38^{\circ} 30'$. Finally "it pleased God we safely arrived at Plymouth, after we had spent two years, ten months, and odd days in seeing the wonders of the Lord in the deeps, in discovering so admirable things, and escaping so many dangers and difficulties in our encompassing the world."

Once more in 1585 Drake visited the West Indies with 2,300 men, capturing, besides such ships as came in his way which he deemed worth taking, the towns of Santiago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and San Augustin. Cartagena proved the richest prize, and its capture is thus described. "The troops being now in their march half a mile this side the town, the ground grew straight, having the main sea on one side, and the harbor on the other. This straight was fortified with a stone wall and ditch. There was only so much unwall'd as might serve for passage, and that was well barricad'd. This wall had six great pieces planted on it, which shot directly on our front. On the inner side of the straight they had brought two gallies to the shore, wherein they placed eleven pieces of ordnance and 400 small shot, which flank'd our coming on, and on the land side in the guard only of this place 300 shot and pikes. They discharged many shot, both great and small, but our lieutenant-general approached by the lowest ground, so that most of their shot was in vain; he also forbid us to shoot till we were come to the wall side. The first place we came to was the barricados, where we discharged our shot just on our enemies faces, and joyned with them, and made them quickly retire; our lieutenant-general slew the chief ensign bearer of the Spaniards. We followed them into the town, and won the mercate place. At every street's end they had made barricados, but we quickly took them with small loss. They had set Indians in several corners with poysoned arrows; they had also stuck small sticks sharply pointed, and poysoned, in the ground in our way, but we coming close by the shore shunn'd most of them." After a stay of six weeks, the place was ransomed for 110,000 ducats.

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The second Englishman to circumnavigate the globe was Thomas Cavendish, who sailed from Plymouth in 1586 with

three vessels of 40, 60, and 120 tons respectively; he passed through Magellan strait, and followed the track of his predecessors along the coast of South America. While ashore filling the water-cask near Valparaiso, nine sailors were captured by the Spaniards, six of whom were hanged as pirates at Santiago, notwithstanding the expedition carried the queen's commission. The capture of Spanish ships then set in, and Cavendish did not hesitate at torture to force his prisoners to reveal secrets. Wanton destruction marked his course, towns and ships being usually robbed and then burned.

Arrived off Cape San Lucas, Cavendish laid in wait for the famous Manila galleon *Santa Anna*, 700 tons, with a cargo of silks, wine, fruits, musk, and 122,000 pesos in gold, which he captured, rifled, and set on fire, after landing the passengers, to the number of 190 men women and children; for "our general, out of his great mercy and humanity, had graciously promised their lives and good usage, in return for true dealing with him and his company concerning such riches as were in the ship."

And thus is described the manner of fight which accomplished the capture. "Chase was given and continued for some hours, when the English came up with the *Santa Anna*, gave her a broadside, poured in a volley of musketry, and prepared to board." The attempt was bravely repelled by the Spaniards, who repulsed the assailants by the use of stones hurled from behind protecting barricades, with two killed and five wounded. "But we new-trimmed our sails," continued the narrative, "and fitted every man his furniture, and gave them a fresh encounter with our great ordnance, and also with our small shot, raking them through and through to the killing and wounding of many of their men. Their captain still, like a valiant man, with his company, stood very stoutly into his close fights, not yielding as yet. Our general encouraging his men afresh with the whole voice of trumpets, gave them the other encounter with our great ordnance and all our small shot, to the great discouragement of our enemies, raking them through in divers places, killing and wounding many of their men. They being thus discouraged and spoiled, and their being in hazard of sinking by reason of the great shot which were made, whereof some

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were under water, within five or six hour's fight sent out a flag of truce and parleyed for mercy, desiring our general to save their lives and take their goods."

The people thus so graciously left to perish on a savage coast by our noble general, were saved by a Spanish miracle. As the ship burned down to the water, she was released from her anchor and drifted ashore, and with abundant supplies on board, served as an ark to save their lives and convey them to their destination.

All that the Englishmen did here on this California coast was accomplished in one vessel of 120 tons, the *Desire*, to which the miniature squadron was ere this reduced, and which now struck bravely out across the Pacific to the Ladrões, and thence over the now familiar track via the Philippines, the Moluccas, and the cape of Good Hope, back to England. So successful had been this adventure, that Cavendish in 1591 again tempted fortune, this time losing not only his property but his life. Adverse winds, intense cold, sickness, and treachery united to bring destruction upon the expedition, until the pirates heard the pirate's prayer: "Oh most glorious God, with whose power the mightiest things among men are matters of no moment, I most humbly beseech thee that the intolerable burden of my sins may through the blood of Jesus Christ be taken from me, and end our days with speed or show us some merciful sign of thy love and our preservation."

Another knight sent into the South sea by Elizabeth of England was Richard Hawkins, who set sail in 1593 with three vessels provided at his own cost, a method sovereigns always like subjects to adopt in making discoveries for them. Hawkins, however, more pirate than discoverer, could well afford to pay his own way, as will be seen by perusal of the chapter especially devoted to piratical adventures.

Five ships of Rotterdam sailed into the South sea in the year 1598. For some time past the Dutch had been prominent in the East Indies, voyaging thither via Good Hope, but now they were ambitious to adventure west, and enter the great Pacific through the strait of Magellan. So some merchants of Rotterdam fitted out these five vessels, and the expedition was called the Company of Pieter Verlagen.

Most of these early Rotterdam ships came to grief, two of

them, the *Hope* and the *Charity*—the *Faith* and *Fidelity* belying their names and turning back—struck bravely out for Japan, one of which reached those isles. Of this vessel William Adams was pilot. The Dutch found before them there the Portuguese, who had come from their possessions in India, and who informed the Japanese that the Dutchmen were pirates; whereupon the Asiatics plundered the ship of the Hollanders, though afterward restoring to them some of their effects. Adams was seized and sent to the emperor, and this is what the pilot says about it.

“Coming before the king, he viewed me well, and seemed to be wonderful favorable. Then came there one who spoke Portuguese, and through him the king demanded of what land I was, and what moved us to come to this land, being so far away. I showed him a chart of the world, and the Magellan strait through which we had come, and he wondered, and thought me to lie. From one thing to another he passed in his talk until soon it was midnight. Two days after he again sent for me and wished to know more of my country, of its kind and condition, of its wars and its peace, of its fruits, and its cattle, and I made him to think well of my country.

“In process of four or five years the king called me to him many times. One day he would have me to make him a small ship, but I answered him that I was not a carpenter and had no knowledge thereof. ‘Well, do as well as you can’ saith he, ‘if it be not good it is no matter’. Wherefore at his command I built him a ship of the burthen of eighty tons or thereabout; which ship being made in all proportions as our manner is, he coming on board to see it liked it well, by which means I came into greater favor with him, and visited him often, and received from him presents, and seventy ducats by the year, and two pounds of rice a day to live upon. Now being in such grace and favor by reason of the ship I had built, and also of some points of geometry and the mathematics which I taught him, after five years I made supplication to the king to permit me to return to my own land, that I might see my wife and children according to conscience and nature; but the king was not well pleased and he would not let me go.” And truth to tell, the poor pilot was held an industrial and educational prisoner by the wily Japs to the end of his days, though some of the less useful members of his

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ship's company were permitted to return to their own country.

Another Dutch expedition was fitted out this same year by Olivier Van Noort, who with four ships undertook a voyage of circumnavigation. Mr Van Noort's greatest achievements were shooting natives for amusement along the shore of the strait, and capturing Spanish vessels off Chili and Peru. In these craft were nothing but provisions; though a story was once told him of precious metals which excited his imagination not a little.

"They were in the parallel of Lima" says the narrative, "and they conjectured their distance from the coast to be about twenty leagues. This morning a negro named Emanuel, one of those kept of their first prize, declared that there had been three boat loads of gold in that ship, and that it was thrown overboard by order of her captain whilst she was chased by the Hollanders. Upon this information the pilot, Juan de San Aval, and the other negroes were examined. At first they denied Emanuel's statement to be true, but after being put to the torture they confessed every thing that had been alleged, and that the gold which had been cast into the sea amounted in all to 10,200 pounds weight, and that it had all been brought from Santa Maria island."

There is no doubt that among the pirates of those days there were both Spaniards and Dutchmen who would have confessed to the truth of twice as much gold as this having been obtained on an island where none existed rather than submit to further torture.

It was just three hundred years prior to Admiral Dewey's capture of Manila that Van Noort was there thinking of capturing the place with two of the four vessels with which he had left Holland. But after taking one Spanish galleon, one of his ships was destroyed by the Spaniards, and he was glad to escape in the other, leaving a large number of his men dead.

A Spanish ship, the *Santa Margarita*, whose captain with many of the crew had died from sickness, was captured by the natives of the *Ladrones*. Another ship about this time had the misfortune to fall among these thieves. It was in the year 1600. The vessel was the *San Geronimo*, in which Alvara de Mendana had sailed on his last voyage, and was

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A Spanish ship, the *Santa Margarita*, whose captain with many of the crew had died from sickness, was captured by the natives of the Ladrones. Another ship about this time had the misfortune to fall among these thieves. It was in the year 1600. The vessel was the *San Geronimo*, in which Alvara de Mendana had sailed on his last voyage, and was

wrecked at the Ladrões. The passengers and crew were some of them saved and some killed; with the gold in the ship the natives decorated themselves and their trees, hanging some of it around their necks, and some among the branches that sheltered them.

Hernan Cortés, conqueror of Mexico, entertained the idea that by following northward the coast of California, one would in due time come to India. The peninsula of California was discovered in 1533 by Jimenez, who supposed it to be an island. Since the conquest, Alvarado had been sent to Guatemala, Cabeza de Vaca had come over from the Mexican gulf, his route presently to be traversed by Marcos de Niza and Francisco Vasquez de Coronado. In 1535 Cortés crossed the gulf of California, then called the sea of Cortés, intending to make discoveries and settlements along the coast, but was soon obliged to return, owing to pressing matters at home. In 1542 Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo sailed northward from Mexico along the California coast as far as Monterey bay, where he died.

Quite early in the voyages between Acapulco and Manila the Spaniards caught the drift of ocean winds, bending south to catch them going west, and more to the north in sailing east, though the instructions were to keep as near the line of 30° as possible both ways. In 1565 the Philippine ships were sometimes as far north as latitude 37° , though from bending southward before reaching the California coast, San Francisco bay had not yet been seen. But in 1584 a ship commanded by Francisco Gali, from Macao via Japan, was carried northward 300 leagues, coming in sight of the coast near Cape Mendocino, and in coasting thence southward the bay of San Francisco was passed if not seen.

Torquemada tells how the king of Spain, desirous "of forming an establishment on the American coast to the north of California for the convenience of the navigation from the Philippine islands," ordered the viceroy Velasco of New Spain to attend to it. Whereupon the ship *San Agustín*, in returning from the Philippine islands in 1595, "undertook the examination of the northern coast in search of a harbor. She discovered the port which has since been named de San Francisco, and being already within this port, a squall of wind drove her on shore, and she was there wrecked." The

following year, by order of the conde de Monterey, viceroy of Mexico, Sebastian Vizcaino surveyed the gulf of California, and attempted colonization at La Paz.

It was in 1599 that the third king Philip of Spain ordered the coast of California surveyed, and in 1602, the order was obeyed, Sebastian Vizcaino sailing northward with four vessels, the capitana, or flag ship, being the *San Diego*, which name he gave to the beautiful port he found just above the peninsula. The other vessels were the *Santo Tomás*, the *Tres Reyes*, and a barco longo as they called a smaller craft; and they sailed from Acapulco on the 5th of May.

Many whales were found at a bay called Ballenas, and so kind to each other were the pelicans of Asuncion island, that if one were tied up the others would bring it fish to eat.

Torquemada tells all this, and being a great inquisitor, what he says must be true. The shores of the peninsula were resplendent with pearl oyster and abalone shells. Proceeding northward, as the *Monarquia Indiana* relates, "being six leagues from the main land they fell in with four islands, which were named los Coronados, two of them small and appearing like sugar loaves, the other two something larger. To the north of these islands in the main land is a famous port which was named de San Diego. November the 10th in the evening the ships of Vizcaino anchored in port San Diego. This was the most secure harbour the Spaniards had discovered since leaving port de la Magdalena. Here they found woods, fresh water, a fruitful country which abounded with game, as the port itself did with fish. In short this seemed to be the object of their pursuit. The inhabitants likewise appeared friendly in their disposition towards the Spaniards; and it was remarked that they had pieces of metallic ore, and that the paint which they used looked like a mixture of blue and silver". Then they went on and found and named the Santa Catalina islands, which were inhabited by a superior people having good boats, traffic with the mainland, and a rude temple consecrated to idols. Thus the voyage was continued as far as latitude 42°, or a little beyond, when the expedition returned.

By this time, through the natural love of the marvellous, and the stories told by mariners who drew largely upon their imagination, and a strong desire to find a water way through

or round the continent, the idea of the existence of a strait in the north assumed the form of mystery. This imaginary strait, first placed in South America, was gradually moved northward as discoveries dispelled the illusion, and finally, though wholly imaginary, found recognition among cosmographers and navigators as the strait of Anian. By that name it was mapped and described by geographers, and many were the mariners—one not to be outdone by another so long as speech should stand for deeds—who said they had seen or sailed through it. Besides the apocryphal voyages and the attendant imaginary geography, the maps of the period were filled with all forms of bodies of water, bays, straits, channels, rivers, and lakes, the land being labelled Anian regnum, Quivira regnum, and the like, with California regio up near the north pole.

Those who feel called upon to determine the authenticity of the alleged voyage of Bartolomé de Fonte into the interior of the Northwest coast, should consider first of all whether it is easier to accept a true voyage with false statement of facts or a false voyage with true statement of facts; or if, indeed, the expedition and incidents stated concerning it are not in the main impossible. The admiral de Fonte states that in 1640 the viceroys of Mexico and Peru received orders from the king of Spain to place at his disposal four ships, with which he sailed north-westward, sending one of his vessels as far as latitude 77° , that is to say into the Arctic ocean, where he sailed up a beautiful river, but found no strait.

“When I was at Venice in 1596” says Michael Lok the elder, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, “happily arrived there an old man, about 60 years of age, commonly called Juan de Fuca, who said that he was pilot of three small ships which the viceroy of Mexico sent to discover the straits of Anian, along the coast of the South sea, and to fortify in that strait, to resist the passage and proceedings of the English nation, which were feared to pass through those straits, into the South sea. And that by reason of a mutiny which happened among the soldiers for the misconduct of their captain, that voyage was overthrown, and the ship returned from California to Nova Spania without any thing done in that voyage.

“Also he said that shortly after the voyage so ill ended,

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the said viceroy of Mexico sent him out again in 1592 with a small caravel and a pinnace armed with mariners only, to follow said voyage for the discovery of the straits of Anian, and the passage thereof into the sea which they call the North sea, which is our North-west sea. And that he followed his course in that voyage west and northwest in the South sea, all amongst the coast of Nova Spania and California, and the Indies now called North America, until he came to the latitude of 47° , and that there finding that the land trended north and northeast, with a broad inlet of sea, between latitudes 47° and 48° , he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than twenty days. And that at the entrance of this said strait, there is on the northwest coast thereof a great headland or island, with an exceeding high pinnacle, or spired rock, like a pillar thereupon ”.

By order of Philip III of Spain, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros with three ships and six Franciscan friars sailed from Callao, Peru, in 1605 for the island of Santa Cruz, there to establish a settlement, and thence to make search for Tierra Austral, or the southern continent. His course for 800 leagues was west-south-west until latitude 26° was reached, when fearing to lose the trade wind he edged west-north-west back again, and so failed to find Australia, but came upon New Zealand instead. Many new islands were discovered, among them Otaheite, which Quiros called *La Sagittaria*, and many new nations were converted to Christ, the sword and matchlock playing their part.

Joris Spilbergen, a Dutch admiral, sailed round the world with six vessels via Magellan strait and Good Hope in 1614. The Hollanders had ere this secured the supremacy at the Spice islands, the Dutch East India company had been established, and fortresses and factories erected at Terenate and elsewhere. Like all similar expeditions of that day, Spilbergen's ships were fitted out for trade as well as for fighting. They were merchants, pirates, propagandists, thieves, and murderers, all in one. Dutch English French, Portuguese Spaniards and Italians, all were as sharks in the great waters of the world, roaming around seeking what to devour, only the sharks appear more sensible than the men, inasmuch as they do not tear in pieces their own species.

It becomes monotonous to follow these early voyages, with

their repetition of mutinies and starvations, their wars shipwrecks and destructions, yet they were terrible realities to those destined to undergo them. Spilbergen's voyage was no exception to the others. Yet he was more fortunate than most in this respect, that he brought five of his six ships safely to the Moluccas, even after a brush with the Spaniards off Acapulco.

Up to this time all voyages into the Pacific from east to west had been made through Magellan strait, as it was not yet known whether Tierra del Fuego was an island or a continent, and if the latter how far south it extended. A company of Dutch merchants determined to ascertain the truth of the matter, and in 1615 sent thither the ships *Endracht* and *Horne* in charge of Jacob le Maire, merchant and president of the ships, and Wilhelm Schouten as master mariner. The vessels were of 360 and 110 tons respectively, one carrying 19 guns and 65 men, and the other eight guns and 22 men. The larger vessel returned in safety via Good Hope; the smaller one was wrecked, and her name given to the sharp point round which a ship now first sailed. It is generally surmised that the name Cape Horn was given to this point of land on account of its shape, but such was not the case. Here as often elsewhere, for example San Diego bay, the Columbia river, and following the tracks of Cook, Vancouver, and other great navigators a score of cases, the name of the discovery ship was given to the land or water discovered.

The merchant mariner Le Maire died from ill-treatment before reaching home.

The western coast of Terra Australis, or the Great South Land, was discovered by Theodoric Hertoge in 1616, after which the Dutch endeavored to obtain further knowledge of that region, but learned nothing until 1642, when Tasman set sail from Batavia on the most important voyage of circumnavigation since Magellan's. Knowledge of this expedition was given to the world by the captain's own hand under the following caption. *Journal or Description by me, Abel Jansz Tasman, of a Voyage from Batavia for making Discoveries of the Unknown South Land in the year 1642. May God Almighty be pleased to give his blessing to this voyage. Amen.*

They came in two ships to the island Mauritius, and thence passed on to a land which they called Van Diemen's,

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sailing afterward to Staten island, then to Amsterdam island, then Rotterdam island, and finally to New Guinea or Tasman land. Tasmania, once Van Diemen's Land, is now a British colony, with cities and broad settlements, commerce agriculture and manufactures, and education and religion, all of which and much more the country lacked when Tasman first saw it.

Knowledge of Alaska and the north Pacific begins with the voyage of Vitus Bering in 1741, sent by Catherine of Russia in conformity with the desire expressed by Peter the Great to know if the lands of Asia and America joined, though others than Peter and Catherine knew ere this that they did not.

Deshnef's ascent of the Anadir in 1648 was not followed by the Kamchatka expeditions until nearly a century later. All this time speculation was rife as to the great land opposite, of which the Russians had heard so much from the natives. Bering's first expedition was to the Anadir; in his second he steered straight across for Mount St Elias. The *St Peter* and the *St Paul*, the former commanded by Bering and the latter by Chirikof, set sail from Avatcha bay on the 4th of June 1741, and continued together for ten days, when the vessels parted company in the night. Chirikof sighted the American continent at latitude $55^{\circ} 21'$ on the night of the 15th of July, and Bering the next day at noon. While on his return the commander died at Bering island, on the 8th of December.

The ships of war *Dolphin* and *Tamar*, Byron, commander, were sent by the British government in 1764 to make discoveries in the South seas, as this was an easy way to get possession of some of the world,—Spain and Portugal having so much of it,—namely, to find and take possession of any lands unclaimed by any other European power. Byron took possession of the Falkland and other islands. Again in 1767 the *Dolphin*, Captain Wallis, crossed the Pacific, and anchored for a short time in Matavi bay, Tahiti islands, giving to the harbor the name Port Royal, and to the land that of King George the Third island.

James Cook, son of a farm laborer apprenticed to a haberdasher, ran away, became sailor, then mate, joined the navy in 1755, attained distinction, was again given the control of ships, and in 1769, with a commission as lieutenant, was ap-

pointed to the command of the ship *Endeavor*, with a corps of scientists to make observations on the transit of Venus at Tahiti, where they arrived on the 13th of April, and erected an observatory. The work there accomplished, Cook set out in search of a continent in the south Pacific, and so came first to New Zealand, and then to New Holland, or Australia, and on return to England was made captain. In a second voyage he searched still further for continents, large or small; and in a third voyage he came upon Hawaii, and death. To a rich Englishman, Banks, the world owes the Cook voyages. With a Swedish friend, Solander, Banks accompanied the expeditions.

From the Society islands, in his third voyage, Captain Cook sailed northerly for six weeks without encountering any land other than an uninhabited coral island until he came to the group, then unknown, and supposed by him to be now for the first time discovered, and which he named the Sandwich islands. The people manifested but little fear, and spoke a language similar to those of the Society islands and New Zealand. On board ship they displayed wonder and curiosity, examining every thing about them, even the hands and faces of the sailors. They asked the strangers if they used food, and on seeing them eat dry biscuit, brought jams, plantains, sweet potatoes, and pigs. After ten days Cook sailed to Nootka sound, where he found quite a different people, the copper-colored Americans, with speech guttural, high cheek bones, long coarse hair, painted faces, and clothed in skins. They also had fringed mantles made of the inner bark of trees, and others of dog's hair. The finest skins, selected for the garments of the wealthy, were fringed with wampum, used as currency as well as ornament, similar to that found elsewhere in North America, and on the opposite coasts of northern Asia. This fact points to a widely extended commerce carried on at that time among the native nations on both sides of the north Pacific, and of which there can be no doubt, across Bering strait, and far southward on either seaboard. At Nootka trade was established, the natives bringing deer, bear, wolf, fox, raccoon, polecat, martin, and sea-otter skins, besides fur and bark garments, and various other articles, and receiving in exchange pieces of iron and tin, knives, nails, chisels, looking-glasses, buttons, and like trinkets. In the north the Eng-

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lish found and named several places, as Prince William sound, Cook river, Prince of Wales cape, St Lawrence bay, anchoring at length at Unalaska. They crossed to the Asiatic coast, passed through Bering strait and gazed on the icy ocean, and then returned to the islands called Sandwich.

Captain Cook was of that pronounced type of British naval commanders whose stern sense of right could find no place for compromise with evil. He made no distinction as to class or condition in regard to offenders. A man-eating South sea islander, in whose ethics theft from a stranger was no wrong, must all the same be judged by European standard, and punished by European law. The savages of the Pacific for once should feel the presence of the English schoolmaster. This doctrine, or rather instinct, cost him his life. At the Society islands, a native stole his peacocks, of which he was making a collection. The chief was seized and held until the thief brought back the birds. At the Hawaiian islands a boat was stolen, and in the attempt to bring the chief on board his ship, Cook was killed.

It happened in this way. Cook had chosen for his port, after several days' search, a commodious harbor on the south side of Hawaii, where he was met by 15,000 wondering natives in 3,000 canoes, besides the swarm of swimmers that filled the water like porpoises, men women and children, paddling and shouting excitedly to each other in a carnival of happiness and hilarity. Proceeding to land, two chiefs with long white poles opened a passage for the captain's pinnace through the throng of canoes, who on reaching the shore fell prostrate before the visitors, while other officers appeared and performed the same service for them on land. And all the people, whether on the water or on the land, on house-top or hill-top,—for the dusky natives filled all space,—covered their faces with their hands to shut from sight the all too radiant spectacle.

Though the aged king of the Hawaiians was absent on one of the other islands, a spot of ground was set aside for the use of the strangers, and placed under taboo, that they might rest there unmolested. Harmony prevailed, and on the return of the king courtesies were exchanged, royalty dining on ship board, while Cook and his officers were feasted ashore, baked pig and sweet potatoes being served on plantain leaves, with cocoa-milk to drink.

But in time came that familiarity which breeds contempt, and the celestial visitants became in the eyes of the natives worse than things terrestrial. The demands for food and assistance which were quickly granted at first, were now met with sullen indifference or refusal. Then knives and guns were brought out by the English, while the islanders began to throw stones. Thus matters stood until one day Captain Cook, requiring wood for use on shipboard, offered two hatchets for the fence which enclosed their sacred burial place, which were indignantly refused. Throwing in another hatchet, the three being in like manner refused, Cook tore down the fence, and with it some images regarded with veneration by the natives, and conveyed the plunder to his ships amid the clamor of the priests and the fury of the people. Then he hastened out to sea, but was driven back by a storm.

Those who insist on squaring the conduct of the savages by civilized measurements, should at least be willing to reciprocate in kind, and grant to savages the rights of civilization. Fancy a body of Polynesians ascending the Thames in boats to the houses of Parliament, of landing there and demanding the doors and pulpits of Westminster Abbey in return for three muskrat skins, and on being refused, seizing the sacred portals and carrying them away by force, on the plea that the wood was needed for their camp-fires.

Compelled again to go ashore for ship supplies and repairs, hostilities were resumed, and after that increased, until upon the disappearance one night of a cutter, Cook determined on more stringent measures. He would entice the king on board his ship, and hold him captive until the boat should be returned. To this end the English commander next day stationed guards at various points in the bay, and landing with the marines in a pinnace, proceeded to the king's house and induced him to come out and walk with him to the beach. Meanwhile the cry was raised among the natives that their king was captured, and they rushed to his rescue. Stones were thrown, and the marines opened fire. A stone struck Cook, who seeing the man who threw it shot him dead. But just as the Englishmen reached their boats to embark, a native stabbed Cook in the back, who fell with his face in the water, and immediately expired.

The command of the expedition, upon the death of Cook, fell

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on Captain Clerke, and after another short visit to Kamchatka and Bering strait, he too died, and was buried near Petropaulovski, having been ill with consumption before leaving England. Captain Gore then took the lead, sailing in the *Resolution*, with King in command of the *Discovery*. And so they dropped down the Asiatic coast, calling at Canton, then across the Indian ocean, and finally back to England.

Among the many voyages of circumnavigation and discovery was one about this time made purely in the interests of commerce, that is to say, the fur-trade of the Northwest coast.

Two vessels were fitted out by an association of English merchants, the *King George*, Nathaniel Portlock commander, and the *Queen Charlotte*, Captain George Dixon, and sent round Cape Horn into the Pacific. At the Hawaiian islands they found the natives troublesome, being at once too familiar and suspicious, fearing that these Englishmen had come as the avengers of the death of Captain Cook. Portlock, indeed, had sailed with Cook.

Crossing to the American coast, they reconnoitred in the vicinity of Cook river and Prince William sound, and returned to the Hawaiian islands to winter. Here they found every thing tabooed, so that it became necessary to sue for the king's favor and to satisfy the priests. Presents were made and the taboo removed; when gifts ceased the taboo again appeared. This was the kind of commerce the Englishmen found here at this time, easy and profitable enough for the winning side. A shark story comes in at this juncture; the monster, caught by the *King George* men, was "13½ feet long, 8½ broad, and six feet in the liver; 48 young ones were in her, about eight inches each in length; two whole turtles of 60 pounds each; several small pigs, and a quantity of bones,"—altogether a fishy story.

In the spring they were again on the American coast, seeking to buy furs. At Prince William sound they fell in with the ship *Nootka*, captain Mears, late from Bengal. The scurvy had been making fearful havoc on board the *Nootka*, all the crew being dead or disabled, the captain alone being in condition to walk the deck. Relieved from his sore distress, Mears informed his friends that few furs could be obtained there, as vessels from India had already secured them, and other traders from that quarter were expected immediately. There-

upon it was decided that the *Queen Charlotte* should proceed to King George sound, and the *King George* life boat to Cook river, and so anticipate and cut off the traffic from their rivals.

The fur traders were quite successful, and tell another fish story,—how they hauled the seine frequently, never getting less than 2,000 salmon at a haul. They could have soon filled fifty ships with their fine fish. For the sick they made spruce beer, and administered it with good results. The savages were expert thieves. Trade being over, they went again to the Hawaiian islands, and from there to Canton, where a selection of their best skins was sold to the East India company for \$50,000, and the inferior ones sold to the Chinese. Both vessels returned to England with cargoes of tea.

Jealous of the **antipodal** acquisitions of the other great powers of Europe, particularly of the results of the recent circumnavigations of England, the French government in 1785 sent out the *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, with every scientific equipment, in command of La Perouse, a naval officer.

At the Hawaiian islands the Frenchmen were met by 150 canoes laden with fruit and hogs, for which the natives wanted pieces of iron. On the American coast, near Mount St Elias, where were pine trees six feet in diameter, twenty seamen were lost in the surf. Thence to Monterey and Loretto, and across to Manila, where all the necessities of life except European cloth could be cheaply procured. "A great nation" says La Perouse, "without any other colony than the Philippines, which would establish a proper government there, might view all the European settlements in Africa and America without envy or regret."

Past Formosa and through the strait of Korea, La Perouse came to Japan; but the inhabitants of these shores seemed not given to hospitality, and the Frenchmen continued their way to Kamchatka, where they hobnobbed with the natives, and then turning southward, and touching at the Hawaiian islands, finally reached Australia, and came to anchor in Botany bay. From this place were received by the world the last report and the last tidings of the expedition, which then intended to return to the isle of France in 1788, for when it sailed hence it dropped from sight forever. It was thought that the vessels were wrecked on or near the shore of New

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Caledonia, and that the ill-fated mariners, officers and crews, were either drowned or killed by the savages.

As in New World conquest, so in circumnavigation, it is remarkable how many commanders of early expeditions lost their lives in the Pacific, more particularly on the Asiatic side. Captain D'Entrecasteaux, with the sloops *L'Esperance* and *La Recherche* went into the South sea in 1791 in search of La Perouse, who was lost there, and to survey the island of New Holland. Touching at the Friendly islands and at New Zealand, the expedition arrived at Java, where dissension broke out among the crews, the captain having died a short time before.

The voyage of discovery to the north Pacific ocean and round the world by George Vancouver in 1790-5, was made primarily for the purpose of ascertaining if any navigable passage existed between the two oceans. Two ships, the *Discovery* and the *Chatham*, entered the Pacific from the west, coming by way of Good Hope to New Zealand and Tahiti, and thence north to the Hawaiian islands and the Northwest coast.

Remembering Cook, the Hawaiians did not seem to overflow with joy on seeing Vancouver; nevertheless, in return for presents, two houses were tabooed for the use of the strangers. Many American trading-vessels put in at these islands at this time, and the north Pacific whaling fleets wintered there. With regard to trade between the Northwest coast and China, Vancouver says, "Previously to the departure of Rowbottom and Williams, they informed me that their captain had conceived that a valuable branch of commerce might be created by the importing of the sandal-wood of this country into India, where it sells at an exorbitant price; that, in the fur trade, immense profits had been gained, insomuch that it was expected not less than twenty vessels would, on these pursuits, sail with their captain, Kendrick, from New England, and that they were desired to engage the natives to provide several cargoes of this wood, which is easily procured, as the mountains of Attowai as well as those of Awhyhee, abound with the trees from which it is produced; though we were not able to procure any of their leaves, to determine its particular class or species. The wood seemed slightly to answer the description given of the yellow sandal-wood of India, which is there a very valuable commodity, and is sold by weight. The pearls

I saw were but few, and consisted of three sorts, the white, yellow, and lead color. The white were very indifferent, being small, irregular in shape, and possessing very little beauty; the yellow and those of the lead color were better formed, and in point of appearance of superior quality."

The navigator never failed to indulge a fad for giving names to the things and places which he passed. Never did he forget the object of his voyage, which was to discover and to name. He even surpassed his predecessor, Cook, in this respect; that is to say, though he discovered less he named more, and so accomplished his part. Scarcely had he entered the Pacific before he began to give names to every thing in sight, islands, straits, seas, rocks, rivers, and bays, mountains peninsulas and promontories. The largest unnamed island he called after himself; a large sound he named after his first officer, Peter Puget; an island in Puget sound he called Whidbey, from his ship-master. To one of his ships he gave immortality as Port Discovery, and to the other as Chatham sound. It was an amiable trait, after all, and as innocent as it was inexpensive in the gratification. As in his 20,000 miles of Pacific ocean navigation he encountered many of those things, there were plenty to go round among himself, his family, his friends, his admirers, those favorable to him and those to whom he was favorably inclined; and when all these and the rest had their names thus perpetuated, he let fly his fancy,—and see the genius of the navigator displayed in the inventing of new and unique names, as Eclipse island, Point Possession, Doubtful island, Break-sea island, the summit of wit and fitness being attained in Some-body-knows-what strait. And every thing so fitting,—the commander being a great man has a great island, the cook being a small man has a small island.

Crossing to Fuca strait, the Sound was entered and named, and every rock and coast-crook was examined, baptized, and recorded. Some of the names thus given remain to this day, but most of them have been obliterated or overlooked by the profane and barbarous Yankees. Some of the landmarks to which the Englishman gave names the Spaniards had named before, and it oftentimes became a question which should give way to the other. The coast as a whole Vancouver called New Albion. Mount Baker was named after Joe Baker, one of Vancouver's lieutenants. Mount Rainier takes its name from

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an English admiral, Port Townshend from a noble marquis, and Hood canal and a dozen other places from right honorable lords of England. Thus they came, and saw, and named, and then they went away.

At Admiralty inlet, so called in honor of the men who had sent him there, thinking perhaps that the voice of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, heard at Panamá 279 years before, had not penetrated thus far northward, and it being the king's birthday, and a good king too, the king of England—not as on the previous similar occasion the king of Spain—George Vancouver took formal possession of all that region, after serving the men “as good a dinner as we were able to provide them, with a double allowance of grog.” But neither the dinner nor the grog established a title which held good for any considerable length of time.

After further exploration of the coast, attending meanwhile the convention at Nootka sound, Vancouver dropped down to San Francisco bay, and took observations of California and the missions. One of his ships entered the Columbia river. After another visit to the Hawaiian islands, and more observations on the American coast, the great navigator returned to England. The more immediate object of Vancouver's voyage was to receive from Spanish officials at Nootka formal restitution of lands they had seized. Next in importance were the fisheries and fur trade of China, and a survey of the Northwest coast; any islands or other territories any where which could be picked up for England would come in handy.

One of the most able men to visit the Pacific in the interests of science was Alexander von Humboldt. Obtaining permission in 1799 from the court of Madrid to visit the Spanish American colonies, and to sail by the Acapulco galleon to the Philippine islands, Humboldt spent in South America and Mexico about five years, sending back great quantities of specimens of nature in these parts, animal vegetable and mineral, hundreds of boxes of samples of soils salts and metals, dried plants, skins of animals, stuffed beasts and birds, and fishes and reptiles in alcohol, all of which were subsequently minutely described in manuscript, and elaborately pictured and published in many bulky tomes. Never before was a country and its people so analyzed and described by so able a philosopher and writer.

The first voyage of Russians round the world was made under the auspices of Alexander I in 1803-7 by Von Krusenstern and Lisiansky, an account of which is given by G. H. Von Langsdorf. Sailing from Copenhagen, and touching at Teneriffe and Brazil, the ship rounded Cape Horn, and came to the Marquesas and Hawaiian islands, proceeding thence to Japan and Kamchatka, then over to Kodiak and down to San Francisco, again visiting Alaska and Asia before returning home.

At Petropaulovski was the garrison of 150 soldiers, artillerymen, cossacks, and commissary of the Russian-American trading company. The Russian settlement at Unalaska rested silently beside the water and amidst the high, sharp, snow-clad peaks around. Of the factory at Kodiak, Bander, a Dane, was now superintendent. Here the expedition was welcomed by three Russian priests and thirty native boys ringing bells. The settlement at Kodiak consisted of thirty buildings, including church, barracks, school, shops, and warehouses; for this was now the entrepôt for collecting and storing the peltries brought from a wide distance round. During the five years preceding 1802, more than 18,000 sea-otter skins were brought to this factory.

Over the Aleutian isles and all the possessions of the Russians in America ruled for forty years M Von Baranof, with his headquarters at Sitka. Justice here was arbitrary, even factors of subordinate posts ruling as rigidly as they were governed, so that the poor native, if he were permitted to live and labor for his masters might deem himself indeed fortunate. Baranof was not a bad man for a Russian, though he loved his drink and hated the English. The arrival of the Krusenstern expedition raised the population of Sitka to 200, with six ships in the harbor. The hospitality of the town was so taxed that natives were sent out for dried fish, berries, train-oil, whale-fat, and saranna-roots to supplement the food supply.

Every effort having failed to penetrate through the continent by water, in 1819, with the ship *Hecla and Griper*, Captain Parry was sent by the British government to find a north-west route round it; that is, to pass if possible through Lancaster sound to Bering strait. This expedition was followed by many others into the Arctic ocean, of which I have not space to speak.

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A Voyage of Discovery, Otto Von Kotzebue, a lieutenant in the Russian navy, calls his expedition into the South sea and Bering strait, in 1815-18, in search of a northwest passage. The voyage was made in the ship *Rurick*, and the expenses were borne by Count Romanzof, chancellor of the empire.

From Cronstadt to Copenhagen, then to Plymouth,—this for the start; for the journey, Teneriffe, Brazil, Chili, Kamchatka, Kotzebue sound, California, Hawaiian isles, Radack, St Helena, and home. At Concepcion the excursionists saw whales spout in the bay, and drank with Chilian dames in Paris gowns and diamonds the tea or herb of Paraguay, of which Chili used \$1,000,000 worth annually. This port is recommended to navigators as a place of refreshment, provisions and fruits being abundant.

After a short cruise among the South sea isles, the expedition proceeded north, touched at Petropaulovski, entered and explored Kotzebue sound, and returning south, called at Unalaska, where Kriukof, agent of the Russian-American company, with five 24-oared bidares, came out and towed the vessel into the harbor, and then served up for dinner, in honor of his guest, one of the only twelve oxen at that post. At San Francisco the Russians found an abundance of fresh food, and the people very ready to supply them, as they had previously received government orders to that effect.

At the Hawaiian islands, the next place to visit, the king met them in a free and friendly manner, and regaled them with baked pig and wine, and then harangued the captain thus: "I learn that you are the commander of a ship of war, and are engaged in a voyage similar to those of Cook and Vancouver, and consequently do not engage in trade; it is therefore my intention not to carry on any trade with you, but to provide you gratis with every thing that my islands produce."

The costumes of the more aristocratic islanders at this time were a mixture of native nakedness and European full dress, with manners corresponding. At the palace door were naked sentinels with cartridge-box and pistols strapped to their waist, and at the landing and elsewhere were native guards with muskets. Gentlemen in swallow tail coats squatted in the sand, and ladies in silk skirts and waists, extremely décolleté, waddled about in broad bare feet. Another fashion was to make one suit serve several persons, one wearing the trousers,

another the coat, and another the vest. At a state dinner where hog was tabooed, the supply for that day being devoted to the gods, the king unfastened an ornamental collar from his neck and handed it to the Russian commander. "They tell me", he said, "that your monarch is a great hero. I am a great hero myself, and I send him this collar in token of my regard". Prior to their departure, the Russians received a full supply of provisions, "taro, jams, cocoanuts, bananas, and watermelons in abundance. The hogs are so large that the whole crew could not eat one in two days."

Kotzebue's vessel was a good-sized frigate, with a cargo for Kamchatka, the commander having orders to proceed to Fort Ross, a Russian post on the coast of California, there to remain a year and then return to Cronstadt. But on arrival at Ross, finding his presence not needed, he bore away to the Hawaiian islands.

In 1825 Captain Beechey, of the royal English navy, sailed for the Pacific and Arctic oceans, to coöperate with polar expeditions in search of a northwest passage. His course was round Cape Horn to Valparaiso, thence across via Tahiti and the Hawaiian islands to Kamchatka, through Bering strait nearly to Point Barrow, and back by way of California, Mexico, and Chili, home. The expedition was barren of results, save as a view of the great ocean at that time. The published narrative is filled chiefly with accounts of intercourse with the natives, of no special interest to us at this point of time.

Comparing the Society and Hawaiian islands, on reaching the latter, Captain Beechey says: "Our passage from Otaheite to this place had been so rapid that the contrast between the two countries was particularly striking. At Woahoo the eye searches in vain for the green and shady forests skirting the shore, which enliven the scene at Otaheite. The whole country has a parched and comparatively barren aspect; and it is not until the heights are gained, and the extensive ranges of taro plantations are seen filling every valley, that strangers learn why this island was distinguished by the name of the garden of the Sandwich islands. The difference between the natives of Woahoo and Otaheite is not less conspicuous than that of the scenery. Constant exposure to the sun has given them a dark complexion and coarseness of feature which do not exist in the Society islands, and their countenances more-

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over have a wildness of expression which at first misleads the eye; but this very soon wears off, and I am not sure whether this manliness of character does not create a respect which the effeminacy of the Otaheitans never inspires. As we rowed up the harbour, the forts, the cannon, and the ensign of the Tamahamaha, displayed upon the ramparts of a fort mounting forty guns, and at the gaff of a man-of-war brig and of some other vessels, rendered the distinction between the two countries still more evident."

The interior of California was to the outside world still an unknown wilderness, as the following remarks made at San Francisco will show. "When Langsdorff was at this port, an expedition was undertaken by Don Louis Argüello and Padre Uria to make converts, and to inquire into the nature of the country in the vicinity of the Sierra Nevada; and I learned from Don Louis, I believe a son of the commander, that they traced the Sacramento seventy or eighty leagues up, and that it was there very wide and deep." Acting governor at this time was Lieutenant Ignacio Martinez, of whom the English captain says: "Nothing seemed to give him greater pleasure than our partaking of his family dinner, the greater part of which was dressed by his wife and daughters, who prided themselves on their proficiency in the art of cooking. It was not, however, entirely for the satisfaction of presenting us with a well-prepared repast that they were induced to indulge in this humble occupation. Poor Martinez, besides his legitimate offspring, had eighteen others to provide for out of his salary, which was then eleven years in arrears. He had a sorry prospect before him, as a short time previous to our visit, the government, by way of paying up these arrears, sent a brig with a cargo of paper cigars to be issued to the troops in lieu of dollars. But as Martinez justly observed, cigars would not satisfy the families of the soldiers, and the compromise was refused. The cargo was, however, landed at Monterey and placed under the charge of the governor, where all other tobacco is contraband; and as the Spaniards are fond of smoking, it stands a fair chance in the course of time of answering the intention of the government."

The trade of California at this time was in sending hides, tallow, and horses to the Hawaiian islands, grain to Sitka, and a few furs to China, receiving in return, as opportunity

offered, dry-goods, furniture, wearing apparel, agricultural implements, deal boards, and salt, and from China silks for the decoration of the churches and fire-works for the celebration of saints'-days.

The Hawaiian islands now held commercial intercourse with the outside world, having established a market for the sale of native products, receiving Mexican dollars and European cloth in exchange. The sandal-wood in the mountains was found to be a profitable article of commerce, a ready market for it being found in China.

From San Francisco Beechey made an excursion to the Philippine and Lew Chew islands, the latter situated north-east of Formosa, and the trade of which was mainly with China, Japan, and Formosa. "Commerce between Loo Choo and China," says Beechey, "is conducted entirely in Japanese vessels, which bring hemp, iron, copper, pewter, cotton, culinary utensils, lacquered furniture, excellent hones, and occasionally rice, though this article when wanted is generally supplied from an island to the northward belonging to Loo Choo, called Ooshima; but this is only required in dry seasons. The exports of Loo Choo are salt, grain, tobacco, samsheew, spirits, rice when sufficiently plentiful, grass hemp of which their clothes are made, hemp, and cotton. In return for these they bring from China different kinds of porcelain, glass, furniture, medicines, silver, iron, silks, nails, tiles, tools, and tea, as that grown upon Loo Choo is of an inferior quality." Formosa exported, among other things, gold and silver, mother of pearl and tortoise-shells. "Loo Choo had, besides a tribute vessel, two junks making annual trips to China. These islands had hand-looms and spinning-wheels, mills worked by cattle, and manufactured paper, spirits, cloth of cotton and grass, pottery, baskets, salt, and made a large flat shell so transparent that the Japanese used it as window glass."

A notable journey into the Pacific was that of Charles Darwin, in the ship *Beagle*, in 1832, sent by the British government to complete the survey of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego, begun by Captain King in 1826; also to survey the coasts of Chili and Peru, to visit some of the islands of the Pacific, and to carry a chain of chronometrical measurements round the world. For five years the great naturalist thus pursued his studies, in the companionship of Captain Fitz Roy

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and his officers, the government contributing £1,000 toward the printing of his report on his return.

At Port Desire Mr Darwin discourses on the wild llama, the characteristic quadruped of the plains of Patagonia. At Port San Julian, geology claims his attention; at Santa Cruz, the natives, basaltic lava, and the habits of the condor; at the Falkland islands, wild cattle, wild horses, rabbits, fire-making as an art, streams of stones, and the habits of birds; at Tierra del Fuego, the savages, the scenery and the strait; Port Famine, the forests of Cape Horn, edible fungus, bartering tobacco for skins and ostrich-feathers, the equable humid and windy climate, the height of the snow line and the descent of glaciers, erratic boulders, climate and productions of the antarctic islands; Valparaiso, the clear dry delicious atmosphere, the rounded hills, with scanty vegetation and high cordillera beyond, the bed of shells at the hacienda of Quintero, and the reddish-black vegetable mould which proved to be marine mud.

The narrow seaboard strip comprising Chili is traversed by several sierra lines parallel to the cordillera, between which are basins opening into each other, and supporting towns, as San Felipe, Santiago, and San Fernando. These basins are easily irrigated and fertile; and every landholder in the valley has part of the hill country for his cattle, which at the annual rodeo are driven down, counted, and marked. Wheat, corn, and beans are easily grown; yet for all this, these people are not as prosperous as they should be.

Mining-shafts puncture the hills and mountains every where. Copper ore is sent to Swansea to be smelted. All is singularly quiet about the mines; no smoke, and no rattle of machinery. The government encourages prospecting, and permits mining on any one's ground on payment of a small sum. The copper-mining process of Chili is cheaper than that of Cornwall. The miners are hard-worked and poorly paid, five or six dollars a month being the usual wage, with poor food, —figs, bread, beans, and roasted cracked wheat with seldom any meat. On these meagre earnings they have to clothe and feed their families.

The naturalist gives the habits of the puma, or South American lion, and describes the various species of humming-birds. Nothing in nature is too large or too small for his keen vision

and intelligent observation. In crossing the cordillera he gives its geology, and description of its torrents, with remarks on the sagacity of mules; the discovery of mines and the effect of snow on rocks; and the zoology of the Andes, with what he saw of locusts, and silicified trees buried as they grew. On the island of Chiloe was found peat, a wild potato, and many strange birds. One great forest covers these islands, which have strong winds and a heavy rainfall. The inhabitants were short and of dark complexion, and lived on shell-fish and potatoes.

From Valparaiso to Coquimbo and Copiapó, Darwin travelled by land, and this part of the coast is minutely described. He bought for £25 six animals before starting, and sold them at the end of the journey for £23. The occupants of hundreds of hovels along the cordillera foothills are supported from the surface gold-washings. From the deep mines the Chilian brings up on his back, up a narrow shaft on a notched pole, 200 or 300 pounds of ore at a load; yet they seldom eat meat and are not muscular. The rainfall is growing less; a little moisture goes far here in agriculture. The shingle-terraces of Coquimbo he thinks were formed by the sea. The hills are sterile but the valleys are fertile. At intervals are large haciendas where rich stock-raisers and corn-growers feed and lodge travellers for a consideration. Earthquakes come now and then to break the monotony of things, while the dead dogs which strewed the road-side, killed for fear of hydrophobia, excite the comments of the naturalist.

Entering Peru, the ancient aboriginal ruins attract attention, also an elevated water course, the Iquique saltpetre works, the salt supposed to percolate under ground from the cordillera, many leagues distant. The chief cost of the nitrate of soda is in carrying it to the ship's side, where it sells at three to four dollars per hundred pounds. The hills round Lima are carpeted with moss. Callao is a small, filthy seaport. There are hereabout many decomposing shells, and fossil human relics. At the volcanic Galapago archipelago are many craters, in one of which is a salt lake; many curious fishes and reptiles, great tortoises, and marine lizards feeding on seaweeds. The fear of man in animals is not an instinct but an acquisition.

The cultivable land in Tahiti is restricted to fringes of low

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alluvial soil round the base of mountains, and protected from the sea by coral reefs. For tracts for the cultivation of yams, sugarcane, and pineapples, often orange, banana, cocoanut and bread-fruit trees have to be cleared away; the guava, imported as the choicest of fruit, has now become from its redundant growth like a noxious weed. Since giving up the meat of man as food, a mild benignant expression characterizes the features of the gentle savage, pleasant indeed to see.

Whence comes the ceremony of rubbing noses, found alike in New Zealand and Alaska? Some people think hand-shaking better; and some prefer rings in their ears to quills in their cheeks or rings in their noses. It is pleasant to find here and in Australia an antipodal England where the weary world-encompasser may find rest and refreshment as in London. The green forests, the black aborigines, the blue mountains, and the white cliffs, all add their enchantments to the scene.

In the coral isles the tiny insect is king and creator. In the Keeling archipelago are ring-formed reefs round some of the islands, open on one side. The three classes of reefs are atolls, barrier, and fringing-reefs. Atolls are lagoon-islands. Barrier-reefs are in diameter from three miles to forty-four miles; that which partially encircles New Caledonia is 400 miles long. The Malays are now free, and so will not take the trouble to work or run away. To catch a turtle, a man jumps from his boat upon its back, and there rides until the beast is exhausted, when it is hauled in, and in due time eaten. On the cocoanut, pigs and the land-crab alike feed.



CHAPTER XXVII

CRUSOE ISLAND

FOLLOWING the progress of investigation and discovery, we find in circumnavigations and adventures, and the publication of books and reports attendant thereunto, a natural sequence of causes and effects as elsewhere in human affairs. Thus the piracies of Francis Drake led to the adventures of Thomas Cavendish, and these to the voyages of Shelvocke and Woodes Rogers, the former suggesting to Coleridge the *Lay of the Ancient Mariner*, and the latter to Defoe *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, of York, Mariner*.

The merchants of Bristol sent into the South sea in 1708 the ships *Duke* and *Duchess*, Woodes Rogers commander, and William Dampier first pilot. A mutiny being quelled and shipwreck narrowly averted, they came to Juan Fernandez island, and there found and rescued Alexander Selkirk, for seven score years held to be the only true and genuine Robinson Crusoe.

Off the coast of Chili are situated these islands of Juan Fernandez, so called from a Spanish navigator of that name who in 1574 discovered them; and who discovered further that the south winds along shore did not prevail very far out at sea. This enabled him to make voyages between Chili and Peru so much quicker than others, that he was seized and imprisoned for sorcery, but was released on making explanation. So charmed by the beauty of these isles was the discoverer, that he asked and obtained a grant of them from the Spanish government, and proceeded to stock them with pigs and goats, whose progeny were found there by Alexander Selkirk and others, and played conspicuous parts in the tales of the buccaneers, and in the true story of Robinson Crusoe. The larger of these isles is fourteen miles long and four miles wide.

It is rocky, with shrubby vegetation, and has one principal valley into which flow several small streams. There were once here larger trees, and merchantable sandal-wood, and about the borders sea-elephants and seals. Pirates and navigators called at this island occasionally, and found swine, as many as they could use. The buccaneer Sharp was here in 1668, and Dampier in 1700.

Alexander Selkirk, a somewhat disreputable son of a Scotch shoemaker, went to sea in his youth, joined a piratical expedition to the Pacific, and became sailing master in the galley *Cinque Porte*. Quarrelling with the captain, at his own request he was in 1704 left on the Juan Fernandez island, where he remained in solitude for four years and four months, when he was rescued by Captain Woodes Rogers, and made first mate of the *Duke*, and afterward master of a prize ship.

Rogers published an account of his voyage, in which he speaks of Selkirk and his rescue. Steele saw Selkirk and published an account of his adventure in 1713. It is possible that Defoe saw him. In any event, Selkirk returned home in 1712, and in 1719 Defoe published his *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, written by himself, which became immediately popular, and has so remained to this day. Some said that it had been written by Lord Oxford in the Tower, others pronounced it a piracy from Selkirk's papers. Yet it was far enough from fact to be good fiction, and far enough from ordinary fiction to live forever.

In a gap among the rocks, where may be had commanding views at once of the island and of the surrounding sea, a tablet was erected in 1868 by the officers of the British ship *Topaze*, on which was inscribed the words 'Selkirk's Lookout,' the supposition being that as the weary days and months and years rolled round the sailor had here watched for a coming vessel; for although he had been put ashore at his own request, he repented before the ship sailed, and begged to be taken back, but his request was refused.

Crusoe, it will be remembered, was wrecked from a vessel on its way from Brazil to the coast of Africa for slaves, and his island was near the mouth of the river Orinoco, very far from Selkirk's island on the other side of the continent. But it was Crusoe's story Defoe was telling, and not Selkirk's, and

it suited his purpose equally well, whether the island was in the Atlantic or in the Pacific ocean. And he "lived eight and twenty years all alone" in this uninhabited island, did Crusoe, and "he was at last as strangely delivered by pyrates".

Crusoe was not long in finding the goats, and in killing and skinning some of them. He found also turtles, fowls, and other animals good for food; likewise oranges, lemons, and grapes, cocoa and citron, besides other plants and trees not usually found on a desert island. It is only when we consider the vast distance between the real and the hypothetical Crusoe island, that we are able to understand why Defoe neglected to feed his hero on pig as well as goat, for from all accounts of the buccaneers and navigators since the days of Juan Fernandez, the island has swarmed with swine. But then this was Crusoe's island and not Selkirk's; and who knows if Crusoe was Selkirk at all, but simply Robinson Crusoe, his book written by himself.

Several, indeed, have been the occupants of this romantic solitude at various times, any one of whom might serve as a model for Defoe's adventurer. Among others was a native of the Mosquito coast, called William, left there by Watling in 1680, and rescued by Dampier three years afterward. "At the time William was abandoned" it is said, "he had with him in the woods his gun and knife, and a small quantity of powder and shot. As soon as his ammunition was expended, by notching his knife into a saw he cut up the barrel of his gun into pieces, which he converted into harpoons, lances, and a long knife. To accomplish this he struck fire with his gun-flint and a piece of the barrel of his gun, which he hardened for this purpose in a way which he had seen practised by the buccaneers. In this fire he heated his pieces of iron, hammered them out with stones, sawed them with his jagged knife, or ground them to an edge, and tempered them, which was no more than these Mosquito-men were accustomed to do in their own country, where they made their own fishing and striking instruments without either forge or anvil, though they spend a great deal of time about it. Thus furnished, William supplied himself with goat-flesh and fish, for till his instruments were formed he had been compelled to eat seal. He built his house about half a mile from the shore, and lined it snugly with goat-skins, with which he also spread his

couch, or barbecue, which was raised two feet from the floor. As his clothes were out he supplied this want also with goat-skins, and when first seen he wore nothing but a goat-skin about his waist. Though the Spaniards, who had learned that a Mosquito-man was left here, had looked for William several times, he had always by retiring to a secret place contrived to elude their search."

William had not been intentionally abandoned. While Captain Watling was supplying his ship with necessary articles from the shore, he was surprised by the Spaniards and obliged to set sail immediately, unable to recall William, who was absent at the time hunting. On board Dampier's ship at the time of the rescue was another Mosquito-man, named Robin, an old friend of William, and their meeting under the peculiar circumstances was a sight to behold. When Robin leaped from his boat to the shore there stood William trembling between fear and joy, fear lest this should be a repetition of his so frequent dreams, and joy that deliverance had indeed come. Three goats William had killed and cooked with leaves from the cabbage-tree, so that a feast for his deliverers might be ready, for while yet a long way off he knew the ship to be English, and that the day of his deliverance was at hand.

Le Maire and Schouten were at the Juan Fernandez islands in their voyage round the world in 1616. "A boat was sent ashore," the logbook says. "Some fresh water was taken off, and two tons of fish were caught with hooks and lines, the bait being taken as fast as it could be thrown into the water; so that the fishermen continually without ceasing did nothing but draw up fish, mostly bream, and corcobados, which are fish with crooked backs. Hogs, goats, and other animals were seen in the woods, but none were taken."

The Nassau fleet, fitted out in 1624, in Holland, for an expedition against Peru, and commanded by Jacob l'Heremite, had also its experience at the Juan Fernandez islands, which seem to occupy so large a space in the romantic and tragic which fill the narratives of adventurers in these parts for several centuries. "Thousands of sea lions and seals," the journal states, "lay in the daytime on the shore to enjoy basking in the sun. The seamen killed great numbers of them, some to eat and some by way of diversion, which was attended

by merited inconvenience; for in a short time those which lay on the shore became putrid, and infected the air to such a degree that the people of the ships scarcely dared venture to land. The flesh of the sea-lion when cooked was compared to meat twice roasted. Some of the men thought that when the fat was cut off it was not inferior to mutton; others would not eat it. There were goats on the island, but difficult to approach, and thought not to be so well tasted as those on the island St Vincent. Among the trees were some like the elm, very good for making sheaves to blocks; there were other trees fit for carpenter's work; but none were seen tall enough for ship's topmast. Sandal-wood was growing in great quantity, of an inferior quality to the sandal-wood of Timor, and near the bay were some wild quince trees. Three soldiers and three gunners of the vice-admiral's ship remained on the island by their own will, refusing to serve longer in the fleet."

A Dutch expedition against Peru in those days did not simply attempted conquest of the country, but simply capture of treasure. Coming in sight of the Peruvian coast, the narrative of the Nassau fleet goes on to state: "They were nearly abreast of Callao, at which time they took a small bark with a crew of eleven men, four of whom were Spaniards, the rest Indians and negroes. From these people the admiral received the unwelcome intelligence that on the preceding Friday the treasure fleet, consisting of five ships richly laden, had sailed from the road of Callao for Panamá. The Spanish admiral in a ship of 800 tons burthen, mounting 40 guns, did not sail with the treasure fleet, but with two smaller ships of war, and was still in Callao road, where also a number of merchant vessels were lying. It was likewise learnt that the military force of the Spaniards at Callao was not more than 300 soldiers, for that two companies of their best troops had been sent with the treasure." The question now was, Should they pursue the galleons to Panamá, or land and attack Callao? They determined on the latter course. The attempt was made, and the Spaniards drove them back. The Dutchmen were stupid. There were fifty merchant vessels in the harbor, and to these they set fire, instead of cutting them adrift and securing the plunder they seemed so eager for. Soon afterward the admiral died from illness; the expedition on the whole proved a failure, save for the discovery of Nassau bay, and the knowledge obtained of Cape Horn.

In 1725 was published in London *A New Voyage round the World, by a Course never sailed before*, by Daniel Defoe. In this ideal tour of circumnavigation, trade, and adventure, the alleged route was east round the cape of Good Hope to India and China, thence across the Pacific to America, and round Cape Horn to Brazil and England. The opposite was the usual course, English goods being more suitable for the South American market, and American products for China, and Chinese products for India and Europe, than vice versa. But the author of this work attempts to show the reverse to be true, which indeed is the *raison d'être* of his book.

The "New Voyage" purports to have been made from England in 1714-17, by merchants, for purposes of trade and discovery. As England was then at war with France and Spain, or supposed to be, and France then had free trade in the South sea which was very profitable, they took with them a French captain, and some French and Dutch sailors, so that they might be friends or enemies at pleasure with any whom they might meet. If they wished to trade in a Spanish foreign port, which was a thing forbidden to foreigners, they were French, and employed French *savoir-faire* to accomplish their purpose; in the East Indies, and at the English or Dutch settlements, they were Flemish; when they seized a Spanish ship, they showed letters of marque from England, and if peace had been declared they knew or cared nothing about it. They had on board a rich cargo of British manufactured goods suitable for the Spanish trade at the Philippine islands and in America, and which they proposed to keep for those countries. At this time it was imposed that all European goods for the Philippine islands should be conveyed in Spanish vessels from Acapulco, brought thither,—English goods from England to Cádiz, from Cádiz by the Spanish galleons to Portobello, across the Isthmus from Portobello to Panamá on pack-mules, and from Panamá to Acapulco in Spanish ships again, and thence in the regular running galleons to Manila; so that by the time the goods had paid these several freight charges, and customs dues, and commissions to forwarders, and profits to merchants to the several ports, the consumer at the Spice islands had several hundred per cent advance on the original cost to pay.

I have no intention of going into details over this imagi-

nary voyage, suffice it to say that the managing merchant on board transacted no business to speak of at Madagascar, Ceylon, or Borneo, where he touched for water and food-supplies, and so arrived with cargo unbroken at Manila, where he was received as French with every civility. By means of judicious gifts to the governor and chief officers, Spanish honor was reconciled to the illicit traffic. A tempting display on ship board of European stuffs, bales of scarlet woollen cloth, French druggets, baize, and linen, besides French wines and brandy, so excited the cupidity of all visitors, among whom were officers and merchants, that the whole cargo was soon disposed of, at six times the cost, for gold coin and silver pieces of eight. For return cargo the Englishman bought at very low prices tons of cloves and nutmegs, bales of China silks, diamonds and pearls, rice, lacquered cabinets, and other like oriental wares, most of which were suitable for the market in Peru, whither the merchant was next bound. Touching at the Ladrões for fresh water, hogs, fowls, roots, and anti-scurvy greens, the navigators thought to sail north far enough to pass in between the island of California and the main land of New Spain, if peradventure they might meet with new discoveries. The Hawaiian islands lay directly in their path, and had Cook been a half century earlier in finding them, Defoe would surely have rested and refreshed his pilgrims at this point; but fearing lest California should not prove to be an island, and that when they reached Hudson bay they should find no passage into the North sea, and so spoil the voyage and perish with hunger and cold, they concluded to resign themselves to the softer regions of the south, and so found their way to the American coast, and thence home to England, after refitting at the alleged Crusoe island of Juan Fernandez.

George Shelvocke made a voyage round the world by way of the great South sea during the years 1719 to 1722, in the ship *Speedwell*, of London, of 24 guns and 100 men,—“under his majesty’s commission to cruise on the Spaniards in the late war with the Spanish crown,—till she was cast away on the island of Juan Fernandez; afterwards continued in the *Recovery*, *Jesus Maria*, and *Sacra Familia*.” This from the title-page of his published account, the track in the Pacific on his map being along the coast to California, which he rep-

resents as an island, with nothing beyond, and thence across the ocean to the Philippines, and home by way of Good Hope. Passing through the strait of Magellan, Shelvocke took in fresh supplies at Chiloe and proceeded to Concepcion, capturing and burning ships, and spreading terror along the shore. Then he made for Juan Fernandez, there to watch the Concepcion, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo traders; but he wrecked his vessel instead, and so supplied fresh material for a version of *Robinson Crusoe*. The wreck of the *Speedwell* occurred on the 25th of May 1720, and Shelvocke's narrative was published in London, in 1726.

Regarding the shipwreck Shelvocke relates: "A hard gale of wind came out of the sea upon us—a thing very uncommon as has been reported—and brought in a great tumbling swell, so that in a few hours our cable—which was never wet before—parted, a dismal accident this, there being no means to be used, or the least prospect of avoiding immediate destruction. But providence interposed in our behalf so far, that if we had struck but a cables length farther to the Eastward, or Westward of the place where we did, we must inevitably have perish'd. As soon as she touch'd the rocks we were obliged to hold fast by some part, or other, of the ship, otherwise the violence of the shocks she had in striking, might have been sufficient to have thrown us all out of her, into the sea. Our main-mast, fore-mast, and mizen-top-mast went altogether. In short words can't express the wretched condition we were in, or the surprise we were under of being so unfortunately shipwreck'd, or the dread we had upon us of starving on the uninhabited Isle we were thrown upon, in case we should escape the sea. We had reflections enough to depress our spirits; but the work we had in hand, which was no less than to endeavor the saving of our lives,—which were as yet in great suspense,—made every body active.

"It was happy for us that our masts fell all over the off side, which gave us room to make a raft; by which means—and having hands ashore who had been there before the wind came on, and who came down to the beach to assist us—we were all saved except one man; I myself made a very narrow escape. In this surprise the first thing I took care of was my Commission, and remembering the powder to be uppermost in the bread-room, I got most of it up, with about 7 or 8 bags of

bread; these we secured to windward and saved; the ship not coming to pieces immediately, in a few minutes after she first struck she was full of water, so that the Surgeon's chest being stow'd below, there was little or nothing preserved out of that, we saved 2 or 3 compasses, and some of our mathematical Instruments and Books. Before it was quite dark we were all ashore, in a very wet uncomfortable condition, no place to have recourse to for shelter from the boisterous wind and rain except the trees; nothing to cheer up our spirits after the fatigue and hazard in getting from the wreck to the rocks, and no other prospect, but that, after having suffer'd much in this uninhabited place, we might in process of time, be taken away by some ship or other. Our ears were now saluted by the melancholy howlings of innumerable Seals on the beach, who lay so thick that we were obliged to clear our way of them as we went along, and nothing presented itself to our sight but rocky precipices, inhospitable woods, dropping with the rain, lofty mountains whose tops were hid by thick clouds, and a tempestuous sea, which had reduced us to the low state we were now in. Thus were we without any one thing necessary in life, not so much as a seat to sit upon to rest our limbs, except the cold wet ground, which as far as we could see, was also to be our bed and pillow, and proved to be so.

"That evening all the officers came to bear me company and to consult how we should contrive to get some necessaries out of the wreck, if she was not quite in pieces by the next morning, and came to a resolution of losing no time in endeavoring to recover what we could out of the wreck; and having, by this time, lighted a fire, wrapt themselves up in what they could get, laid round it, and notwithstanding the badness of the weather, slept very soundly, and, the next morning, getting up with the first glimpse of day-light, look'd at each other like men awaken'd out of a dream; so great, and so sudden was the melancholy change of our condition, that we could scarcely believe our senses.

"I went immediately among the people, to set them to work in doing what we proposed the night before; but they were so scatter'd, that there was no such thing as getting them all to-gether; so that, in short, all opportunities were lost of regaining any thing but some of our small arms which were fish'd up; not only which, but also our beef and pork might

have been retrieved could I have prevail'd on them to set about their work in earnest; but instead of that they were employ'd in building tents, and making other preparation to settle themselves here; and, in the mean time, the wreck was entirely destroy'd, and every thing that was in her lost, except one cask of beef and one of Farina de Pao, which were wash'd whole on the strand. Thus were our provisions of all kinds irrecoverably gone, and whatever else might have been of use to us, except what I have already mention'd. I should have observed, that I saved 1100 dollars belonging to the Gentlemen Owners, which were kept in my chest in the great cabin; the rest being in the bottom of the bread-room for security could not possibly be come at. I need not say how disconsolate my reflections were on this sad accident, which had as it were thrown us out from the rest of the world, without any thing to support us but the uncertain products of a desolate uncultivated Island, situated—I must justly say—in the remotest part of the earth; and, at least, 90 leagues distant from the continent of Chili, which was in the possession of the Creolian Spaniards, who have always been remarkable for their ungenerous treatment of their enemies, and we could have no better views at present than of falling into their hands sooner or later. But since we must now be obliged to suffer all such hardships, as would be consequent to our shipwreck, it behoved me, in the first place,—since it was inevitably certain that our stay here would be very long—to use such means as offer'd towards the preservation of our healths, and to think of some economy to be observ'd amongst the people in relation to the distribution of such quantities of provisions as should, from time to time be got.

“I took some pains in finding out a convenient place to set up my tent; in this I not only regarded the situation, in respect to the weather, but also the security of it being easily surprised by the enemy, and, at length, found comodious spot of ground, not half a mile from the sea, and a fine run of water within a stones cast on each side of it, with firing near at hand and trees proper for building our dwellings; the people settled within call about me in as good a manner as they could, and having a cold season coming on, some of them thatch'd their dwellings, and others cover'd them with skins of Seals and Sea-lions, whilst others got up water-huts, and

slept in them under the cover of a tree. Having thus secur'd ourselves as well as possible against the inclemency of the approaching winter, we used to pass our evenings in making a great fire before my tent, round which my Officers, in general, assembled employing themselves quietly in roasting crawfish in the embers; some times bewailing our unhappy fates, and sinking into despair; at other times feeding themselves up with hopes that something might yet be done to set us afloat again. But as words alone were not sufficient, I began to think it full time to look about me, to see if it was really practicable for us to build such a vessel as would carry us from the Islands."

Building a bark, which he called the *Recovery*, Shelvocke proceeded on his voyage, now in a crippled condition, his men reduced in number to forty, almost without arms or ammunition, and in a poorly constructed boat which was little better than a raft; yet in this plight they could not pass a Spanish galleon without attempting her capture, fighting with bravery but unsuccessfully one of 400 tons, and one of 700 tons, both well armed and manned, and deeply laden with valuable cargoes. The next ship they saw was the *Jesus María*, 200 tons, which they attacked with the courage of despair, and were surprised and delighted to see her surrender without striking a blow. Shelvocke would have stood westward from Panamá for the Asiatic coast, but for the contrary winds he found there; so he coasted Central America and Mexico to La Paz, capturing more Spanish ships, among others the *Sacra Familia* at Sonsonate, and then leaving the coast of America forever.

George Anson, later Lord Anson, made a voyage round the world in the years 1740 to 1744, what he saw in the Pacific being told in a portly quarto by Richard Walter, who puts down California in his chart as an island. Passing round Cape Horn, Anson coasted America to Acapulco, and beyond, then struck out across the ocean to the Ladrões, and back to England via Good Hope. His lordship was not above a stroke of business here and there, or taking a purse if found upon a Spanish vessel. Sailing from St Helens in the *Centurion* with 400 men, so wasted were they by disease and death during the voyage that at the isles of Juan Fernandez there were but about 200 left, and these were reduced to the

last extremity. This is their account of it. "Being now nearer in with the shore, we could discover that the broken craggy precipices, which had appeared so unpromising at a distance, were far from barren, being in most places covered with woods; and that between them there were everywhere interspersed the finest valleys, clothed with a most beautiful verdure, and watered with numerous streams and cascades, no valley of any extent being unprovided of its proper rill. The water too, as we afterward found, was not inferior to any we had ever tasted, and was constantly clear. The aspect of this country thus diversified would at all times have been extremely delightful; but in our distressed situation, languishing as we were for the land and its vegetable productions—an inclination constantly attending every stage of the sea-scurvy,—it is scarcely credible with what eagerness and transport we viewed the shore, and with how much impatience we longed for the greens and other refreshments which were then in sight, and particularly the water; for of this we had been confined to a very sparing allowance a considerable time, and had then but five ton remaining on board. Those only who have endured a long series of thirst, and who can readily recall the desire and agitation which the ideas alone of springs and brooks have at that time raised in them, can judge of the emotion with which we eyed a large cascade of the most transparent water, which poured itself from a rock near a hundred feet high into the sea, at a small distance from the ship. Even those amongst the diseased, who were not in the very last stages of the distemper, though they had been long confined to their hammocks, exerted the small remains of strength that were left them, and crawled up to the deck to feast themselves with this reviving prospect."

Capturing several vessels on the way, and taking the town of Paita, thus securing much booty, the loss of the Spaniards at this one town alone being in property carried off or burned by the Englishmen a million and a half of dollars, Anson crossed the bay of Panamá and came to Tuibo, among the Pearl islands, where he took in wood and water, killed a multitude of monkeys for food, and secured a two months' supply of most delicious turtles, a food which the Spaniards nevertheless used to reject as poisonous. Thence he hastened on to Mexico to intercept the Manila galleon, but failing to find

her, after waiting some time he sent a boat by night into Acapulco harbor to see if she had arrived. This boat captured and brought back three negroes, who informed the English commander that the galleon had arrived long before, had sold her cargo, and was about returning with the money. This report was hailed with joy by the English, whose minds and hearts had dwelt long and fondly on the capture of one or more of these richly laden ships. But catching a glimpse of the enemy, the Spaniard remained in port. Anson then thought to take the town by stratagem, it being too well armed and fortified to storm, but plans for this failing him, he sailed away for Asia. The voyage was disastrous, half the crew of the *Centurion* being prostrated by scurvy on reaching the Ladrone. Unable to abandon the hope of taking another prize, Anson refitted his ship on the China coast and sailed again for Acapulco, meeting and capturing the desired galleon, which yielded in treasure alone nearly \$1,500,000. On reaching London the silver captured from the Spaniards during this expedition amounted to \$2,000,000, which was conveyed from the ship to the Tower in thirty wagons.

Says the author of *Anson's Voyage* regarding Juan Fernandez island, "Former writers have related that this island abounded in vast numbers of goats; and their accounts are not to be questioned, this place being the usual haunt of the buccaneers and privateers who formerly frequented those seas. And there are two instances, one of a Mosquito Indian, and the other of Alexander Selkirk, a Scotchman, who were left here by their respective ships, and lived alone upon this island for some years, and consequently were no strangers to its produce. Selkirk, who was the last, after a stay of between four and five years, was taken off the place by the *Duke* and *Duchess*, privateers of Bristol, as may be seen at large in the journal of their voyage. His manner of life during his solitude was in most particulars very remarkable; but there is one circumstance he relates which was so strangely verified by our own observation that I cannot help reciting it. He tells us, amongst other things, that as he often caught more goats than he wanted, he sometimes marked their ears and let them go. This was about thirty-two years before our arrival at that island. Now it happened that the first goat that was killed by our people had his ears slit, whence we concluded

that he had doubtless been formerly under the power of Selkirk. This was, indeed, an animal of most venerable aspect, dignified with an exceeding majestic beard, and with many other symptoms of antiquity. During our stay on the island we met with others marked in the same manner, all the males being distinguished by an exuberance of beard, and every other characteristic of extreme age."

And from this so little soap, we are said to have the brilliant bubble *Robinson Crusoe*.

The last of the Crusoes to visit Juan Fernandez island and write a book was J. Ross Browne, conspicuous in early California gold-digging times as literary man and politician. It happened in this way, as the story-tellers of late remark: Of the many "old tubs" which drifted toward the Golden Fleece in 1849 was one, the *Anteus*, sailing from New York for San Francisco in the early spring of this memorable year. Upon this craft was Browne, and perhaps a hundred other passengers, who, falling under the tyrannies of a brutal captain, rose and removed him, with the help of the United States consul at Rio de Janeiro, who gave them a new captain, with whom they were allowed to do much as they pleased, which is a feeling grateful to the independence of Americans. Continuing their way with happy hearts, being now masters of the master, they found themselves one morning in May becalmed, with the classic isle some seventy miles distant. Turning their gaze in that direction they let fly their imagination, those of them who had one, and beheld under the charm of romance the beauty of the place, likewise the stranded ship, and Robinson, and Friday, the dog and goat and all the rest, and the pirate bands who came after, and they longed for a revel and a run ashore. The desire becoming irrepressible, ten of them took a boat and rowed away, not in the least fatigued at the start by the thought of a seventy-miles pull, and as for danger, Robinson's story was enough of that.

Their intention was to reach the island by sunset, make a tent of the boat sail, and in the morning gather fruit and return,—a pretty plan but for the unexpected, coming in the form of head winds and hurricane, and a black tempestuous night in an open boat, which came near giving to the island ten dead Crusoes "for keeps." But having reached an offing, and coming suddenly in the darkness upon a great ship, which

proved to be the *Brooklyn*, of New York, bound for California, they emerged from the horrors of the night, and after a brief enjoyment of the hospitality of their fellow Argonauts, they went ashore to finish their play of Crusoe.

And here I give the author of *Crusoe's Island* an opportunity to unburden himself, which I regard his fair and rightful due. "Never shall I forget the strange delight," he says, "with which I gazed upon that isle of romance, the unfeigned rapture I felt in exploring that miniature world in the desert of waters, so fraught with the associations of youth, so remote from the ordinary realities of life, the actual embodiment of the most absorbing, most fascinating of all my dreams of fancy. Many lands have I seen, many glens of utopian loveliness, but none like this in variety of outline and undefinable richness of coloring; nothing so dream-like, so wrapped in illusion. Great peaks of reddish rock seemed to pierce the sky wherever I looked; a thousand rugged ridges awapt upward toward the centre in a perfect maze of enchantment. It was all wild, fascinating, and unreal. The sides of the mountains were covered with patches of rich grass, natural fields of oats, and groves of myrtle and pimento. Fields of verdure covered the ravines; ruined and moss-covered walls were scattered over each eminence; and the straw huts of the inhabitants were almost inbosomed in trees in the midst of the valley, and jets of smoke arose out of the groves and floated off gently in the calm air of the morning. In all the shore but one spot, a single opening among the rocks, seemed accessible to man. The rest of the coast within view consists of fearful cliffs overhanging the water, the ridges from which slope upward as they recede inland, forming a variety of smaller valleys above, which are strangely diversified with wood and grass, and golden fields of wild oats. The waters of the bay are of crystal clearness, and alive with fish and various kinds of marine animals. Then think without a smile of disdain what a thrill of delight ran through my blood as I pressed my feet for the first time upon the fresh sod of Juan Fernandez! Yes, here was verily the land of Robinson Crusoe; here in one of these secluded glens stood his rustic castle; here he fed his goats and held converse with his faithful pets; here he found consolation in the devotion of a new friend, his true and honest man Friday. Pardon the fondness with

which I linger upon these recollections, for I, who had always regarded Robinson Crusoe as the most truthful and the very sublimest of adventurers, was now the entranced beholder of his abiding place, walking, breathing, thinking, and seeing on the very spot! There was no fancy about it, not the least; it was a palpable reality. Talk of gold; why I tell you, my friends, all the gold of California was not worth the ecstatic bliss of that moment!"

All which is eloquent and fine; we must remember, however, that this was the first of these far southern isles Mr Browne had ever seen; and also how fortunate he was to have obtained so much at so little cost,—only the perils of a night and no money payment at all; nor was the extent of gold in California then known; neither the extent of it, nor the amount of ecstatic bliss it would buy.

Returning to prose and reality, we find, by Mr Browne's true and faithful narrative, on the island at this time, the remains of fortifications and convict prison built by the Chilians in 1767, the walls of which had been thrown down by an earthquake in 1835. Previous to this calamity the convicts had broken prison, killed their keepers and fled. A penal colony was established here by the Chilian government in 1819. Inhabiting the island at this time were one American and five Chilian families, living in huts made of the straw of wild oats, and embedded in foliage, while to each was attached a small piece of land fenced with stone and brushwood. Here fruits, vines, and vegetables were grown, while native grass and grain were abundant everywhere. Whalers still touched at these islands, and California vessels, their purchase of supplies giving good profits to the occupants of the land. The good people will also show you, for a consideration, the veritable cave of the renowned Robinson, in a bluff of volcanic rock, with cupboards cut into the sides, and spikes for gun-rests; likewise a stone oven, some broken pottery, and fragments of rusty iron, all relics of Robinson. Here cliffs and springs, there goat-paths and goats, buzzards and song birds, all Robinson's, all save a stalactite grotto opening to the ocean, which was called the cave of the buccaneers.

"I could never think of Juan Fernandez" said Browne, as he concluded his narrative, "without a strong desire to be

shipwrecked there, and spend the remainder of my days dressed in goatskins, rambling about the cliffs and hunting wild goats."

Which harmless ambition could not have been so very difficult of attainment; but it appears the versatile Browne preferred after all to go as United States minister to China.

In conclusion I may say that all this about a Crusoe Island in the Pacific, regarded as a myth of some two hundred years standing, is very interesting, but like many other myths, if scrutinized too closely, it vanishes. Says William Lee in his biography of Defoe, "It is evident he acquired some incidents from Selkirk, who lived four years on Juan Fernandez, but the ever-varying events, the useful and improving moralities, and the fascinating style are all his own;" while the author of *Robinson Crusoe* himself says, "In the gulf or mouth of the mighty river Oroonooko our island lay, which I perceived to the west and northwest was the great Island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of that river. I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, its inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were there, but could get no other name but Caribs, from whence I easily understood that these were the Caribbees." Thus is clearly shown that the true island of Crusoe is Tobago, information concerning which Defoe easily obtained from pirates and others, and on which were likewise goats, which indeed were common to most of the islands on either side of South America.

CHAPTER XXVIII

LEAVES FROM THE LOG BOOKS OF THE PIRATES

THERE are various kinds of pirates, sea pirates and land pirates, sea robbers or rovers, buccaneers, privateers, filibusters, and freebooters. Those of whom I speak had their happy hunting-ground in the West Indies during parts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with occasional expeditions into the South sea, both by way of the Panamá isthmus and around Cape Horn. There were the Dutch English Portuguese Italians and French, preying on each other, and all preying on the Spaniards, because the possessions of the Spaniards in those days were the broadest and richest of them all, and because the Spaniards were always at war with some one or more of the other nations, which served as an excuse for buccaneering, though all were quite as ready for highway robbery without an excuse.

The cruelties of the Spaniards in forcing beyond their strength and habits the natives of Española and Cuba to labor in the mines and on the plantations led to their extermination, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century these islands were well nigh depopulated, and the cattle, introduced from Europe, increased until immense herds covered the valleys, so that hunting them for the hides and tallow became a profitable occupation. Settlements and plantations of a new and peculiar kind followed, to which English and French sailors, with their contraband goods, were always welcome.

Among the other industries here fostered was that of preserving the flesh of the wild cattle by smoking and drying it; the places where this was done were called boucans, the operation boucanning, and the operatives boucanneers; so that when all these people in a greater or less degree took to sea-roving, smuggling, and pirating, they were thrown into the one category of buccaneers. Thus there arose a fraternity of freebooters, or filibusters as they were also called, with

Spain as their common enemy, though, as I said before, they had small scruples to take a prize of any nationality, or even to fight each other.

A colony of buccaneers on the island of St Christopher, to which the governments of France and England had both contributed, was in 1629 surprised and scattered by a Spanish fleet of thirty-nine sail, but quickly regained its position upon the departure of the enemy. The buccaneers then established a store-house on the island of Tortuga, more secure from attack than St Christopher, with business headquarters at Santo Domingo. In 1638, while most of the occupants of the island were absent, the Spaniards attacked Tortuga, and killed every man there, but their places were quickly filled by others. At intervals the crown of France claimed possession of the piratical islands, and control of the fraternity, and drove out the English, only to be driven out themselves alternately by the English and Spaniards.

The buccaneers had their common law and code of ethics. Women were seldom a part of the fraternity, household duties being performed by men. Courage and fidelity were the cardinal virtues, and as death was the penalty if captured, quarter was seldom asked or given. Association was voluntary; engagement was only for the cruise, and any member might quit the brotherhood at pleasure. All fighting men might attend councils; commanders were chosen for their ability and bravery, and those who made the leaders could unmake them. Duels were frequently resorted to for the settlement of individual quarrels; an offence against the society was punished by death, abandonment on a deserted island, or it might be simply expulsion.

The rules applied in privateering generally governed in the division of spoils. The captain carpenter sail-maker and surgeon were first considered, the captain receiving five shares and his mate two shares, fighting men one share, boys half a share. Then wounds were examined and paid for, a right arm being valued at 600 pieces of eight, or six slaves; an eye or a finger 100 pieces of eight, or one slave. Food was held in common, and on a cruise consisted largely of pork, with dried beef and salted turtle, cassada maize and potatoes, but no bread. There were two regular meals each day, but any member might help himself to food at pleasure.

Piety was part of the freebooters stock in trade, though not quite in the same degree as was the case with the conquerors. The former desired God's blessing on his enterprise, and prayed for it, saying mass now and then, even carrying a priest sometimes for that purpose, as Francis Drake carried a chaplain; but they did not trouble themselves about saving souls, other than their own, and they never allowed religion to interfere with business, robbing churches being all the same to them as robbing ships.

It is not my purpose to give here a history of the buccaneers, but only to give them brief mention in connection with their doings in the Pacific. The West Indies was their home, where they lived and labored for a good round century, doing other things than acts of pure piracy. The English buccaneers assisted the English in the conquest of Jamaica in 1655. The French buccaneers, under Pierre Legrand, rose at one stroke to fame and fortune by the capture of a richly laden galleon of the annual Spanish fleet, in command of the vice-admiral, the pirates climbing on board from a small boat at night, and surprising the officers at cards in the admiral's cabin.

This achievement made wild with envy the planters of Tortuga and other isles, who with one accord rushed to sea in small boats in search of Spaniards, and soon equipped themselves in better form from their captured prizes. Another Frenchman, Pierre François, captured the vice-admiral of the pearl fleet, while Bartholomew Portugues, with a boat carrying but four guns and thirty men, successfully fought a Spanish war vessel of twenty large guns and seventy men.

Land-piracy came on apace; Lewis Scot stormed and carried Compeache, securing large ransom; Mansvelt and John Davies followed the bright examples of their predecessors on sea and land. Lolonnois and Montbar, Frenchmen and monsters of cruelty and crime, were long a terror to the Spanish main. Lolonnois began his career with the capture with twenty-two men in two canoes on the coast of Cuba of a Spanish frigate. His prisoners he would throw overboard or burn in their ship; it is said that he once struck off the heads of eighty captives with his own sword by way of amusement. With Michael de Basco and 650 men in eight ships he stormed

Gibraltar and Maracaibo, plundering and burning other towns, killing seamen, sinking ships, and strewing the ocean with horror. It is unnecessary to speak of the treatment of women by fiends like these, or of the freebooter's universal love of drink and gambling. Lolonnois finally met a fate in keeping with his life; he was torn limb from limb by the natives of Darien, the body burned, and the ashes scattered to the wind.

Another of those human hyenas, the French buccaneer, was Montbar, the Exterminator as his comrades called him, native of Languedoc, who from his youth up studied brutality as a fine art, to be practised on the Spaniards as opportunity should offer. He learned lessons in treachery and ferocity from the Spaniards themselves, in their treatment of the natives, islanders Mexicans and Peruvians, which he put into practice with delight. Blood thirstiness was a passion with him, the gratification of which was more to him than gold. The cries of agony arising from his divers tortures and butcheries were as sweetest music to his ear; he revelled in the sanguinary for its own sake.

Not far behind this French fiend was the Welchman, Sir Henry Morgan, whose sordid and brutal nature was fed by cunning and cruelty. With twelve sail and 700 fighting men he swept the seas and terrorized the islands and mainland, plundering the cities of Cuba, and carrying even Portobello, on the Isthmus, with a handful of determined men, afterward huddling his prisoners into the castle and blowing it up with powder, darkening the sky with the mangled bodies of his victims. Fifteen days of fiendish revels followed, among the pastimes being the violation of women, and the torture of prisoners for the disclosure of treasure which they did not possess. News thereof crossing the Isthmus, the governor of Panamá sent Sir Morgan 100,000 pieces of eight to be exempt from destruction for this one time. When the messenger who brought Morgan the money returned to Panamá and told the governor with how small a force the Welchman had taken the Spanish stronghold of Portobello, he was amazed, and bade the messenger return and ask the pirate by what means he was able to accomplish such great results with so small a force. Whereupon Morgan sent the governor a pistol with bullets, saying, "Keep this a twelvemonth and I will

call for it." But the governor returned the weapon, and with it a gold ring, and the reply, "I would not have you travel so far for so slight an object."

But the good governor was not destined to escape so easily. Perhaps the most brilliant achievement of the buccaneers was the capture of Panamá by Morgan in 1671. The Welchman had now at his command 39 ships and 2000 men. With the island of Providence as a rendezvous, Morgan as a preliminary step sent 400 men to take possession of the castle of Chagre, which was accomplished with no great difficulty. Then landing his entire force he crossed the Isthmus, escaping the several ambuscades laid for him by the governor, and camped near the city.

The crossing of this narrow neck of land by a body of men, as had often been shown before, was not easy of accomplishment. In this instance the governor of Panamá had depopulated the country and stripped it of food, so that before reaching their destination the pirates were reduced to the last extremity of hunger, when leather became a luxury. They had large guns to haul and heavy burdens to carry beneath the burning sun. So that when after ten days of toil and suffering the towers of Panamá came into view, the buccaneers gave themselves up to clamorous exultation over relief from past miseries and the joys of coming conquest and plunder. After filling themselves with the raw flesh of cattle they found there, being too hungry and impatient to stop to cook it, they threw themselves on the ground and slept until morning.

About ten o'clock the gates of the city were opened, and forth came the Spaniards to battle, 200 horse, and four regiments of foot soldiers, all led by the governor in person. Closing in upon the encampment, with the cry Viva el Rey! they rushed upon the foe. But the ground was marshy, so that the cavalry was almost ineffectual, and even the infantry were at a disadvantage. Meanwhile from their secure position the pirates poured in upon them so deadly a fire that in two hours they gave way, and those who were so unfortunate as not to find protection within the walls were ruthlessly butchered. Six hundred Spaniards thus fell on that day, and many of Morgan's men, quarter being neither asked nor given on either side. Gaining an entrance, the guns of the invaders were planted within the walls, and soon the city was in

flames, being fired probably by the Spaniards, as the buccaneers would scarcely destroy their captured property.

Old Panamá, the place thus destroyed by Morgan, consisted at this time of 12,000 houses, besides eight monasteries and two richly furnished churches. Many of the dwellings were elegant structures with spacious grounds,—altogether a rich and beautiful city, being the entrepôt of the Pacific for eastern-bound gold and merchandise, the wealth of the transpacific as well as of the American coasts pouring itself for a time into this isthmus funnel. The fire continued for three weeks; and to prevent the usual debauchery, Morgan gave out that the wine was poisoned, which statement however did not prevent the men from drinking it. The Genoese had there a slave-factory, where Africans destined for Peru were brought to be sold; these miserable beings all perished in the flames. The Spaniards had hidden away much of their portable wealth in wells and cellars, and were tortured to force disclosure, the clergy suffering most of all, as they were supposed to be the recipients of many secrets. No sooner had Morgan secured the city, than steps were taken to seize the shipping, which resulted in securing several large and valuable prizes, besides many smaller ones. All the land and the sea around were scoured for plunder. Thus was old Panamá erased from the earth, the site on which the new Panamá was built being some six miles away.

Malignant alike in love as in hate, Morgan subjected a beautiful Spanish woman, who had rejected his addresses with scorn, to such outrages as to disgust even his brother pirates. Meanwhile a party was formed to take possession of a captured ship, with a share of the booty, to cruise in the South sea, and establish there an empire of infamy as in the West Indies; hearing of which, the astute leader ordered cut down and burned the mainmast of every ship in port, thus effectually preventing desertion on the Pacific side of the continent at the present time. The spoils taken in this magnificent raid were very great, all the country round being laid under contribution for beasts of burden to carry the plunder to the North sea. Finally the cannons were spiked; on 175 mules the booty was placed, and driving along with them 600 men women and children, Morgan and his men returned to Chagre, the prisoners being sent to Portobello for ransom.

And after all the suffering and success, whatever the leaders may have secured from this rich plunder, the men received only about \$200 each, whereat they grumbled greatly, but to little purpose. For his many exploits, Charles II conferred on Morgan the honor of knighthood.

Again in 1680 a body of 300 marauders under John Coxon crossed the Isthmus to Panamá bay, and embarked on the waters of the Pacific in a fleet of canoes; they soon secured four Spanish ships, with which they took many merchant vessels. Coxon returned to the north with seventy men and good plunder, but the main body elected to remain and ravage the Peruvian coast under the leadership of Sawkins, Sharp, and Watling, returning to the West Indies round Cape Horn.

John Cook, entering the Pacific via Cape Horn in 1683 for piratical purposes, found there a Thames-built ship, Eaton commander, who informed Cook that besides himself there were in those waters one Captain Swan, and others with ships fitted out in England for purposes of privateering. Upon the death of Cook, Edward Davis took command of his ship. Two years later the bay of Panamá swarmed with pirates and privateers of all nations, preying on the commerce of Spain and fighting one another.

The city of Vera Cruz was taken by stratagem in 1683 by the three famous buccaneers, Van Horn, Grammont, and Laurent de Graff. One dark night a force was landed three leagues from the city, and the inhabitants taken by surprise. They were locked up in the churches, with barrels of gunpowder placed at the doors, and sentinels with lighted match ready to blow them up instantly upon the slightest indication of disturbance. After quietly pillaging the city, the prisoners were informed that they could have their liberty on payment of ten millions of livres. When half of the amount had been collected and handed over to the miscreants, a Spanish fleet of seventeen sail came in sight, which with the appearance of a body of troops on shore caused a retreat, which was well-ordered, however, the buccaneers retaining all their booty, including 1500 slaves.

A brilliant exploit was the sack of Leon and Realejo by Edward Davis in 1687. The longest naval engagement on record in these waters was the one in which Davis fought two large Spanish vessels for seven days.

The decline of buccaneering began with the war between France and England arising from the accession of William of Orange in 1689 to the English throne. This was the proximate cause, the influence of European hostilities being quickly felt in the Caribbean sea by the separation into bands hostile to each other of the English and French freebooters. But aside from this the elements of decay were in the system itself. No community can exist permanently on the fruits of wrong and injustice. But sea-robbery, like other robberies, has not wholly died out yet; even the capture and confiscation of private goods upon the ocean, by warships, might be considered as sailing rather close to the wind in a war for humanity's sake.

From Drake to Morgan, a round hundred years and more, were the palmy days of piracy and buccaneering in Pacific waters. As Spain was chief owner of the western world, its islands continents and seas, she had the most from which to steal, and so it became the special pleasure of the other European nations to prey upon Spain. When they were at war, it was called privateering; when not at war, piracy or buccaneering; in any event the lootings by sea and land continued, so that people were somewhat uncertain, upon the return of ships with gold and glory, whether to call them privateers or pirates.

Spanish treachery had much to do with prolonging and intensifying troubles. While even in his infamies the word of an Englishman was usually good, no reliance whatever could be placed upon the promise of a Spaniard. For example, Hawkins and Drake were at Vera Cruz in 1567 with a cargo of slaves to sell, when a Spanish fleet came in sight having a cargo worth some \$6,000,000, which the Englishmen might have captured if attacked before entering the harbor. But upon the solemn assurance of the Spaniards that they should be allowed to depart in peace,—a promise never intended to be kept,—the fleet was permitted to enter and anchor under the guns of San Juan de Ulúa, whereupon the English were fired on from all sides and cut to pieces, two small vessels alone escaping. This outrage was long remembered, and it cost the Spaniards dearly. The first attempt at reprisal was an attack on Nombre de Dios in 1572 by Drake, followed by other depredations on the Isthmus.

Another merry English blade was John Oxenham, who with Drake enjoyed sportive times on the Darien isthmus in 1573, and lost his life there. Mooring his ship on the north side, Drake marched inland to intercept the treasure mule-train from Panamá to Nombre de Dios; but one of his seamen, taking this occasion to get drunk and break the stillness of the night by his bacchanalian songs, defeated the purpose. Upon another occasion, however, Drake here captured a treasure train and several towns. Oxenham, two years afterward, having then a ship of his own, landed his men at the same place, beached his vessel and covered it with the branches of trees; then marched twelve leagues to a river which flowed into the South sea, where he built a boat, sailed to the Pearl islands, and captured two Peruvian barks with 160,000 pesos in silver, but was himself captured before reaching his hidden vessel, and carried prisoner to Panamá. Questioned if he carried the queen's commission, or a license from any prince or state, Oxenham replied that he held no commission, but acted solely for himself. It may be that this man could not tell a lie; he was not a Spaniard; or it may be that he saw that a lie would not serve him; at all events, as the record has it, "Upon this answer Oxenham and his men were all condemned to death, and the whole, except five boys, were executed."

While Drake was on the Isthmus searching for the treasure train, he came to a hill whereon stood a high tree, from the top of which the North sea and the South sea could plainly be seen. Sitting in the branches of this tree, "and having as it pleased God at this time by reason of the breeze a very fair day, seeing that sea of which he had heard such golden reports, he besought Almighty God of his goodness to give him life and leave to sail once in an English ship in that sea."

"Aye, noble captain" broke in John Oxenham, "And unless you did beat me from your company, I would follow you by God's grace".

John Hawkins was of the same fraternity, and a kinsman of Drake. These gentlemen were both early in the slave trade, loading negroes on the Guinea coast and carrying them to the Indies, islands and main land. This slave-catching on land and taking Spanish treasure ships at sea, made a fine business, but none of these slave ships ever found their way into the Pacific ocean.

As mentioned elsewhere, with five vessels fitted out ostensibly for trading to Alexandria, Francis Drake in 1577 sailed from England on his voyage of circumnavigation. He began at once to capture ships, Spanish and Portuguese, keeping whatever he desired and destroying the remainder. Arrived at Port San Julian, where Magellan's trouble with his captains occurred, mutiny was also discovered among Drake's men, and checked in time to save the fleet and the commander. It is said that the plot originated in England, and that it developed as the voyage continued. However that was, it was here discovered and exposed. The leader, Thomas Doughty, an officer of ability in the fleet, was accused, and so overwhelming was the evidence that he confessed. Drake took the matter coolly, and told the man he might choose one of three ways for his final disposition, to be executed at once, or return to England and stand trial there, or to be left alone among the savages. He chose the first, because, he said, he would not endanger his soul among savage infidels, nor undergo a disgraceful trial in England. He only asked that he might receive communion with the generals, and that his death might not be other than that of a gentleman.

"No reasons," the narrative goes on to say, "could persuade Mr Doughty to alter his choice; seeing he remained in his determination his last requests were granted; and the next convenient day a communion was celebrated by Mr Francis Fletcher, pastor of the fleet. The general himself communicated in the sacred ordinance with Mr Doughty, after which they dined at the same table together, as cheerfully in sobriety as ever in their lives they had done; and taking their leave, by drinking to each other, as if some short journey only had been in hand." Thereupon he was beheaded.

At Valparaiso a large ship was taken with "1770 botijas, or jars full of Chili wine; 60,000 pesos of gold; with some jewels and other merchandise." The town was given up to plunder, the church robbed and the proceeds given to the Reverend Fletcher. Proceeding northward they took everything useful they could lay their hands on. Dozens of vessels Drake took on this coast, little opposition being offered, and few atrocities were committed. The captured vessels were not even burned, many of them being turned adrift with sails set. One large ship, from which they took gold, silver,

and jewels to the value of \$360,000, was permitted to proceed on her way to Panamá unharmed.

Drake thought he would now like to find a strait which would give him a short cut back to England. Passing Panamá he repaired his ships at Nicaragua, rifling such vessels as fell in his way, and sacking a town here and there. Being beyond the region of the Spaniards, and finding no strait, nor any thing he deemed worth stealing, Drake turned from the American coast and sailed for the Philippine islands, and thence by the way of Good Hope cape home. The queen knighted Drake, and dined on board his ship, but she sequestered his treasure, pending Spanish claims, and then between them all were fought off claimants, so that small restitution was made.

Francisco de Gualle in 1582 sailed from Acapulco for the Philippines, returning to New Spain in two years. The voyage caused much talk but really amounted to little. The account, written originally by Gualle, was translated from the Spanish into low Dutch by J. Huighen Van Linschoten, and from this into other languages. Should they be called pirates or patriots, those worshipful knights who fought the Spanish armada, and sailed into the South sea to rob and murder, and were praised and petted and beheaded by good Queen Bess? There were Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, and many another Sir made or unmade by this madam.

All good pirates in the reign of Elizabeth were knighted, just as the good generals of our day are given degrees by universities, not by reason of any special merit or scholarship on the part of the recipient, but simply and in a general way to encourage the art of killing. One steals well, another kills well, and those who have read to them in the churches at a price per annum, "Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not kill", thus exalt the thief and murderer. It is a question of quantity; the wife of the wholesale dealer is superior to the wife of the retail dealer; so it is with regard to thieves and murderers. We do not hear of Sir Shakespeare or Sir Milton, though there are some Sirs among modern men of letters, which let us hope, being harmless, may ever prove a source of pride and satisfaction to their possessors.

War with Spain being at length formally declared, Sir

Drake sailed forth in 1585 with 25 ships and 2300 seamen to capture the West Indies. It was no more than play for the brave Englishmen to land a force for a night attack and pillage and burn such places as Santiago at Cape Verde islands, and Santo Domingo in the West Indies. But bad as were the English and Dutch of those days the Spaniards were worse. For example, at Santo Domingo Drake's negro boy with a flag of truce was pierced with a Spanish spear so that he died. Next day two monks were taken to the spot where the vile deed was perpetrated and executed, notification being sent to the Spaniards that every day on that spot at that hour two of their number should so suffer until the murderers of his boy should be given up, which was shortly done. Many are the brave deeds chronicled of Drake and Sir Hawkins before they met their death, the latter at Porto Rico and the former at Portobello.

The next Englishman to enter the Pacific was Thomas Cavendish, also elsewhere mentioned, who sailed in 1586, at his own charge, with three vessels, of 120, 60, and 40 tons respectively, touched at the Canaries, ran along the coast of Africa to Sierra Leone, and there, after winning the confidence of the negroes, plundered and burned their town, like the villain he was, and no one knows why to this day. There are good Englishmen and there are bad Englishmen. This Cavendish was a bad man upon instinct, beside whom the noble pirates Sir Drake and Sir Hawkins were gentlemen. All the same he sailed round the world, and upon his return wrote his own epitaph in the following words addressed to the lord chamberlain: "I navigated along the coast of Chili, Peru, and Neuva Espanna where I made great spoils. I burnt and sunk 19 sails of ships, small and great. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at I burnt and spoiled."

The wretched remains of the Spanish colony in Magellan strait, Cavendish at first promised to carry to Peru, and then sailed away leaving them there to horrible death from starvation. One Spaniard, indeed, he brought with him from the strait to serve as interpreter on the coasts of Chili and Peru, named Hernandez, who proved faithless, whereat the Englishmen complained that "notwithstanding all his deep and damnable oaths that he would never forsake them, but would die on their side before he would be false, had finally deceived

them." A pretty pastime with Sir Cavendish was to catch a bunch of villagers, and releasing the wives hold the husbands for tribute, to be paid in the fruits of the country.

William Dampier, whether navigator, circumnavigator, pirate, privateer, buccaneer, Jamaica planter, or Campeache log-wood cutter, was a seventeenth century adventurer of no common order. His father was an English farmer, and the son went early to sea. After living all sorts of lives, and undergoing innumerable experiences by sea and land, we find him in the Pacific, in 1683, as captain of a large ship which he had taken from the Danes by stratagem, and renamed the *Bachelor's Delight*. The stratagem was not unlike that sometimes employed by the footpad ashore, who pretending to be drunk stumbles against his victim to throw him off his guard. It was Captain Cook, then on board, who played the game, and their vessel was the little *Revenge*. Arriving at the river Sherborough, he prepared to anchor near the Dane, who felt no fear of so small a boat as the *Revenge*, and one apparently so weakly manned, most of the pirates having been sent below. As the *Revenge* crept meekly along, if any thing a little too close to the great Dane, Cook called out in a loud voice to put the helm down and keep away. But previous orders had been issued to do the very reverse, so that when the little craft bumped against the big ship in this careless manner, and the cut-throats swarmed up so unexpectedly like demons from hell, the Dane was theirs with the loss of but five men.

After passing through Magellan strait, and refreshing his crew at Juan Fernandez islands, Dampier followed the main land of America northward, taking whatever he desired that came in his way, whether ships, people, or treasure, until he came to Trujillo, narrowly missing a Spanish galleon containing 800,000 pieces of eight. Trujillo had been recently fortified, and so strongly that Dampier declined an attack, and so sailed for the Galapagos, which he plundered, together with the neighboring isles, and then proceeded to Guayaquil, which Dampier pronounced one of the chief ports of the South sea, exporting woollen cloth, besides hides tallow cocoa and sarsaparilla. Here also the Spaniards were too well prepared for an attack for it to be safe to make one; so the Englishmen sailed on to the Pearl islands, in the bay of Panamá, where they rested and refitted.

On the way, they captured, among other ships, the packet-boat from Lima, whose captain had thrown overboard the letters, attached to a line and buoy. Recovering which, Dampier learned that the governor of Panamá was actively employed hurrying forward the triennial fleet from Callao to Panamá, that the treasure for Portobello and Spain might escape the clutches of the pirates. Dampier had ere this been joined by Davis, and the fleet of the buccaneers now consisted of ten sail, reinforcements arriving across the Isthmus raising their number to 1000 men. As the Lima treasure-ships were late in making their appearance, they would probably have escaped capture but for the intercepted letters. As it was, the pirates laid patiently in wait for six months, watching for their prey. When the Lima fleet appeared, it was found to consist of fourteen sail, and by no means so contemptible an enemy as was at first supposed. Two of the ships were of forty guns each, two of thirty-eight guns, and two of them were fire ships. It soon became apparent as the Spaniards came down upon them, that for once they were prepared and intended to meet the enemy. The pirates, being to the windward, might fight or fly, as they chose. In the darkness of the night which now came on, the Spaniards shifted their position so as to give them the advantage. Seeing which the pirates turned and fled, keeping up a running fire all day. In the end they were glad to make their escape, leaving the Lima fleet in possession of its treasure.

While the Lima fleet came to anchor at Panamá, the buccaneers sailed away to the assault of Leon, in Nicaragua, which they carried with 640 men. The payment of a promised ransom of \$300,000 was so delayed as to excite suspicion, and the buccaneers withdrew after burning the city. The squadron, composed of companies under the three chiefs Dampier, Swan, and Harris, now broke up, Dampier and Swan continuing northward along the coast to Acapulco, Colima, and Cape San Lucas, whence they crossed the ocean to Manila, and proceeded via the cape of Good Hope to England. While in midpacific, the provisions became exhausted, and the men threatened to kill and eat, first Captain Swan, and then every one who had promoted the voyage. But coming to an island, which was a garden, and seemingly to them the most beautiful and fruitful in the world, they found better food than those tough mariners.

Hawkins tells us how the swearing malady was treated on his ship. Escaping from great danger on one occasion he says: "We had no small cause to give God thanks and prayse for our deliverance; and so, all our ships come together, wee magnified His glorious Name for his mercie towards us, and tooke an occasion hereby to banish swearing out of our shippes, which amongst the common sort of mariners and seafaring men is too ordinarily abused. So with a generall consent of all our companie, it was ordayned that in every ship there should be a palmer or ferula, which should be in the keeping of him who was taken with an oath; and that he who had the palmer should give to every other that he tooke swearing, in the palme of the hand, a palmada with it, and the ferula. And whosoever at the time of evening or morning prayers was found to have the palmer, should have three blowes given him by the captaine or master; and that he should be still bound to free himself by taking another, or else to runne in daunger of continuing the penaltie; which executed, few days reformed the vice; so that in three dayes together was not one oath heard to be sworne."

With the ships *Daintie*, *Fancie*, and *Hawke*, Richard Hawkins sailed from England in 1593 through the strait of Magellan into the South sea, intending to visit Japan, the Philippines, and the Moluccas, and capture booty from the Spaniards and others. Writing up his log for December on the coast of Brazil he says: "The twenty two of this moneth, at the going too of the sunne, we descryed a Portingall ship, and gave her chase, and comming within hayling of her, shee rendred her selfe without any resistance; shee was of an hundred tuns, bound for Angola, to load negroes, to be carried and sold in the river of Plate. It is a trade of great profit and much used, for that the negroes are carried from the head of the river Plate to Potosí to labour in the mynes. It is a bad negro who is not worth there five or six hundredth peeces, every peece of tenne ryals, which they receive in ryals of plate, for there is no other marchandize in those partes. We took out of this prize for our provision, and praised God for his bountie, providence, and grace extended towards us."

Entering the strait, "in the middle of the reach we saw certaine hogges, but they were so faire from us that wee could not discerne if they were of those of the countrie, or brought

by the Spaniards." One day they "discovered a great company of seales, or sea-wolves, sleeping, with their bellies toasting against the sunne. Wee provided our selves with staves, and other weapons, and sought to steale upon them at unawares, to surprise some of them; and coming down the side of a hill, wee were not discovered till wee were close upon them. Notwithstanding, their sentinell, before wee could approach, with a great howle waked them, We got betwixt the sea and some of them, but they shunned us not, for they came directly upon us, and though we dealt here and there a blow, yet not a man that withstood them escaped the overthrow. They reckon not of a muskett shott, a sword peirceth not their skinne, and to give a blow with a staffe is as to smite upon a stone; onely in giving the blow upon his snout, presently he falleth downe dead."

Capturing some vessels on the coast of Chili, Hawkins was himself captured on the coast of Peru, toward the Pearl islands and Panamá, which places he encountered as a prisoner, suffering likewise incarceration in Peru and Spain. Sir Hawkins was quite the British tar and gentleman in his free roving, and the Spaniards treated him with distinguished kindness, for them, granting him in his surrender *en buena guerra*, as they called it, that is a few years imprisonment only, without the faggots or the Inquisition; but all the same Sir Hawkins liked it better taking than being taken. His praise to heaven is likewise less profuse when the enemy succeeds, but in that event the enemy's praises ascend and so the proper equilibrium is preserved in heaven.

The English have ever an eye to decorum, even in their obliquities. Among all nations, piety has even been the handmaid of piracy, but Queen Elizabeth seemed specially solicitous as to the morals of her freebooters, if we may judge by the regulations. "(1) All the company shall repaire every day twice to heare publike prayers, all praising God together with psalme and prayer. (2) No man shall swear. (3) No man shall speak evil of our dread soveraigne or the established religion. (4) No man shall speake against the goode successe of the voyage. (5) Attend to it that no man doe grumble at his allowance of vituall."

Walter Raleigh, like others whose appetites for adventure was whetted by his skirmish with the Spanish armada, in

1595 sailed with five ships for Trinidad, in search of El Dorado of the Orinoco. He ascended the river some distance, and bringing away some stones containing gold, returned to England.

El Dorado was the latest dream of the spoiler. Somewhere under the equator, back of Guiana, and up the river Orinoco, rumor placed a land gilded with gold; a land whose situation shifted with the times, but whose existence was always in the air. In the days of old Darien it was up the Atrato, or peradventure the Magdalena, that the gilded city of Dabaiba must be sought, where Vasco Nuñez looked for it in 1512, and Colmenares, and Bartolomé Hurtado, but who found in place of the expected golden temple, and a city whose streets were paved with precious stones, only an Indian town whose houses were built in the branches of palm trees, ascent to which was made by ladders drawn up at night.

It may have been the treasure tombs and temple on the Cenu river, or in the Guaca valley, which were rifled by Francisco Cesar with 100 men in 1536 of 30,000 castellanos; for it is well known that on and all around the Darien isthmus the sepulchres of the savages contain golden implements and ornaments of no small value.

And now half a century later comes this gay courtier from his virgin queen to achieve what these Spanish adventurers had all failed to do, namely, to find and rifle El Dorado. Was it folly for this astute Englishman to put such faith in these wild Indian tales as to lead him to the fitting out of three expeditions in all, involving the men and money for six or eight ships and their equipment? Perhaps. Yet what else had Vasco Nuñez to go upon when he crossed the Isthmus to the South sea; or Cortés when he burned his ships and sallied forth for Mexico; or Pizarro when he sought and found the golden Sun-temple of Cuzco and the treasure-houses of Atahualpa? Had they believed less they would have achieved less.

But there were other things than El Dorados to tax Raleigh's credulity. There were present Amazons to guard the riches; which might be true enough, as on the isle of California Cortés had his Amazons, not to go back to Greek legend and the Black sea. Some had even said that both Montezuma and Atahualpa had transferred part of their

treasures to Guiana in order to secure it from the rapacity of the Spaniards, and there it had been kept for good Elizabeth, whose portrait Raleigh failed not to display, or her virtues to extol, to the man-eating savages of the Orinoco. But El Dorado Raleigh found not, and so returned to his London queen, to be housed in the London tower.

With the failure of Sir Hawkins, the English were content for a time to remain at home, but the Spaniards were all the more ready to continue discoveries and settlement in the Pacific. By order of Philip of Spain, the viceroy of Peru sent Alvaro de Mendana, in 1595, with four ships and 378 men, to plant a colony at the Solomon islands. At Madalena and the Marquesas, discovered on this voyage, the Spaniards perpetrated the most wanton and unprovoked brutalities upon the natives, whom they pronounced a superior people. "These islanders were in colour almost white," they said; "they had long hair, which some of them suffered to hang loose, and others gathered in a knot on the top of the head.

"The natives of the Marquesas had large sailing canoes, neatly constructed with tools made of shells and the bones of fishes. Their town was built so as to form two sides of a quadrangle, one standing north and south and the other east and west. The ground near the houses was neatly paved, and planted round thick with trees. The houses seemed to be held in common. Some of them had low doors, and others were open the whole length of the front. They were built with timber and bamboo canes intermixed, and the floor was raised above the level of the ground without. The articles of food were hogs, fowls, and fish; cocoanuts, sugar-canes, and plantains of an excellent kind."

And thus they speak of the bread-fruit, this being the earliest description of it. "But the fruit most highly commended in the original accounts is one which was produced by the trees which the natives cultivated near their houses; it grows to the size of a boy's head; when ripe it is of a green colour, but of a strong green before it is ripe; the outside or rind is streaked crossways like a pineapple; the form is not entirely round but becomes narrow towards the end; the stalk runs to the middle of the fruit, where there is a kind of web; it has neither stone nor kernel, nor is any part unprofitable except the rind, which is thin; it has but little moisture; it is eaten

many ways, and by natives is called white food; it is well tasted, wholesome and nutritious; the leaves are large, and indented in the manner of those of the West India papaw tree."

At what they called the Santa Cruz islands death overtook the commander, then in his 54th year. Mendana ranks high among discoverers, being the first to visit many of the islands of the South Pacific. The wife of the commander, Doña Isabel, who accompanied him in this voyage, duly mourned his death, carried the body for burial to Manila, married there, and sailing for Mexico lived there happily ever after.

Such was the alarm caused by the presence of Drake in the Pacific, that the viceroy of Peru sent against him Pedro Sarmiento, who in the pursuit entered and examined the strait of Magellan, and on his return recommended that it be fortified by Spain so as to prevent the passage of strangers. An expedition was accordingly sent thither by Philip II, and in 1582 the settlements of Jesus and San Felipe were founded; but most of the colonists perished from famine, and the eminently Spanish idea of thus placing a guard at the eastern gate to keep all the world out of the Pacific ocean was abandoned.

Many are the romantic sea-adventures related in waters north and south, how Captain Kidd was sent by good Scotchmen to catch pirates, and himself turned pirate and was caught instead; how William Phips sought and found a wrecked Spanish treasure-ship, and took from it 32 tons of silver, and other things worth in all a million and a half of dollars. All round the world, in all ages and nations, pirates were the pioneers of progress. The tales of buccaneers might be retold on the eastern coast of Asia with no loss of horrors. All the islands along shore were infested by pirates. Among others a favorite rendezvous was the Chusan archipelago, where upon the capture of a rice-junk or sugar fleet the captors gave the gods an entertainment as a thank-offering. The pirates plied their craft in fleets of swift boats, and snapped fingers of defiance at the war-junks, whose pilots would thereupon make a pretence of pursuit.

Brigandage on land and piracy and smuggling on the sea still obtain in eastern Asia. Even at the British commercial metropolis of Hongkong a police force is quite necessary in the harbor, where the thieves move hither and thither in

swift pinnaces, as in the streets of the city. Since the earliest times pirates have been protected by the mandarins of China, who shared in their plunder, and when foreigners appeared and refused to be robbed and murdered in this manner, government officials were by no means active in suppressing piracy. As late as 1885 the British steamer *Greyhound* was captured within sixty miles of Hongkong by pirates who had shipped as passengers. In 1887 there were three piratical attacks within a week, and in 1890 the steamer *Namoa* was captured by pirates.

Piracy, once so common in the world was later confined for the most part to the waters of southeastern Asia. Conspicuous here were the Sulus, daring and skilful and as merciless as other Mohammedans, or even as Spanish Christians. Their proas, of from ten to thirty tons in size, were rigged with both oars and sails, so that they might be propelled forward or backward with equal facility. They would not attack a protected cruiser, but to unarmed small craft laden with merchandise they showed no mercy. Of the booty, one-quarter went by law to the sultan and council of nobles, the latter furnishing the arms and ammunition, and receiving pay in captives, of whom they made slaves. Piracy was the chief occupation of the nation not long since, but the business has fallen off of late years.

As an occupation it suits the genius of Asiatic peoples, and beside the horrible deeds in the China sea, those of the Mediterranean were tame indeed. The true state of things here was not suspected until after the first opening of treaty ports in 1842, when merchant ships sailing from Singapore for Hongkong disappeared,—not from storm or earthquake,—and were never heard of again. It was useless to appeal to the Chinese authorities, as their pirates were as hard on them as on others. Indeed, there is little patriotism in piracy. It was not altogether an unpleasant pastime for Englishmen, pirate hunting in Asia, and should be as good sport as tiger hunting in Africa. Their swarming ground in those days was 150 miles of coast north of Hongkong, between Swatau and Hainan, where they had fortified stations, and whence they could send out 50 or 100 junks under an admiral at a moment's notice. The junks were from 50 to 400 tons burden, and mounted from six to twenty guns, with six men to a gun.

The English government for a time paid a reward of £10 for a dead pirate and £1 for a live one, which proves that some men are more valuable dead than alive. When, however, in 1849 Admiral Hay with the *Columbine*, and assisted by some other ships, destroyed with great slaughter two pirate fleets, of 20 and 64 junks respectively, the head-money threatened to bankrupt the British nation; the regulation was discontinued, and after that pirates must be killed purely for pleasure.

Li Ma Hong was a famous Chinese pirate in the days of the second governor of the Philippines. Descending on the islands in 1594 with 70 large ships, he entered Manila bay, and seizing the city, incarcerated the leading men in the citadel. But rallying, the Spaniards bravely attacked and defeated the pirates, burning their fleet at the Pangasinan river. Li Ma Hong escaped in an open boat to a desert island, where he died. Another Chinese pirate chief was Koxinga, previously mentioned in this volume, who in 1662 threatened Manila with a large fleet. Fearing lest the invaders should find aid and sympathy among their countrymen on the islands, the Spaniards seized and slaughtered 40,000 Chinese, to prevent their doing wrong in case they should wish to do so.

But it was their own subjects of Sulu, whose sultans were pirates by profession, that caused the Spaniards the greatest annoyance, and that their power was broken about the middle of the nineteenth century was owing to the English. During the height of their maritime supremacy, it is said that the sultans of Sulu collected tribute from 1,000 boats, large and small, aside from the vessels of their own 200,000 subjects. Their sway extended over nearly the whole of Borneo and Mindanao, besides the islands of Palavan, Panguitarang, Tawi Tawi and the Basilans. Fast-sailing Sulu ships swarmed about the islands of the archipelago, entering their straits and rivers, making easy prey of the natives and their effects, but rejoicing specially over the advent of a rich foreign merchantman, particularly if somewhat disabled after a long voyage, which was not unfrequently the case.

Those, however, who sailed in Sulu ships were not all Sulus. Among the Balabac pirates who were beaten back from the walls of Manila in 1851 were some Spaniards and Portuguese. These renegades not only fought well but taught the Sulus



how to fight. They went forth in battle array, the sultan in his flagship carrying six-pounder guns, guns and ships for their navy being taken from the enemy as required. The Mindanao pirates controlled the gold mines of that island, which enabled them to bring from Canton all the munitions and material they required for their business.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE

IN the southern centre of this ocean sea, at a point antipodal to Mount Sion in Jerusalem, is the Terrestrial Paradise of Dante, with its high conical mountain of Purgatory, round which run seven terraces whereon are expiated the seven deadly sins, stairways being cut in the rugged mountain side which lead upward from terrace to terrace until the summit is reached, whereon stands the New Jerusalem, the celestial city, though still of earth. By this half heathen though wholly Dantean cosmogony, the Terrestrial Paradise finds place southwest from Pitcairn island, rising steep from the obtuse waters just south of Tahiti. And not poets alone, whether poets of hell or heaven, seek to mingle with South sea breezes a breath of the celestial. Even the prosy German Ritter must bring down from above a name for this broad belt of sparkling isles which constitutes the Polynesian archipelago, and which he calls the milky way of ocean.

On many of these islands, which are now known so well, we should be able to find a terrestrial paradise, when Dante found his in the dark, on the other side of the world, not even knowing that the world had another side. The island of Pitcairn, which seems to be the nearest land to this enchanted spot, and is as near to heaven as any other island of the South sea, even this sea of paradise, is mostly rock and mountain, with but little soil suitable for cultivation. The size of Eden in the Euphrates country is not known, never having been surveyed; but it is difficult to understand when so little land will make a paradise why it is that France and Germany want so much. It may be that the two nations have more than two hundred who expect heaven; and Pitcairn island has a capacity for only two hundred. What kept the natural increase of population down all these ages, unless it was the alligators, is

as difficult to tell as who inhabited Eden after the occupancy of Adam; the fact remains, however, that in 1856 the island was regarded small for the 200 inhabitants by certain good Englishmen, who carried them all to Norfolk island, which though seven times larger than Pitcairn island is itself only fourteen square miles in area.

For their trouble the good Englishmen naturally took Pitcairn island for themselves, thus securing something of heaven, besides Australia, in these South seas; but unfortunately the Pitcairn islanders were not satisfied with Norfolk island, and gradually found their way back home as best they were able. In Norfolk island the people were too wicked; they were wicked with the wickedness of Europe, which was worse than any South sea wickedness these innocents had ever met. At Norfolk island people got drunk, blasphemed, gathered diseases, and would even sometimes kill, abominations all unknown at Pitcairn island. A few years later an attempt was made to deport them to Tahiti, but they liked this no better, and returned to Pitcairn island, where they dwell to this day.

Slow sailing vessels on their way between Australia and South America sometimes stop at Pitcairn island, it being one of the few places in this quarter where fresh water may be obtained.

Small as is the island of Pitcairn, it has a history, great perhaps as that of Greenland, and this aside from what Dante did for it. This history begins in detail with the appearance there in 1787 of William Bligh, commissioned by England to sail into the South sea, and procure if possible from some of its islands plants which might prove useful to the colonists of the West Indies, who were just then suffering for want of something to grow on their rich lands which the world wanted more than sugar and tobacco, of which they had enough. Bligh was told to bring back bread-fruit, and the plants thereof, and any other strange plants which were suitable to the climate, and might prove sources of wealth to the West Indies.

Bligh's voyage is called by the good Englishmen aforesaid as one of the most memorable ever made. Let us see. He sailed in the ship *Bounty* from Spithead December 23, 1787, and reached Tahiti October 26, 1788,—ten months, memora-

ble for time of sailing at all events. Not being an island agriculturist Bligh did not know, and his government did not know, that bread-fruit trees cannot be transplanted at that season of the year. Now Bligh was not a man to worry over the decrees of providence, and wonder why bread-fruit trees should not get themselves ready for transplantation to the West Indies in October as well as at any other time. He simply sat himself down to wait, for Bligh was a good waiter. He knew that if he sat long enough six months would come round, when the plants with safety might be removed.

But six months is a long time for idle hands in an island next door to paradise. And the hands of Bligh's Jack tars were not idle; the women were too fresh and pretty for the sailors to keep their hands off from them; and when the time for sailing came the crew found itself greatly married, after the custom of the country, each with half a dozen wives, which was only one new one a month. Now those were the days of cat-o'-nine tails on ship-board, and as a cure for love Captain Bligh deemed the implement effective. So when he had driven his much-married men all on board, and had put to sea with 1015 bread-fruit trees, besides other plants, and complaints grew loud and threatening, the knotted cord was plied bravely, which only made matters worse. Six wives each! And within one door to Dante's terrestrial paradise; though they did not know this; but rather thought thus leaving their loves to be that other place of Dante's. At all events, within twenty-four days after sailing, mutiny broke forth. Arming themselves from the ship's weapons, the sailors stormed the cabin, and made the captain and officers prisoners. These, with eighteen men who refused to join the mutineers, were sent adrift in the ship's launch, provisioned with bread, water, pork, and a little spirits. With all this they suffered severely, for though they had a compass, and one would think should easily find land, they were in the open sea 46 days, and rowed or sailed 3618 miles before they came in a starving condition to land, which proved to be the island of Timor, whence they made their way to England.

Naught of England wanted the mutineers, however, for naught but probable hanging awaited them there. Bligh and his party they supposed would perish upon the ocean, in which event nothing of the mutiny would be known in Eng-

land, and there would be no immediate fear from that quarter. Their plan now was to make for Tahiti, gather up some of the pieces of their broken families, and seek and take possession of some unknown island. Arrived again at Tahiti, while more than half the crew were ashore completing arrangements for their final departure, the *Bounty* sailed away and left them there, having besides eight of the crew eighteen natives on board. As nothing could be heard of them, the ship was supposed to have foundered. Three years afterward, a British man-of-war in search of them found that portion of the crew which had been left on Tahiti, and started back with them in irons. Four were drowned during a wreck; of the ten remaining, when brought to trial three were hanged, and seven acquitted, being able to prove that they were forced to join the mutiny on peril of their lives.

Time passed by until in 1809, Folger, an American ship captain, returned from a cruise in the South sea, and told a story for the truth of which it was difficult to find believers. He said that the year previous he had landed on an islet, the eastern dot of the Tahitian archipelago, Pitcairn island, out of the line of travel, and there had found a strange community. There was one man, a sailor, called Alexander Smith, and the sole survivor of the crew of the *Bounty*. With him were some of the women brought from Tahiti. Fearful of discovery, the mutineers had run the ship into a little bay, and after taking from her all they desired they burned her. Quarrels arose from time to time, with occasional killings, until finally only Smith remained, which fact of survival might raise suspicions against him were it not that he had ere this become religious, turned minister, preached and taught the catechism to the children of the mutineers; and so let us hope that his sins which were many were forgiven him.

"Something yet to be understood," said Sancho of chivalry. So say I with regard to these vast Pacific waters, whose isles and edges are rimmed with romance, and gold, and pearls, and precious stones. Spanish cavaliers have sailed these seas, and English knights have pirated thereon, and Dutchmen prowled, and Portuguese fought, all the while the simple savages suffering death and the hell-tortures of encroaching civilization, because like children they failed to understand the application of Christian ethics to native

creeds. That however is but one of the ornaments of the car of progress; it is ordained that all the trophies of savagism shall be transferred to it. If Dante is right in placing Purgatory in the middle of the Pacific, with heaven above and hell beneath, then it seems fitting that the border of this vast ocean should be compounded of volcanoes and minerals.

Spain's conquest of America was not a proceeding to be proud of, and yet the conquerors were proud of it. To them it was gold and glory and godliness, the best of this world and of the next; though in reality it was but theft and murder, theft of lands with whatever they contained and murder of the inhabitants, men women and children, and proselyting at the point of the sword, with treachery and much cruelty. So God was served and Christ's teachings disseminated. And it was a new world, even as the Pacific was and is now a new ocean. Yet America was not the first country to be called the New World, nor were the Spaniards the first to use those words. Long before this country was discovered, the Venetians applied the term to the old world of Asia. For, under the passage to the church of San Lorenzo, on one of the islets of Gemelle, are inscribed these words. "*Sotto l'angiponto e sepolto quel Marco Polo, cognominato Milionone, il quale scrisse i viaggi del mondo nuovo, e che fu il primo avanti Cristoforo Colombo che ritrovasse nuovi paesi.*"

The Japanese will tell you that the paradise of the world envelopes their islands, that there one may have one's heart's desire. If one likes cold, there is Hokaido; if the heated air is grateful, go to Liukin. Rain is everywhere abundant; tropical plants grow luxuriantly, and those which like best the frigid zones find them, while there is not a tree or shrub in the flora of the world which cannot find congenial habitation in Japan. In the evolutions of the ages it has come to pass that the world's two great civilizations, the newest and the oldest, the European and the Asiatic, are brought face to face on either side of a great sea. Starting from the same hypothetical cradle of the race, and taking opposite directions, one going east and the other west, both have reached their limit, so far as the journey can be made by land, and have now to reconcile old difficulties and meet new issues.

From famed Cathay, whence the brothers Polo in the thirteenth century brought back to their opulent Venice that en-

trancing vision of the Orient, with its vitalized charms and vivid colorings, far away toward the east and south stretched this earthly paradise, embracing islands and main land, coral reefs and languid sunny seas. In these isles were gold and gems, which for the most part were left unheeded by the naked humanity who dwelt there, like the first pair in Eden caring only for the fruit, always ripe and luscious, and particularly for such as was forbidden; and none being forbidden, they ate what they liked, and without special cursing, yet they had their serpent. All along their route, from the city of the sea north and eastward, they journeyed as on a highway toward heaven, these Polos, the broad sandy plains of Persia, the sun-lit plateaus and dark gorges of Badakhshan, the bejeweled waters of Khotan, and the flowering Mongolian steppes, all meeting their dazzled vision in glorious succession. They were the first of Europe to see and tell of China, with its swarming people and many industries, its wealth and wide area, its great cities and rivers and the ships that filled its waters. There were Tibet and Burmah with their golden pagodas, and Laos and Siam and Cochin China, cities of palaces golden-roofed and sparkling with gems. There was the Indian archipelago, aromatic with spices, the fragrant Java, and much-governed Sumatra, Nicobar, and Andaman, with their unclothed natives, and the island pearl Ceylon, with the only Adam's tomb and the holy mountain.

Then came Sir John Mandeville, who in 1356 returned to England after an absence of thirty-four years in the Far East, confirming alike the truth and falsehoods of the Venetians, and indeed adding somewhat thereto, for he would not be outdone in story-telling by any other traveller of any nation whatsoever. In Latin, in French, and in the purest English of the day, he wrote: "I, John Maundeville, knight, alle be it I be not worthi, that was born in England, in the Town of Seynt Albones, passed the See, in the zeer of our Lord Jesu Crist MCCCXXII, in the Day of Seynt Michelle; and hidre to have ben long tyme over the See, and have seyn and gon thorghe manye dyverse Londes, and many Provynces and Kingdomes and Iles, and have passed thorghe Tartarye, Percy, Ermony, the litylle and the grete; thorghe Lybye, Caldee, and a gret partie Ethiope, thorghe Amazoyne, Inde the lasse and the more, a gret partie, and thorghe out many

othere Iles that ben abouten Inde." Writing five hundred years later, M. Elisee Reclus remarks: "The countries of the old world which show the richest luxuriance and the most exuberant vitality, lie between the straits of Gibraltar and the archipelago of Japan."

When we consider that the civilizations of Egypt, the Euphrates, and the Mediterranean knew neither the polar nor the equatorial world, knew no great ocean other than the border of the Atlantic, and no land area greater than the African desert, imagining the earth to be no more than half or two thirds of its actual size, it is impossible to conceive of the enlargement of mind which followed this enlargement of vision. No wonder that Persia, and Araby the Blessed, and India, and the Spice islands, filled with visions of poetic fancy, and which were all that the world knew of any thing truly tropical, were regarded as nearest akin to heaven of any thing earthly, as also the American and South sea tropics, with all their variety and luxuriance of vegetation, men and animals, mountains and plains.

Cradled in the east, civilization has ever been tending west. In an ocean, the last the sun looks upon, was Elysium and the islands of the Blessed. All that was best, all that was fullest of life and brightness was ever toward the west. And ever as culture moved westward it increased in volume and intensity, and the new civilizations toward the west were ever springing up and taking the place of those which were dying out at the east, until finally chase was made to the westward for the Ophir of Hiram, the El Dorado of Solomon, and the Chersonesus Aurea of Ptolemy. The Roman empire did not extend eastward beyond the Persian gulf, and little was known of lands or waters toward the Pacific until after the decline of the great powers of southern and eastern Europe, and the incursion of the Moguls into China. Prior to the discoveries of new lands and seas by the Europeans was a period of spontaneous intellectual development in the direction of great inventions, as gunpowder, printing, and the mariner's compass. And now, reserved for this occasion, comes to the aid of man the all-encircling ocean, forceful in its nobility and wonderful in its potentialities.

Micronesia, between latitudes 10° south and 11° north, has 642 islands, and of these the Carolines comprise 36 groups,

one of which is the Pelew, with 200 isles and islets. The speech of the Pelew people is a bizarre Malayan, and their food is turtle and cocoanut. They are as warm for civil war as the Central Americans, who delight in revolutions. Northeast of the Pelews some 300 miles distant is Yap, the coral-reef surrounding which is 35 by five miles in dimensions, within which are swamps filled with taro and surrounded by relics of a departed civilization. There are plainly to be seen old embankments, artificial terraces, and stone-paved roads, council lodges with carved stone pillars, and the like. Yaps to the number of 8,000 live here happily, on the usual tropical food, fighting the Ruks for pastime. The Chinese could easily have set up for them their monumental remains, being themselves of antiquity, and industrious, and nothing very wonderful about it.

Now, there are ruins of an extinct civilization in Guatemala, which may have been the work of the Chinese, so far as the possibility of their working their way across or around the Pacific is concerned; but they were probably not done by Asiatics, as there appears to be little that is Asiatic about them. There are theories afloat that America was peopled from Asia, and other theories that Asia was peopled from America, one being as valuable as the other because both are worthless, neither being susceptible of proof. Usually new and strange peoples are referred by so-called savants to ancient civilizations having some literature, as in that case endless analogies may be brought forward with but little trouble. But too often sages forget that analogies work two ways, if they prove that one people is like to another, how can they tell which was the father and which the son? America is called the New World; but it would be difficult to prove that Africa was not peopled from South America, or that the Babel-builders had not their origin in Greenland.

Where people thus live without coercion and without restraint, crimes might be expected to be more frequent and of fiercer nature than are found among the cultured nations of christendom. But such is not the case. Whether it is owing to the soft air of environment, and the mild nature of the inhabitants, too lazy as a rule to be roused into anger, there are not enough of men and women with natures of such moral obliquity as to constitute a criminal class. The very bad ones

in due time get themselves killed off, which way has its advantages over long trials in criminal courts, whose primary purpose, it is the fashion to say, is too often to defeat the ends of justice.

If analogies are of value as proof of race relationship, it should be so regarding the fruits of the earth, whose bloom is of earth, and the fruit of paradise, which blossoms only in paradise. Now from earliest times it has been held in East India legends that the banana, which grows in all these islands, is the fruit of paradise. Some hold it is one with the fig, as in the *Herbal* of Gerarde we find written: "The Grecians and Christians which inhabit Syria, and the Jews also, suppose it to be that tree of whose fruit Adam did taste." The Mohammedans believe also that "this is the fruit which Allah the Father forbade Adam and Eve to eat, for immediately they ate they perceived their nakedness, and to cover themselves employed the leaves of this tree, which are more suitable for the purpose than any other."

No one island of the South sea can be taken as typical of the whole, nor can any one climate; though all are tropical, environments are different. On every side are evidences of the wonderful prodigality of nature, but nature's ways are not always the same. There are forests of precious woods, fields of useful plants, mountains seamed with metals, and bays lined with coral and gems. This isle-dotted ocean is a sphere of beauty, captivating the senses and absorbing the soul. And the glory of its waters is equalled only by the vegetal sensuality of the land. The natives, lightly clothed and light of heart, know not sorrow or suffering in the civilized sense, happy in wanting so little. A native habitation in the interior of Luzon is made of bamboo, thatched with palm-leaves, and set on posts five feet from the ground, thus securing freedom from vermin and free circulation of air. In the rice fields are the busy laborers in their scanty garb, and every where is the uncouth water buffalo, some laboring at heavy loads, and others wallowing to their huge satisfaction in their muddy pools. Even though they show Chinese blood, the native women are not without claims to beauty, while the men are bold and intelligent in appearance. The people and their surroundings are cleanly.

Charming indeed is nature here, though cruel and treach-

erous at times as nature is every where. Sea and land and sky wear each its own imperial robe, varying it to fit their various moods. We talk of paradise, which means all that is fairest and happiest, earthly or heavenly, and for fear we make too bright a picture we straightway intermix the good with evil things.

Thus it became natural, that is to say like earth if earthly, like all we know of heaven if heavenly.

A writhing sea mystery is the palolo, appearing at intervals as a worm at certain coral reefs in the south Pacific, more particularly at Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji, the islanders gorging themselves thereon, after which the remnant of the swarm vanishes. It might be called the calendar worm, as it has some way of reckoning times and seasons so accurately that the Samoans date their year from its coming. They have two years in fact every twelvemonth, the vaipalolo or worm year, and the vaitoelau or trade-wind year. The ocean hereabout swarms with turtles, smaller but as delicate food as the green turtle of the West Indies.

The wealth of these islanders consists chiefly in what they do not want. They like fruit better than fat; fruit comes easy, fat is difficult to obtain; they are happy and wealthy and wise because they do not spurn the fruit and struggle to obtain the fat. Thus they escape those miseries of civilization, which come from indifference to fruit and a too great delight in fat. For these poor paradisiacal people the fruit is always ready; there need be no anxiety regarding it, no fear that when the summer is over the fruit will be gone, for it is always summer and the fruit never fails. And as for dress, English broadcloths and French velvets are too warm; the men care nothing for clothes, while the women are still satisfied to be gowned by nature, the style extreme *décoletté*, and the color bordering on black.

The islanders love sleep, and they sleep without knowing it. Sleeping or waking life is the same to them if they have enough to eat. And this as a rule they have, without troubling themselves about forbidden apples. Yet a good feast they dearly love, notwithstanding the general fill of bananas and bread-fruit.

From these dreamy isles the soft air comes pungent with verdure, while through the transparent blue of the water the

secrets of the deep sea may be read as in a book. The edges of the isles are fringed with cocoanut, palm, and banana trees, while the hills roll off into the interior, sometimes to rest, sometimes to rise out of the heated tropical atmosphere into realms of eternal snow. Over all, white cottony clouds float lazily about, bringing deeper in relief the deep blue of the open sky. Seldom is the heat excessive before a breeze fresh from the sea. Where the islands are mountainous the rain is almost incessant. During severe storms rivers overflow their banks and marshes become lakes.

Here grow all the year round bright green cryptogams, the sea plants and sea mosses which in the Atlantic die from cold in winter, the finer and more delicate algæ hiding themselves in deep water, some floating on the surface or clinging to the rocks. Also floating on the surface is sometimes seen the giant kelp, 1,000 feet long, and so thick that it has been taken by mariners for a sea-serpent. The birds of paradise find their home in New Guinea, but the people are any thing but paradisiacal. They have arts and manufactures, the people I mean, and so have ants and tarantulas. This is the country of parrots and bark cloth and rude wood carvings.

The Dutch in Java teach the world how to manage successfully distant tropical islands. The island is every foot of it a garden of beauty, its population under the culture system having increased from 5,500,000 in 1826 to 24,000,000 in 1898. In the government of Java the native rulers were retained, and under the name of regent each was given a district to govern, with a Dutch assistant resident, whose duty it was to give advice only, but whose advice was always followed.

Wake island is now regarded somewhat in the light of a freak or phantom. Here to-day and away to-morrow, it never has been inhabited so far as known, that is to say for any length of time, as it has a way of occasionally disappearing beneath the water, which tends to drown out the inhabitants, if any. What the United States government wants with this island is difficult to say, unless it be to give it to the Germans, who are not above taking anything. One Fourth-of-July an enthusiastic American officer set flying the United States flag upon this island, which happened that day to be above water, and that is how we came to own it. Englishmen saw it from the deck of the ship *Prince William Henry*, in 1796, and hav-

ing no use for it passed it by. The English made a dot on their charts and wrote under it *Halcyon*; the French put on their charts *Ecueil*; Wilkes saw and explored it, but did not think it worth mapping. It seems to be a coral reef which the insects have not finished; if Germany will have the patience to wait until it is completed, doubtless the United States by that time will be glad to give it away, the hope of losing it having become extinguished. Another phantom is *Falcon* island, seen from the British ship *Egeria* in 1889, and said to have been half a mile by a mile in size. A year later the captain of the *Egeria* looked and saw nothing. Two years later the French cruiser *Duchaffault* was there, and her captain plainly saw *Falcon* island; in 1891 another Frenchman who was there could not see it, probably because tide-water covered it. Hainan, off the south coast of China, on a line with Cuba, is a tropical garden with diversified interior, whose natives are still savages and frequently at war with the Chinese of the mainland.

During our war of 1812, Captain David Porter, with the United States ship *Essex*, rounded Cape Horn and scoured the Pacific. Porter had obtained no leave and had asked no money from his government, but placed himself in funds by capturing a British vessel from which he took \$55,000. On entering the Pacific he made first for the Galapagos islands, the rendezvous of British whalers in these waters, where he took in hand twelve ships, some of which he retained, and sailed for Valparaiso, there to refit. He found that the Chilians favored the British, though they dare not oppose him. Hearing that Peruvian privateers were preying on American commerce, he sailed in search of them, and caught a Peruvian with two American prizes, which he released, and after throwing into the sea the armament of the Peruvian, sent her to Callao with a letter to the viceroy warning him to mend his manners. Thence Porter sailed for the Marquesas, where after capturing two English prizes he arrived in October, 1813. Though discovered by Mendana in 1595, and visited by Cook in 1774, the land remained undisturbed and the inhabitants still in their native state. It was another perfect paradise, as Porter called it, though war between the islanders was raging at the time; but we must bear in mind that without fighting there is no paradise among men. Captain Porter then annexed the

group, changing the name from Marquesas to Madison. Leaving there as a garrison six sailors, who desired to stay, Porter sailed for Valparaiso, where meeting with two British war vessels, which had been sent to capture him, the frigate *Phæbe*, 36 guns, Captain Hillyar, and the *Cherub*, 22 guns, Porter's superior in every respect, after a severe engagement in which 150 of the 225 Americans were killed, and their ship in a sinking condition, Porter lowered his flag. The sailors left at the Marquesas were killed by the natives. In 1842 France took possession of the islands and still holds them; area 480 square miles, population 6,000.

Eli Jennings shipped at Sag Harbor as a sailor on a South sea whaler some time in the fifties. Dropping himself into the sea as the ship sailed one day from Navigator island, he was picked up by a native boat and carried ashore. He traded in cocoanut oil and sandal-wood, married a native wife, and bought Quiros island, of the Samoan group, with gin at a shilling bottle the square mile, which is more than France is willing to pay for China in missionaries. Wealth came, also children. And this is how a Yankee sailor found his paradise in the Pacific.

Part of paradise is under water, that is to say the streets of pearl. In the South sea pearl-fishing is an occupation, a hundred divers sometimes living together on a schooner for five months in the year. From the schooner they used in early times to go out in different directions in small boats, from which they would dive, or drop themselves into the water. The naked Ceylon diver uses a sinker; the Australian sits on the edge of his dinghy vigorously inflating his lungs for a few moments before letting himself into the water, when he quietly works himself to the bottom, where he remains from one to three minutes. Pearl-ling is now done by dress-divers, who have the advantages of going deeper and remaining longer under water. At a depth of from three to eight fathoms, with modern appliances, dress-divers can remain at their work for one or two hours; at eighteen fathoms he finds ten minutes quite long enough, owing to the pressure of the water and the difficulty of breathing.

Pearl-diving is a perilous occupation, the danger being constant of entanglements at the bottom, and the cutting of air-pipes by the coral banks, not to mention liability to deafness,

paralysis, or death. As the boat above is drifting, and the diver is hastening hither and thither, not unfrequently his lines get fouled on the reefs, and means of communication with the upper world is cut off, and he remains tied to the bottom of the sea until death relieves him.

A Frenchman, Louis de Rougemont, landed one day in 1898 on the coast of Australia, with a strange tale of how he had lived for thirty years among savages in a country which had never been explored. It was the tale of a modern Robinson Crusoe, but upon close investigation as to its truthfulness it was pronounced by competent judges as not impossible, though probably false.

Malietoa, king of the Samoan islands, who died in September, 1898, was a man of picturesque personality. Mild in disposition, though the immediate descendant of savage ancestors, more Christian in forbearance, justice, and piety than the Christians themselves, his life was a lesson to priests on piety and to politicians on patriotism. He loved his country, and to see it caught up in a whirlwind of the world's avarice was to him worse than any destruction which might accrue from the tempests of the tropics.

Among the others of recent acquisition there is the Mohammedan paradise, so lately the paradise of pirates, which it is well in its way to have, and so with the orthodox and heathen Edens complete the variety. The sultan of Sulu, with his harem of sultans, and his 100,000 Mussulman subjects, should be a happy man, even though slavery and polygamy are not permitted in the United States, and his people are of the off color in which no American citizen may appear. For 300 years Spain fought the Sulus, and succeeded in subjugating them only in 1877. Maybun, in the island of Sulu, the largest of the archipelago, in which there are about 150 isles and islets, half of them inhabited, is the Mohammedan metropolis of these parts, and the home of the sultan, who there resides in his palace of bamboo. An hereditary monarchy under the salic law, the sultanate is still subordinate to the supreme religious authority of the sultan of Turkey, which brings the pilgrimage to Mecca within the category of duties.

One who saw the sultan says: "His excellency was dressed in very tight silk trousers, fastened partly up the sides with showy chased gold or gilt buttons, a short Eton-cut olive-

green jacket with an infinity of buttons, white socks, ornamented slippers, a red sash around his waist, a kind of turban and a kris at his side. One could almost have imagined him to be a Spanish bull-fighter with an oriental finish off. We all bowed low, and the sultan, surrounded by his sultanas, put his hands to his temples, and on lowering them he bowed at the same time. There was a pause and the sultan motioned to us to repose on cushions on the floor, and we did so. The cushions, covered with rich silk, were very comfortable. Servants in fantastic costumes were constantly in attendance, serving betel-nut."

Call to mosque is made by beating on a box, or striking two sticks together, the temple being of bamboo. The Sulus wear a turban head-dress, even though they wear nothing else. They gather fruit, catch fish, trade in pearls, shells, and shark-fins.

One sings the isles of Greece, another the vales of Cashmere, but no spot of earth is fitter as a specimen of paradise than parts of the South sea isles, where hills and valleys are feathered by foliage, where forest and streams subdue the tropical heat, and all the region round is fanned and freshened by ocean breezes breathing perpetual spring. Then, mounting higher into the cooler air, look away over the eternity of ocean; note where on every side the sea and sky meet, and what is seen there, and beyond, and still and forever beyond, depends on the sight and soul of the beholder. Paradise, yet not without its Satan, else it could not be Eden. When the gentle winds rise to whirlwinds, there is a demon in them. When the mountains belch forth fire and death, and the valleys open wide the mouth of destruction, know that evil cometh, and if possible propitiate it. The serpent likewise, turned out of his old Eden, in this new Eden pluralizes himself in a multitude of mammoth and fantastic forms. It would seem that the contiguity of hades does not detract from the pleasures of paradise. Because of the deadly elements, and the poisonous beasts and insects, the people are none the less free from care or full of happiness. What if fire comes down from heaven, or shoots up from earth, or the tornado sweeps towns to destruction, or the deluge drowns whole districts? the sun shines presently as bright as ever, and though a few thousand are killed there are plenty of people

left. The air of all these isles has remarkable medicinal virtues if we can find them out. Many go there to be healed; some return. Every thing is of strategic value now, and is wanted for a coal station and navy yard; possibly for a cable telegraph station. The time will come however when some of the lands of the Pacific will be reserved to benefit the living, and not all of them be devoted to war and subject to diplomacy.

CHAPTER XXX

STORY OF CALAFIA, QUEEN OF CALIFORNIA

IN 1535 Hernan Cortés set out to explore the western boundary of his conquest, and coming presently upon a great island, which might prove indeed to be a peninsula, he be-thought him of his *Amadis de Guala*, the fifth book of that immortal romance, entitled *Las Sergas del Cavallero Esplan-dino*, published in 1510, wherein is given the story of Calafia, queen of California, and a description of the island, said to be situated on the right hand of the Indies, near the Terrestrial Paradise.

Now, as every one knows, Amadis was to Gaul what king Arthur was to Britain, a hero of romance, round whom were grouped adventurous knights, defenders of the faith and of fair women, and delighting in deeds of chivalry. In the *Sergas de Esplanadian* is told how king Amadis, his brother Galaor, his son Esplandian, and an army of Christian knights and retainers, go to Constantinople, there to assist the Greeks against the infidel Turks. Esplandian was a brave and chivalrous warrior, who in infancy had been seized and carried off by a lioness while those in charge of him were passing through a forest. The lioness, rebuked by a hermit, is turned to kindness, and suckles and fosters the child, until rescued by King Lisuarte, in whose court Esplandian is brought up and receives knighthood. Arrived in the land of the Turks, Amadis, Galaor, and Esplandian, called the black knight from his armor and the Great Serpent from his wisdom, fight under the protection of the enchantress Urganda, while the infidels are assisted by her rival Melia. Being in great danger at one time, Urganda saves the Christians by throwing them into a deep sleep, until possession of a certain magic sword should be obtained with which to rescue them.

The great conqueror of Mexico, thinking of all this while crossing the sea of Cortés, as the gulf of California was at first called, and coming upon what appeared to be an island of wild and rugged aspect, and which was so regarded and mapped for many years thereafter: half believing the romance real while considering that this island was on the right hand of the Indies, and surely could not be far from the Terrestrial Paradise, he said, "This must be California," and so it has ever since been known, and ever will be known.

Some there may be who would like to hear the story of Calafia, and her black Amazons, and how they lived in their isle of California, and went to war, and conquered men and monsters. If so I will tell it them. It runs somewhat as follows.

Now be it known that on the right hand of the Indies, very near to the Terrestrial Paradise, is an island called California, which was peopled with women alone, and they were black, and there were no men among them, for they lived after the manner of Amazons, and loved war. They were strong of body, with sinews well hardened, and of great courage and force. Their arms and armour were of gold, for in all this island there is no other metal. They lived in caves carved out of the solid rock, well constructed and spacious, sumptuously furnished and beautifully adorned with gems and fine feather-work. They had many and large ships, in which they safely navigated all seas, and waged war in all parts of the Pacific, bringing back much booty. And by reason of its rocky shores and steep cliffs, there was no island in any sea stronger than the island of California, nor yet so strong.

And there were no men there because the women would not permit it: they loved not men more puny than themselves, and as none came hither stronger than they, all who came they fed to the griffins. For in this island of California, which is of great ruggedness, there were myriads of wild beasts, and among them griffins, which the women caught when small, taking them in traps, and covering themselves with thick hides when they went to catch them. And the black Amazons brought the young griffins to their caves, and fed them with men, and reared them there, obtaining full mastery over them.

All male prisoners of war the Amazons gave to the griffins,

and of the children born among them, the male children were fed to the griffins, while the females were carefully reared, and trained to bodily endurance and the arts of war. And the griffins devoured the men and boys, but women they would not harm; and if peradventure at any time they were given more of this food than they could eat, they seized and carried their prey high in air, and then dropped it, and so life was extinguished.

Queen of this isle was Calafia, large of person and of radiant beauty. Of blooming age, she was likewise strong of limb and of brave heart. She was loved by her women, and feared by all men; now weak men are the abomination of strong women.

It was a wonderful thing, the most extraordinary that ever was written, or that ever was known within the memory of man, how this great queen desired distinction; how in her breast ambition burned for the honor of her isle, and for the fame of her female retainers; how she heard of the far-distant fightings, and how she found her way from the sea of Cortés to the Bosphorus, whether by way of the American or of the African cape no one can tell, for to him who wills all ways lie open.

I say that more than any sovereign who had ever lived before her, Queen Calafia was desirous of achieving great things; so when she heard how all the pagan world was stirred to this onslaught upon the Christians, though she knew not well what Christians were, nor even much of such distant lands, she resolved to go forth; for she desired to see the world and its various peoples, and considering her great strength, and the strength of her women, she might hope to win distinction and secure spoils.

So she talked with those of her people who were accustomed to war, and showed them what a fine thing it would be if they should embark in their several fleets for this adventure in which princes and great men were joining. She animated them further by pointing out the honor attending such a course, and how their fame and the fame of their isle would be sounded throughout the world; whereas if they remained always at home or within the confines of their own ocean, as their ancestors had done, they might as well be dead as alive, passing their days ingloriously like the brutes.

Thus speaking Queen Calafia prevailed upon her people to

consent to this undertaking, and the warrior-women besought her to make ready the ships, and hasten at once to sea.

Seeing thus the willingness of her subjects, and the eagerness of her warriors to depart, the queen without more delay ordered to be made ready her several fleets, the same to be well provisioned, and equipped with arms all of gold, and more of everything even than was necessary. She ordered further that her largest ships should be provided with gratings of the strongest wood, like a great cage, and therein to be placed five hundred griffins, such as those I have told you of, that from the time they were very small were required to eat and to live on men.

Queen Calafia commanded further that all the beasts on which she and her woman-warriors rode, or which they used, of whatsoever kind they were, should be placed on board the largest ships of the fleet, and that all her best and bravest women should embark, all those who in this isle of California were the strongest and most skilled in war. But enough should remain to make safe what was left at home, and insure the country from invasion.

Then the queen embarked, and with her army of retainers sailed away upon the sea; and such was the haste they made, and such their good fortune by the way, that they arrived in due time at the fleet of the pagans, upon the night after a great battle, and were received with rejoicing, and visited by the great men and lords. She asked them many questions about the war, their failures and successes, and the present condition of affairs. Then she said:

"This city you have fought with your great army, and seem unable to take it; permit me to try."

"You shall have your wish, great queen."

"Order then that none of your officers on any account leave their camps, they nor their men, until I give you permission, and on the morrow you shall see a combat such as you have never seen before, nor even heard of."

"It shall be so, great queen."

To the sultan of Liquia word was sent, and to the sultan of Halapa, who had command of all the pagan forces, that on the morrow none should take up arms against the Christians. And they wondered what the thought of this queen of California might be.

The night passed, the morning came, and with it came Queen Calafia from the sea, she and her women, armed all and with armor of gold and precious stones, such as are found scattered in the fields of California, so great is their abundance. And the fiery beasts were brought forth, splendidly caparisoned, and the women mounted thereon.

The queen then ordered opened the door of the cage, and the griffins came pouring forth in haste and hunger, for they saw men, of which food they had eaten none during their long voyage. Flying forward without fear, each caught up a Christian in its claws, and carried him on high, there to devour him or let him fall; nor could the lances hurled at them pierce their so closely matted feathers.

For the pagans it was indeed a sight pleasant to see, the writhing of their enemies in the talons of these odious birds. Loud shouted the Turks with joy as their monster allies again and again dived over the city walls and tore from embrace of father the son, and from embrace of son the father, tore brother from brother to fling them high in air or drop them into the sea.

Panic-stricken with terror, the Christians fled, some one way and some another, hiding in vaults or covering themselves with stones, until upon the ramparts or in the city streets there was visible not one. Then cried Calafia in a loud voice, saying, "The city is taken," and bade the sultans bring men with ladders for scaling the walls, which was done.

But alas for the discriminating power of these birds of evil omen, that should not know Turks from Christians! They were all men to them. So when the infidels mounted the walls to take possession of the city, down upon them pounced the griffins, down upon this fresh supply of men, and up into the air they went, now indeed to the delectable joy of the Christians.

When the queen saw the dire destruction wrought upon her friends through her instrumentality, she was filled with horror, and breaking forth in sorrow and in anger to her island deities: "O ye gods", she cried, "whom I and my ancestors have long worshipped, paving your sanctuaries with gold and adorning your altars with precious stones, why have ye served me this scurry trick, thus to humiliate me before these strangers, and bring our beloved isle into disrepute?"

Among those who witnessed with wonder this singular strife were the noble knights Talanque and Maneli, the latter the son of Childadan, king of Ireland. These seeing Norandel so hard pressed by the Amazons, rushed to his aid, and rained such blows upon the women as they would rain on fiends. Whereupon, down upon these knights like a lioness came Liota, sister of the queen, and drove them back; this to their great discomforture, and brought forth Calafia from their power, and placed her again among her own warriors.

All day and until nearly night the battle raged, many falling dead on both sides; nor was the city captured. Close bolted were the gates, all save one, which was opened to admit the wounded and defeated Christians from without. Through this gate about a hundred pagan warriors forced their way, but were driven back. Then fell yet severer slaughter on them all, and more than two hundred of Calafia's women were slain. Finally the fighting ceased for the day, and the queen and her people returned to their ships.

A council of war was held that night by the pagans, at which it was resolved to hurl defiance on the Christians in words following:

"Radiaro, sultan of Liquia, defender of the law, destroyer of Christians, enemy of the enemies of the gods, and the very radiant and powerful queen Calafia, lady of the island California, where in great abundance gold and precious stones appear; these make known to you, Amadis of Gaul, and to you his son, Esplandian, knight of the Great Serpent, that we have come hither to destroy this city of Constantinople, and the enemies of our holy religion, thereby also to gain distinction in honorable war. Having heard of your chivalry and prowess in arms, we hereby offer you battle, if such be acceptable to you, person to person, in individual combat, all in the presence of the nations, the victors to be victors for all, and the vanquished to be vanquished for all. And if you accept not this challenge, then shall your glories leave you, and your fame become ours forever."

To the council-chamber of the Christians this message was carried by one of the queen's maids of honor, a black and beautiful creature, richly attired and riding a fiery beast. The communication was courteously received, and to the messenger, King Amadis thus:

"Lady, say to the sultan and to your queen that their proposal is accepted, and they shall choose the arms to be used, the field shall be this field, if so be it pleaseth them, divided in the middle, and the time the present."

When the maid returned the queen questioned her closely.

"How appeared these men to you; were they handsome, were they noble, were they brave? Who seemed to you the best, speak?"

"Very handsome and very brave and noble, O queen. And fairest of all was he whom they call Esplandian. O Calafia! he was the most beautiful man I ever saw, or ever will see again. So rare, so elegant, so grand, as if our own gods themselves had made him!"

"My friend," replied the queen, "your words are too large; there are no such men."

"Nay, queen, what I say is true; but the sight of him alone can properly speak his excellence."

"Then that sight of him will I have", said the queen. "I will not fight such a man until I have seen him, and talked with him."

Returning to the city, the queen's messenger approached the council-chamber of the Christians and said:

"King Amadis, the queen Calafia requests safe conduct hither on the morrow that she may see your son."

Amadis smiled. "Women may be conquered by other weapons than swords," he said. Then to his companions, "How seems this matter to you?"

"Let her come," they said, "we should like to see the most wonderful woman in the world".

All night long Calafia sat thinking over the approaching interview, when her messenger reëntered and told her what the Christian lords had said. "How shall I appear, how array myself, how meet him?" These and like questions she asked herself many times. "Shall I go armed and accoutred? I am a warrior; aye, that were the best. But I am a woman, and men best like women in the habiliments of their sex."

With the morn she rose and arrayed herself in costly robes, and crown adorned with jewels; and mounting her strange beast, likewise brilliantly adorned in trappings of gold and gems, she rode forth to the place appointed by the Christians to receive her. When her eyes fell on Esplandian, "Ah, gods!"

she cried, as her hand sought her heart, "what being is this? Never have I seen one so fair". And as he gazed on her she felt his eyes sink into her soul, and her heart melt. She knew that she must go quickly away, or her warrior nature would turn to softness, and never more should she be able to lead armies.

"Knight of the Great Serpent" she exclaimed, "I perceive in you two excellences, such as I have never beheld in any other man, comeliness and courage; you shall find in the field this day a worthy foe in the person of the valiant sultan of Liquia, while I shall have the honor to encounter the king your father. If from this battle we both come back alive, we will speak further together." Esplandian, though struck by her beauty, made no reply, because she seemed to him strange, and not like other women.

In the battle which ensued, Esplandian and the sultan fought, and Calafia and Amadis, and so hard pressed by the queen of California was the Christian king, that when his horse fell upon him and pinned him down, his son Esplandian rushed to his rescue. All the while King Amadis put not forth his strength; perceiving which the queen exclaimed,

"Amadis, how now? Do you disdain to fight me at your best?"

"Queen, it is my part to protect women, not to destroy them."

"What, then, am I a woman such as that?"

So saying she took her sword in both her hands, and struck so strong a blow that the king's shield was cut in twain. He, escaping, disarmed her and bore her down.

"Now yield ye my prisoner," cried King Amadis.

"Aye" she answered "for naught else can I do."

At that moment the sultan surrendered himself to Esplandian. The prisoners were sent by their captors as a present to the infanta, Leonorina, daughter of the Grecian emperor, and betrothed to Esplandian. The infanta received them graciously, healed their wounds, and arrayed them in fresh and costly garments, such as befitted their high station. Calafia was no less surprised at the beauty of Leonorina, than she had been previously captivated by Esplandian, on whom she now saw it was useless to set her heart.

But as defeat had been her portion in this campaign, and

the spoils of victory had been denied her, she thought she might at least take home with her a husband. And she was quite sure she preferred a Christian to an infidel; and the Christian religion she was ready to accept, for as the pagan gods had abandoned her in the hour of her need, so would she now abandon them. Calling, therefore, together the emperor and his lords, she thus addressed them.

"Know all ye here present, that I am the queen of a great country, in which is an abundance of those things which all men hold in highest estimation, gold and precious stones. My lineage is of the proudest; my honor is without a stain. Fortune brought me to these shores, where I had thought to take many captives, but alas! I myself am captive. If by your great goodness I am now permitted to return to my own land, give me, I pray you, for husband, a good knight, a man of valor, and of lineage equal to my own, and I and my people shall become Christians, and he will reign over us."

Then the emperor, taking by the hand Talanque, of large and comely person, said:

"Queen, this is my cousin, a king's son, and worthy of your high esteem."

She said, "I am content."

Then spake Maneli, brother of Talanque, and a knight of good parts:

"Your sister, queen, Liota; I love her, and would have her for my wife, and I will go with her to her own land, there to remain forever."

Then Calafia called to her Liota, and said, "Shall it be so, my sister?"

And Liota answered, "Yes."

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consent to this undertaking, and the warrior-women besought her to make ready the ships, and hasten at once to sea.

Seeing thus the willingness of her subjects, and the eagerness of her warriors to depart, the queen without more delay ordered to be made ready her several fleets, the same to be well provisioned, and equipped with arms all of gold, and more of everything even than was necessary. She ordered further that her largest ships should be provided with gratings of the strongest wood, like a great cage, and therein to be placed five hundred griffins, such as those I have told you of, that from the time they were very small were required to eat and to live on men.

Queen Calafia commanded further that all the beasts on which she and her woman-warriors rode, or which they used, of whatsoever kind they were, should be placed on board the largest ships of the fleet, and that all her best and bravest women should embark, all those who in this isle of California were the strongest and most skilled in war. But enough should remain to make safe what was left at home, and insure the country from invasion.

Then the queen embarked, and with her army of retainers sailed away upon the sea; and such was the haste they made, and such their good fortune by the way, that they arrived in due time at the fleet of the pagans, upon the night after a great battle, and were received with rejoicing, and visited by the great men and lords. She asked them many questions about the war, their failures and successes, and the present condition of affairs. Then she said:

“This city you have fought with your great army, and seem unable to take it; permit me to try.”

“You shall have your wish, great queen.”

“Order then that none of your officers on any account leave their camps, they nor their men, until I give you permission, and on the morrow you shall see a combat such as you have never seen before, nor even heard of.”

“It shall be so, great queen.”

To the sultan of Liquia word was sent, and to the sultan of Halapa, who had command of all the pagan forces, that on the morrow none should take up arms against the Christians. And they wondered what the thought of this queen of California might be.

The night passed, the morning came, and with it came Queen Calafia from the sea, she and her women, armed all and with armor of gold and precious stones, such as are found scattered in the fields of California, so great is their abundance. And the fiery beasts were brought forth, splendidly caparisoned, and the women mounted thereon.

The queen then ordered opened the door of the cage, and the griffins came pouring forth in haste and hunger, for they saw men, of which food they had eaten none during their long voyage. Flying forward without fear, each caught up a Christian in its claws, and carried him on high, there to devour him or let him fall; nor could the lances hurled at them pierce their so closely matted feathers.

For the pagans it was indeed a sight pleasant to see, the writhing of their enemies in the talons of these odious birds. Loud shouted the Turks with joy as their monster allies again and again dived over the city walls and tore from embrace of father the son, and from embrace of son the father, tore brother from brother to fling them high in air or drop them into the sea.

Panic-stricken with terror, the Christians fled, some one way and some another, hiding in vaults or covering themselves with stones, until upon the ramparts or in the city streets there was visible not one. Then cried Calafia in a loud voice, saying, "The city is taken," and bade the sultans bring men with ladders for scaling the walls, which was done.

But alas for the discriminating power of these birds of evil omen, that should not know Turks from Christians! They were all men to them. So when the infidels mounted the walls to take possession of the city, down upon them pounced the griffins, down upon this fresh supply of men, and up into the air they went, now indeed to the delectable joy of the Christians.

When the queen saw the dire destruction wrought upon her friends through her instrumentality, she was filled with horror, and breaking forth in sorrow and in anger to her island deities: "O ye gods", she cried, "whom I and my ancestors have long worshipped, paving your sanctuaries with gold and adorning your altars with precious stones, why have ye served me this scurry trick, thus to humiliate me before these strangers, and bring our beloved isle into disrepute?"

But the gods answered not, nor came to her aid, but left her to fall into intricacies bringing yet deeper despair. For when she ordered her women to mount the ladders and slay all who had taken refuge in the vaults and towers, they obeying were so wounded by the people below, whose darts pierced their sides, notwithstanding their golden breast-plates and the armor which covered arms and legs, that they were utterly defeated in their purpose.

To make matters worse the griffins became unruly and would not obey their keepers; so that the queen cried out to the sultans, "Send hither your men to assist against these vile birds that have dared to disobey." But when the men, rushing from their camps, mounted the walls to assist the fighting women, they in their turn were seized by the fiendish beasts, and so perished many. Then fell panic fear on all the pagans left upon the walls, and quicker than they had come they fled back to their camps. The queen, seeing no remedy for these continued disasters, commanded the keepers of the griffins to recall them to their cages, which was done, the monsters returning again to obedience.

Then said Queen Calafia to the pagans: "Since my coming hither has wrought you thus far only evil, let me, I pray, bring you some good. Command your people forth, and let us to the city, when I and mine will take the front, and fight all who may oppose us. And the sultans ordered their soldiers to the ramparts, while Calafia, the horsemen following, appeared before the gate. As the pagans mounted to the walls, the Christians repulsed them, throwing down the ladders and killing many. Meanwhile from within the gate sallied forth Norandel, half-brother of Amadis, and upon him rushed Queen Calafia so furiously that the lances of the combatants were shattered. And as they drew their swords and inflicted on each other quick and vigorous blows, others came forward on either side and engaged in hand to hand conflict terrible to see.

So fiercely fell the blows, so rapidly were the combatants disabled, that soon the fighting ceased, everywhere save round Calafia and Norandel. And I tell you that one can scarcely believe the daring deeds performed by this California queen in that great battle,—the knights she slew, the nobles she unhorsed, the feats of valor done, or that ever woman displayed such skill and strength in arms.

Among those who witnessed with wonder this singular strife were the noble knights Talanque and Maneli, the latter the son of Childadan, king of Ireland. These seeing Norandel so hard pressed by the Amazons, rushed to his aid, and rained such blows upon the women as they would rain on fiends. Whereupon, down upon these knights like a lioness came Liota, sister of the queen, and drove them back; this to their great discomfort, and brought forth Calafia from their power, and placed her again among her own warriors.

All day and until nearly night the battle raged, many falling dead on both sides; nor was the city captured. Close bolted were the gates, all save one, which was opened to admit the wounded and defeated Christians from without. Through this gate about a hundred pagan warriors forced their way, but were driven back. Then fell yet severer slaughter on them all, and more than two hundred of Calafia's women were slain. Finally the fighting ceased for the day, and the queen and her people returned to their ships.

A council of war was held that night by the pagans, at which it was resolved to hurl defiance on the Christians in words following:

"Radiaro, sultan of Liquia, defender of the law, destroyer of Christians, enemy of the enemies of the gods, and the very radiant and powerful queen Calafia, lady of the island California, where in great abundance gold and precious stones appear; these make known to you, Amadis of Gaul, and to you his son, Esplandian, knight of the Great Serpent, that we have come hither to destroy this city of Constantinople, and the enemies of our holy religion, thereby also to gain distinction in honorable war. Having heard of your chivalry and prowess in arms, we hereby offer you battle, if such be acceptable to you, person to person, in individual combat, all in the presence of the nations, the victors to be victors for all, and the vanquished to be vanquished for all. And if you accept not this challenge, then shall your glories leave you, and your fame become ours forever."

To the council-chamber of the Christians this message was carried by one of the queen's maids of honor, a black and beautiful creature, richly attired and riding a fiery beast. The communication was courteously received, and to the messenger, King Amadis thus:

"Lady, say to the sultan and to your queen that their proposal is accepted, and they shall choose the arms to be used, the field shall be this field, if so be it pleaseth them, divided in the middle, and the time the present."

When the maid returned the queen questioned her closely.

"How appeared these men to you; were they handsome, were they noble, were they brave? Who seemed to you the best, speak?"

"Very handsome and very brave and noble, O queen. And fairest of all was he whom they call Esplandian. O Calafia! he was the most beautiful man I ever saw, or ever will see again. So rare, so elegant, so grand, as if our own gods themselves had made him!"

"My friend," replied the queen, "your words are too large; there are no such men."

"Nay, queen, what I say is true; but the sight of him alone can properly speak his excellence."

"Then that sight of him will I have", said the queen. "I will not fight such a man until I have seen him, and talked with him."

Returning to the city, the queen's messenger approached the council-chamber of the Christians and said:

"King Amadis, the queen Calafia requests safe conduct hither on the morrow that she may see your son."

Amadis smiled. "Women may be conquered by other weapons than swords," he said. Then to his companions, "How seems this matter to you?"

"Let her come," they said, "we should like to see the most wonderful woman in the world".

All night long Calafia sat thinking over the approaching interview, when her messenger reëntered and told her what the Christian lords had said. "How shall I appear, how array myself, how meet him?" These and like questions she asked herself many times. "Shall I go armed and accoutred? I am a warrior; aye, that were the best. But I am a woman, and men best like women in the habiliments of their sex."

With the morn she rose and arrayed herself in costly robes, and crown adorned with jewels; and mounting her strange beast, likewise brilliantly adorned in trappings of gold and gems, she rode forth to the place appointed by the Christians to receive her. When her eyes fell on Esplandian, "Ah, gods!"

she cried, as her hand sought her heart, "what being is this? Never have I seen one so fair". And as he gazed on her she felt his eyes sink into her soul, and her heart melt. She knew that she must go quickly away, or her warrior nature would turn to softness, and never more should she be able to lead armies.

"Knight of the Great Serpent" she exclaimed, "I perceive in you two excellences, such as I have never beheld in any other man, comeliness and courage; you shall find in the field this day a worthy foe in the person of the valiant sultan of Liquia, while I shall have the honor to encounter the king your father. If from this battle we both come back alive, we will speak further together." Esplandian, though struck by her beauty, made no reply, because she seemed to him strange, and not like other women.

In the battle which ensued, Esplandian and the sultan fought, and Calafia and Amadis, and so hard pressed by the queen of California was the Christian king, that when his horse fell upon him and pinned him down, his son Esplandian rushed to his rescue. All the while King Amadis put not forth his strength; perceiving which the queen exclaimed,

"Amadis, how now? Do you disdain to fight me at your best?"

"Queen, it is my part to protect women, not to destroy them."

"What, then, am I a woman such as that?"

So saying she took her sword in both her hands, and struck so strong a blow that the king's shield was cut in twain. He, escaping, disarmed her and bore her down.

"Now yield ye my prisoner," cried King Amadis.

"Aye" she answered "for naught else can I do."

At that moment the sultan surrendered himself to Esplandian. The prisoners were sent by their captors as a present to the infanta, Leonorina, daughter of the Grecian emperor, and betrothed to Esplandian. The infanta received them graciously, healed their wounds, and arrayed them in fresh and costly garments, such as befitted their high station. Calafia was no less surprised at the beauty of Leonorina, than she had been previously captivated by Esplandian, on whom she now saw it was useless to set her heart.

But as defeat had been her portion in this campaign, and

the spoils of victory had been denied her, she thought she might at least take home with her a husband. And she was quite sure she preferred a Christian to an infidel; and the Christian religion she was ready to accept, for as the pagan gods had abandoned her in the hour of her need, so would she now abandon them. Calling, therefore, together the emperor and his lords, she thus addressed them.

"Know all ye here present, that I am the queen of a great country, in which is an abundance of those things which all men hold in highest estimation, gold and precious stones. My lineage is of the proudest; my honor is without a stain. Fortune brought me to these shores, where I had thought to take many captives, but alas! I myself am captive. If by your great goodness I am now permitted to return to my own land, give me, I pray you, for husband, a good knight, a man of valor, and of lineage equal to my own, and I and my people shall become Christians, and he will reign over us."

Then the emperor, taking by the hand Talanque, of large and comely person, said:

"Queen, this is my cousin, a king's son, and worthy of your high esteem."

She said, "I am content."

Then spake Maneli, brother of Talanque, and a knight of good parts:

"Your sister, queen, Liota; I love her, and would have her for my wife, and I will go with her to her own land, there to remain forever."

Then Calafia called to her Liota, and said, "Shall it be so, my sister?"

And Liota answered, "Yes."

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[illegible]

